Gennadius Scholarius Complete Works

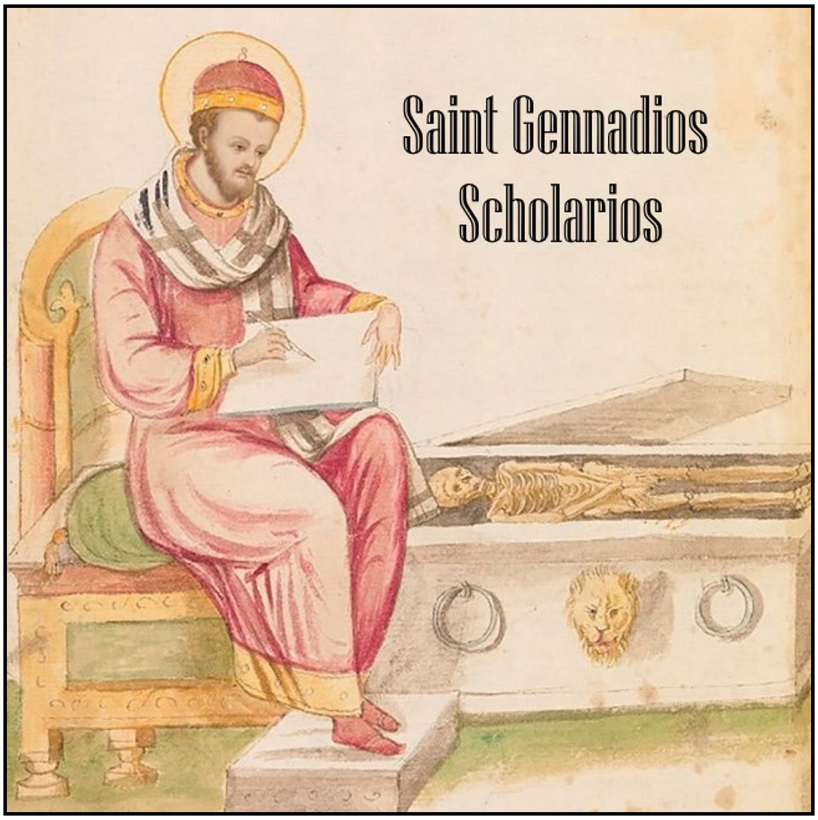
VOLUME 3

The Complete Works of
The Holy Patriarch of Constantinople
Saint Gennadius Scholarius

(OCGS 3)

Volume 3

THE MOST HOLY
PATRIARCH OF



CONSTANTINOPLE

(1405-1473)

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Forward

1.The publication of the works of Gennadius-George Scholarius is marked by another sorrowful loss. After Mgr Petit, less than two years later, Xénophon-Athanase Sidéridès suddenly left this world on the night of August 14, 1929, succumbing to a cardiac crisis just as he was reviewing the proofs of the twelfth sheet of this volume. Thus, the two scholars who initiated this endeavor and each contributed to its realization have departed, leaving the task to the writer of these lines, assisted by the devoted Brother Jules Pector, to bring it to completion.

2.It was undoubtedly during the war, in Athens, where Xénophon Sidéridès had taken refuge, that the two dear departed conceived their project. In fact, they only actively pursued it from 1920 onwards. They had known each other for a long time. When the future Archbishop of Athens was the superior of the Assumptionist convent in Cadi-Köy, the learned Byzantine scholar occasionally worked at the Fathers' library. It was there that we saw him more than once, without suspecting the future connections that would be established between us. In the joint enterprise, each contributed, in varying proportions, both scientific and financial support.

3.The scientific collaboration of the patron was not insignificant. A first-rate scholar in the Byzantine field, he very usefully assisted Mgr Petit in the search for manuscript sources. He performed more than one collation of texts, a task both necessary and unattractive. And when we ourselves asked him to review the proofs, as professionals know that two pairs of eyes are better than one for Greek texts, he accepted to render us this service with touching eagerness. He wrote to us on February 4, 1928: "I must tell you that next April I will enter my 78th year, that doctors advise against intellectual occupations, and that ophthalmologists do the same because of my myopia. Under these conditions, my good will may sooner or later encounter obstacles; but let us leave the future, which lies in the laps of the gods, and move forward." In fact, until his last day, he sent us his corrections with exemplary punctuality. His last submission (sheet 12 of this volume) was dated August 12. Two days later, he was no more.

4.Born in Chrysopolis or Scutari, an Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, on April 1/13, 1851, a Palm Sunday, Xénophon-Athanase Sidéridès was the fourth of nine children. His father, Athanase Sidéridès, of Greek nationality, was originally from the small town of Karpenisi (Greece) and had married a Greek woman from Constantinople. A merchant by profession, he enjoyed a good standard of living until misfortune befell him. Incredible to those who did not know the Stamboul of Old Turkey, within a few years, he saw his stores destroyed by several successive fires. This led to his ruin. He had to leave for Egypt in search of work but could not withstand the hardship for long. He soon died in exile, far from his wife and children, whom he had to leave in Constantinople. The widow, a courageous woman, rose to the challenge. She educated and instructed her nine children as best she could. Young Xénophon distinguished himself by his love of learning at the Greek community school in Scutari, and his successes were such that, after completing regular courses, the teacher took the initiative to give him additional lessons. This did not lead him far: a slightly superior

primary education was all the future Byzantine scholar received from his teacher; the rest was acquired through the tireless effort of the autodidact, who never abandoned the noble passion for study and who chose no other spouse throughout his life than science.

5.However, for many years, he had to devote the best of his time to less lofty occupations. Initially a bookkeeper for a modest agency, he then joined the service of the large house of Georges Chrysoverghi, where his elder brother Spyridon had preceded him. The two brothers did not remain simple employees for long. They soon became partners of the great Greek merchant, and fortune smiled upon them. After a few years, Xénophon even became a shipowner on his own account and made substantial profits in a short time. After the difficult days of hardship, it was abundance, it was wealth. Sidéridès made noble use of it. Part of his fortune went to the poor and charitable works of the Greek Community of Constantinople; the other was dedicated to scientific purposes.

6.Always possessed by the love of knowledge, the merchant did not forget books. On the contrary, he assiduously frequented them and tirelessly filled the gaps in his initial education. He gradually created a choice Byzantine library, from which he drew the solid and extensive scholarship evidenced by his writings. It was to devote himself more freely to his cherished studies that he withdrew from business after the war and enjoyed twelve years of peaceful scientific labor in his home in Pera, surrounded by the affection and delicate care of his two younger sisters, Mesdames Evlambia C. Actaris and Alexandra N. Courtelly, to whom we owe the elements of this biographical notice. It goes without saying that in recent years, the works of Scholarius were the main focus of his research, as evidenced by his correspondence with Mgr Petit.

7.The esteem and renown he acquired in the small world of Byzantine scholarship are evidenced by the honorary titles that successively honored him. He first shone in the Greek Philological Society of Constantinople, where he served as secretary and then vice-president, having refused the presidency, which was offered to him several times because he lacked the diploma required by the Society's regulations. He scarcely consented to preside over the archaeological section of the said Society in the company of Mr. Mortmann. The Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople honored itself by including him among its members. The Academies of St. Petersburg and Athens also sought him as a corresponding member.

8.These titles did not cloud his modesty. One of the main traits of his character was simplicity and the absence of any pretension. None of the usual faults of fortune's favorites appeared in him. His appearance and lifestyle revealed nothing of opulence. Some even found that this sage exaggerated in his disdain for the decorum due to his income. He only thought of putting it to useful employment and remembered the years of hardship. He drew, moreover, from his religious convictions, which were sincere and profound, this love of a simple, modest, and benevolent life. It certainly did not take an unbeliever to collaborate on a scientific enterprise with a Catholic archbishop, Delegate of the Holy See. But one would be mistaken to place Xénophon Sidéridès in the category of those peaceful skeptics whose absence of convictions makes tolerance natural. He had deeply retained the Christian faith of his childhood without ever, it seems, raising the problem posed by the diversity of Churches. We can testify to his Christian sentiments from what he wrote to us upon learning of Mgr Petit's death: "We all who knew the virtues and talents of the late Archbishop Louis Petit wished him from the depths of our hearts long life and unwavering health; but Divine Providence has disposed otherwise; we only have to obey it and pray for the repose of the soul of the deceased." We return the same words to his memory, and our prayers will not be lacking for him.

Forward

9.Besides the edition of the complete works of Gennadius Scholarius, which will immortalize his memory, our Byzantine scholar published a series of scholarly monographs on various subjects, interspersed with editions of short unpublished pieces. What distinguishes these works is the concern for precision and accuracy, which the Greeks call scientific precision. Other compatriots may have contributed more in quantity to Byzantine studies: he yields to none in quality. Some of his studies are small masterpieces of scholarship, which do the greatest honor to the autodidact he had to be. It will be appreciated that we provide here the complete list of these publications, most of which appeared in the journal of the Greek Literary Society of Constantinople, as long as the Society lived:

1.Ναὸς ἱερομάρτυρος Αὐτονόμου, in Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, archaeological supplement to volume XVII, 1886, pp. 122-124, signed X. A. Sidéropoulos.

2.Βυζαντινὰ ἐπιτύμβια ἐν Χρυσοπόλει, ibid., pp. 125-126.

3.Περὶ τοῦ Δαματρύος τῶν Βυζαντινῶν, τοῦ νῦν Ἀλέμ Δάγ, ibid., pp. 126-134 and archaeological supplement to volume XIX, 1891, pp. 15-24, same signature;

4.Περὶ τῆς ἐν Μικρᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ Νικοπόλεως (Καρᾶ-Χιδάρι-Σαρκή), ibid., archaeological supplement to volume XVII, 1886, pp. 134-143, same signature;

5.Βυζαντιναὶ ἐπιγραφαί, ibid., archaeological supplement to volume XIX, 1891, pp. 24-27, volume XX-XXII, 1892, pp. 17-18 and volume XXIV-XXVI, 1896, pp. 138-139, signed: X. A. Sidéridès.

6.Περὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μονῆς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου καὶ τῶν κτητόρων αὐτῆς, ibid., archaeological supplement to vol. XX-XXII, 1892, pp. 19-32.

7.Περὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μονῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τοῦ Φιλανθρώπου, in Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια, 1897, pp. 234-236, 250-251, 257-259, 267-268, 276-279, 291-293, 309-310, 316-319, 323-325, 341-343 and 1898, pp. 4-6, 10-11.

8.Λ!βυσσα, Δακί!βυζα, Γκέπουζα, in Ἕλλην. φιλολ. Σύλλογος, vol. XXVII, 1900, pp. 264-287.

9.Ἐπανόρθωσις ἀφηγήσεως γεγονότων τινῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοκρ. Ἡρακλείου Α', ibid., vol. XXVIII, 1904, pp. 98-118.

10.Observations on the treatise of Mr. A. P. Kerameos "Churches of Constantinople according to 1593 and 1604," ibid., pp. 126-145.

11.Observations and additions to the history of the Holy Monastery of the Theotokos in Halki, ibid., vol. XXXIX, 1907, pp. 121-132.

12.About the holy springs in Galata, ibid., vol. XXIX, 1907, pp. 241-248.

13.The cisterns of Aetios and Aspar in Constantinople, ibid., vol. XXIX, 1907, pp. 249-265.

14.About the Monastery of Pammakaristos in Constantinople (second investigations), vol. XXIX, 1907, pp. 265-273.

15.Sophocles' Ajax. Athens, Hestia, 1904, in-8°, 61 pages.

16.Review of the publication by R. P. Louis Petit of the synodical act concerning the privileges of the Metropolitan of Trebizond of the house of the patriarch Nikephoros of Ephesus (1260), in Nea Sion, vol. V, 1907, pp. 707-745.

17.The death, burial, and sword of Constantine Palaiologos. Athens, 1908.
18.About a certain manuscript of the Nomocanon of Manuel Malaxos, in Greek Philological Society, vol. XXX, 1908, pp. 182-205.
19.Notes on the location of the "Honoratus" by Meliopoulos, ibid., vol. XXX, 1908, pp. 217-219.
20.Akritas, ibid., vol. XXXI, 1909, pp. 96-101.
21.Basil Postelnikos, ibid., vol. XXXI, 1909, pp. 101-107.
22.Topographical notes on the Great Palace and the Hippodrome, ibid., vol. XXXI, 1909, pp. 107-112.
23.Byzantine inscription in Aritsou, ibid., 1911, vol. XXXII, pp. 119-132.
24.Inscription from Argyrupolis (Fountoukli), ibid., 1911, vol. XXXII, pp. 132-138.
25.Historical letter of Gabriel Severus, in Ecclesiastical Beacon, vol. XI, 1913, pp. 5-34.
26.Gennadius Scholarius, Canon to Gregory Palamas, in the journal Gregory Palamas, 1921, pp. 137-142.
27.The letter to the Bosmoi of the Church of Constantinople in 1452, in Neos Poimen, vol. V (1923), pp. 98-108.
28.Manuel Olovolos' encomium to the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, in the journal Annual of Byzantine Studies, vol. III (1926), pp. 168-191.
29.Letters of Emperor John Komnenos concerning the union of the Churches, in Gregory Palamas, 1926, pp. 52-64.
30.Michael Psellos' discourse on the miracle at Blachernae, in the journal Orthodoxy, 1928, pp. 508-519, 539-548.
31.Letters of the 16th century in Chian Chronicles, 1926, pp. 185-192.
32.Monastery of Kallios in Constantinople, (to appear in Orthodoxy).
33.The Epirote family of Rere (1448-1609), in Epirotic Chronicles, vol. III, pp. 159-168.
34.The Byzantine veil of Genous, in the Annual of Byzantine Studies (1928) pp. 376-378.
35.Korteisios Vranas the Epirote, in Epirotic Chronicles, vol. III, pp. 249-271.

10.This list, we are told, does not represent the entire literary legacy of the deceased. He left several articles and monographs in manuscript form that, we hope, will soon see the light of day. By adding new rays to his scholarly reputation, these unpublished works will undoubtedly contribute to the progress of Byzantine studies.

M. Jugie.

Introduction

1.Volume III of the complete works of George-Gennadius Scholarius contains the continuation of the polemical works, a series of scriptural and theological questions, and apologetic writings addressed to Muslims, totaling forty-six pieces, of which twenty-two are completely unpublished until now, and thirty-six are preserved in autograph manuscripts. Most of these autographs are those described in the introductions to volumes I and II. Therefore, we do not need to revisit them. Several other sources used are also known from previous volumes. The small number of new sources will be indicated in the course of what follows. Let us state immediately that we will not encounter any significant manuscript requiring a detailed examination. Only Parisinus 1273, an autograph that provided us with the short numbers 6 and 11 of the theological questions (pp. 406-407, 430-433) would merit such treatment; but given its content, we reserve its description for the introduction to volume V, where its place is more fitting. Let us quickly review each piece that composes our volume to indicate their provenance, object, and exact or approximate date.

The Continuation of the Anti-Latin Polemics

1.Under this heading, we have categorized the first twenty pieces of the volume, which constitute a third of it (pp. 1-204). One number, the 22nd, barely counts since it is, in reality, only a slightly modified extract of number 6, although it appears alone in two autographs. Number 20, Report of the Anti-unionists to the Emperor against the Council of Florence (November 1452), pp. 188-193, does not bear Scholarius' signature; but we do not doubt that he was its author, or at least its inspirer. That he considered this report as his work can be deduced from the autograph note preceding it in Dionysianus Athon, 150, and from its insertion in this quasi-autograph manuscript (cf. vol. II, p. xu-xm), and especially from its content, which reflects well the thought of our theologian at the critical moment when the piece was written. Already published by Nectarius of Jerusalem in his rare work: Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πάπα, ed. by Dositheos, Lassy, 1682, pp. 233-236, it has remained almost unknown to Westerners. It is, however, very interesting from a theological and historical point of view.

2.Of the two Dialogues on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (numbers 4 and 5), which open the volume, the Russian Arsenii had given, based on the codd. 253 (1st dialogue) and 243 (2nd dialogue) of the Synodal Library of Moscow, a rather mediocre edition, published in Novgorod in 1896. Our edition presents the autograph text of the first dialogue, contained in Parisinus 2999, and of the second, the copy revised and annotated by the author, which can be read in Dionys. Athonensis 150 (cf. vol. II, p. xn-xv). With this copy, we compared two 15th-century manuscripts, Parisinus 1191 and Parisinus 1215, and a 17th-century manuscript, Seldenus Ozon. 42. The result revealed numerous errors by the copyists in transcribing Scholarius' autographs and also showed that these manuscripts, including Mosquensis 243 used by Arsenii, have a common origin, with almost always the same variants and erroneous readings in the four.

3.The date of the first dialogue: Νεόφρων η Αερομυθία, is clearly determined during the dialogue itself, p. 7, l. 24. When Scholarius composed it, two years had not yet passed since the famous conferences held at the imperial palace after July 1444 between Bartholomew Lapacci and him (cf. vol. II, p. xv-xvi). It was therefore in 1446 that the piece was composed. As for the second dialogue: Ολβιανός, it should be placed, given its content, at the end of 1450 or rather in 1451. When he wrote it, George had recently become the monk Gennadius, confined in the monastery of Kharsianites (p. 35, ll. 22-35). We know that he fulfilled this vow of his thirtieth year in 1450 (cf. vol. I, p. x).

4.Despite the five years separating them, these two writings follow each other in our edition, both because of their content and their literary genre. They are dialogues of high literary quality, where we see our Byzantine following in the footsteps of Plato. The austere subject of these conversations is rendered almost attractive by the writer's skill. Allusions to contemporary events are not rare, and the first dialogue abounds in wit. Scholarius defends himself against the Unionists' accusations of having changed sides, pretending convictions he did not have, and acting for personal interest. At the same time, especially in the second dialogue, he reiterates the thesis he presented in his treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit and reveals the subtleties of the controversy between supporters and opponents of the Council of Florence. While remaining within the limits of Catholic dogma, the Unionists made astonishing verbal concessions to their opponents: They went so far as to say: The Son is not the principle of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, including in the words ἀρχὴ and ἐκπορεύεσθαι the idea of a principle without principle, which indeed only suits the Father. In Νεόφρων, the author also rejects the idea that the present misfortunes of Byzantium are the punishment for abandoning the union of Florence (pp. 15-20), and in Ολβιανός, the apology of Neilos Kabasilas, who asserted in his piece on the causes of the schism that the persistence of the division between the two Churches was due to the Pope's refusal to submit the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit to the judgment of an ecumenical council (pp. 43-48). Finally, in Ολβιανός, Scholarius admits that he adhered for some time to the doctrine he now opposes (p. 23, ll. 22-30), and he clearly acknowledges the primacy of the Pope while denying his infallibility (pp. 41-42).

5.Numbers 6 and 7, which precede the dialogue Ολβιανός in Dionysianus 150, should date from the end of 1449 or the beginning of 1450. They are indeed posterior to the Exposition of the Orthodox Faith, or the third treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit, composed in 1449, as Scholarius himself informs us in his Manifesto to the inhabitants of Constantinople on November 27, 1452 (see p. 173, l. 15-16 of this volume). Moreover, when he wrote them, the author was not yet a monk; it was in the course of 1450 that he donned the monastic habit. We have already mentioned (vol. II, p. xm) that Dositheos had arbitrarily merged these two treatises with the Exposition of the Orthodox Faith into a single work and had provided a very poor edition in the Τόμος ἀγάπης, pp. 272-291, an edition reproduced in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, vol. CLX, cols. 691-714.

6.These writings repeat in a new and concise form part of the content of the two major treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit. The first relates to patristic evidence, the second to theological reasoning. In number 6, Scholarius returns at length to the authority of Saint Augustine, a great support of the Latins. Here is the sequence of his argumentation: 1) There are well-founded suspicions that the works of this Doctor have been interpolated; 2) Supposing they are authentic, Augustine was a man, and he could be wrong; he made many conjectures and wrote an entire book of Retractations; 3) It is not impossible to reconcile the

doctrine of the Western Fathers with that of the Eastern Fathers; 4) If reconciliation is impossible, it is better for us to follow the teaching of our own Fathers, just as the Latins follow the teaching of theirs. The treatise ends with the wish that the Roman Church decides to take the step that will bring peace, namely to remove the Filioque, so that we can, he says, restore to it the ancient honor, ἵνα καὶ αὐτῇ τὴν προτέραν ἀποδιδῶμεν εὐλάβειαν (p. 63, ll. 14-15). The other treatise (number 7) takes up the common objection of the polemicists against Catholic doctrine: To affirm that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son is logically and necessarily to introduce two principles into the Trinity. The Latins may reject this consequence, but it is imputable to them as long as they do not renounce the principle that generates it, and one must avoid their communion.

7.The short number 8: Epichere against the procession of the Holy Spirit "ab utroque" and response of the Latins is closely related to the previous treatise (cf. pp. 64-65), as well as to the 16th syllogistic chapter of Mark of Ephesus and the response made by Scholarius (cf. p. 533 sq.). It is found, as we present it, in many manuscripts. It is not strictly speaking a polemical work, but a simple exposition of a Greek objection and the response given by the Latins. We probably have here an echo of the discussions at Florence. Scholarius explains to his compatriots a crucial point of Latin theology on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

8.Number 9 (Brief Apology of the Anti-unionists, pp. 77-100), published by Dositheos under a fanciful title and reproduced as such by Migne, vol. CLX, cols. 713-732, is noted in the subscription of Dionysianus 150 as having been written after the death of Emperor John VII Palaiologos; but one can specify further, since the piece is placed in the same manuscript under the name of Gennadius and appears after the dialogue Ολβιανός. It is thus almost certain that it dates from 1451 or the beginning of 1452. In this treatise, with a very polemical tone, one finds interesting information about the Council of Florence, the attitude of the Greeks there, and the events of the following years. Scholarius seeks to justify his and his friends' opposition to the unionist council, attacking its ecumenicity, while proclaiming ecumenical the council held in Constantinople in 879-880 under Photius, and the Synod of Blachernae in 1285 against John Beccos and the union concluded at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274. He speaks of the religious policy of Emperor John VII Palaiologos, his tolerance towards the opponents of the union, and says that he died deprived of the honors of the Church for having pretended Latinism until the last moment. However, he does not dare to call the Latins heretics (p. 95, ll. 18 sq.). It suffices for him to say that they deviate from the ancient tradition and that one must avoid their communion until they erase the Filioque from the Creed.

9.The reader will find number 10 to be a very interesting piece, not only unpublished but completely unknown until now. It is undoubtedly an extract, but a considerable one, and, what doubles its value, an autograph, preserved by Parisinus 681 of the Greek Supplement. Responding to a friend who had asked him for his opinion on Bessarion's great dogmatic speech for union divided into ten chapters, delivered in Florence before the assembly of Greeks on April 13-14, 1439, Scholarius admits having only skimmed it following his correspondent's request (p. 115, l. 14); but he declares that the principle dictating his assessment has been familiar to him for a long time. What does he reproach the Bishop of Nicaea, his former friend, whom he praises highly after having severely criticized him (pp. 114-115)? Firstly, for aiming less to convey the true thought of the Fathers than to refute the false interpretations of Mark of Ephesus (p. 101, l. 12 sq.); in particular, for not examining in detail the passages of the Latin Fathers, but for starting from the idea that they taught that the Son is the cause of the Holy Spirit, and for lightly establishing the equivalence of the

propositions "ex" and "διά"; secondly, for being content with the applause of people who understood nothing of theology and were only hungry for honors and money; and finally, for having too much confidence in himself and not seeking the support of those he previously considered masters and whom he knew to be truly knowledgeable on the question (p. 112, l. 8 sq.). It is permissible to discover a bit of personal bitterness in this last reproach. Is it not, after all, immediately after Bessarion's speech that Scholarius himself abruptly entered the scene and presented his four speeches to the assembly of Orientals, where, contrary to the method followed by the Bishop of Nicaea, who examined in detail the doctrine of the Greek Fathers, he developed the general theme of the agreement of the Fathers among themselves and the necessity of concluding the union with the Latins? Whatever he reproaches Bessarion for, he was also a unionist. He does not hide it. He even goes much further in his confessions here than anywhere else, and it is interesting for historians to gather them from his own words, as they definitively settle a long-debated question. Speaking of the addition of the Filioque, which, according to him, was the true cause of the schism (p. 115, ll. 19-20), he writes:

10."Examining this question myself after so many others, I found that the obstacles arising from the addition [of the Filioque to the Creed] did not necessarily cause the schism. It would undoubtedly have been better if nothing had been added; but once this boldness was accomplished and became customary, it had to be tolerated if, however, the addition expressed the truth. I said therefore that it was on this point that the general council, whose convocation we hoped for soon, should focus its attention. As for me, making no addition, avoiding any communion with the Latins, I was searching to see if the addition expressed the truth in any way. Before the affirmative, we would no longer have to consider the Latins as heretics and heterodox; this should not prevent those who have the right to do so from asking and determining the reparation of the transgression. I found therefore that the Western doctors indeed said this, and that some of ours testified to it; and as it was impossible that the doctors of the Church could be found liars, I concluded that there was no reason to reject the communion of the Latins, since they believed and professed a true doctrine. I did not suppose either, naturally, that the truth proclaimed by such great doctors could be the principle of any absurdity or falsehood. This is why, with all simplicity and from the bottom of my heart, I reconciled with the Latins and relentlessly opposed those who accused them without measure. I defended their faith in more than one writing, and I discharged them from a multitude of absurdities to which they were reduced—I should say, to which the doctors of the Church who composed long treatises against them reduced them. Thus, I was labeled a Latinophile. My envious detractors found a fine opportunity to attack me there, unable to discover any other means to harm me. They said this man must be covered with opprobrium and treated harshly, as he does not calumniate the Latin religion and does not think they are impious because they repeat a formula dear to all the doctors. Undoubtedly, in condemning the ignorance of these people, words worthy of a Latin have escaped me, and, as it happens in such writings, I may have, in the heat of the dispute, shown myself too indulgent to the Latins and too harsh to my adversaries. I could then be believed to be entirely devoted to Latinism and a declared contemptor and adversary of our traditions" (p. 115, ll. 33-116, ll. 1-26).

11.These declarations put an end to any discussion not only on the authenticity of the speeches delivered in Florence but also on that of other writings, which we will discuss later. As for the date of composition of the piece, we think it should be placed in 1443, a time when Scholarius, without having yet openly declared against the union, was already won over to the party of its adversaries. There is indeed a fairly clear allusion to

the efforts made by Bessarion to help Constantinople from 1442 onwards in the following passage: Σὺ δὲ... κόρον αὐτὸς πρότερον τῶν τῆς ἑνώσεως μισθῶν εἰληφὼς, ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς σῆς εὐδαιμονίας λειψάνων καὶ ἡμᾶς εὐφράναι θελήσεις, καὶ χρήμασι καὶ δυνάμεσι ναυτικαῖς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ὁπλίσεις" (p. 113, ll. 25-31). Scholarius even foresees that this assistance will be ineffective. Unfortunately, he was not mistaken, since the crusade organized by Bessarion ended in the disaster of Varna (November 20, 1444).

12.The seven documents that follow (numbers 11-17) were written during the years 1450-1452 and relate to the anti-unionist activity of Scholarius who, in the course of 1450, took the monastic habit and the name Gennadius. The new monk expended all his efforts to avert what he saw as the greatest peril for his dying homeland: the abandonment of the ancestral doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the acceptance of the decree of union of Florence. The embassy sent by Emperor Constantine XII to Pope Nicholas V through Bryennios did not have his approval. As soon as he became aware of the agreements concluded and the conditions set by the Pope, he redoubled his exhortations to the people and clergy, his pleas to the Emperor, and declared his irrevocable resolution not to communicate with the cardinal-legat Isidore of Kiev and not to commemorate the Pope as long as the Filioque was not erased from the Creed.

13.The last five documents (numbers 13-17) bear a determined date. As for the first: Letter to Demetrius Palaiologos, brother of Emperor Constantine, it was written after this prince's departure for the Peloponnese and before Scholarius entered the convent, that is, probably at the beginning of 1450. It comprises two well-distinct parts: In the first (pp. 117-126), Scholarius eulogizes his correspondent, whom he knows to be devoted to the Anti-unionists; the second (pp. 126-136) is doctrinal: it is a succinct exposition of the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit, including an excerpt from the third treatise on the procession of the Holy Spirit (pp. 127-128). This letter was published by Sp. Lampros in volume II of Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά, Athens, 1912, based on Marcianus Class. II, 186, from the 16th century. Our edition is made from the same manuscript and corrects many erroneous readings of the learned Athenian.

14.The letter to Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, against the Union of Florence (number 12) was published by Constantine Simonides in London in 1858, from a source he does not indicate, under the title: Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου τὸ περὶ ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιστολιμαῖον πρῶτον βιβλίον. For our part, we took it from Parisinus 1297, from the 16th century, collating it with the edited text. The piece is primarily of a doctrinal nature and aims to strengthen the Grand Duke in his opposition to the union. Scholarius defends himself from the accusation made by the Latins of being the destroyer of the union, τομεὺς τῆς ἑνώσεως. How could he break the union, since the union does not exist and all Byzantines, or nearly so, oppose it? He concludes by declaring that the hopes of effective assistance from the West are illusory and exhorts his correspondent to stand firm in the faith of the ancestors. The letter was written after Patriarch Gregory Mammas left Constantinople (cf. p. 151, l. 1 sq.), that is, in 1451.

15.Documents 13-17 are of particular interest to history, and except for number 17, the Letter to Despot Demetrius Palaiologos (December 25, 1452), which appears here for the first time based on the autograph Paris. 1289, had already been published in the collection of Lampros. Our edition, though based on the same sources, significantly improves upon that of our predecessor. Number 15: Note to the Ecclesiastics Opposed to the Union (November 10, 1452) deserves the attention of philologists because it is interspersed with expressions of the vulgar Greek language. The letter to Despot Demetrius was written on December 25,

1452, after the solemn proclamation of the union on December 12 of the same year. It was accompanied, it seems, by the List of Anti-unionist Writings given as number 18, preserved by Parisinus 1289. It concerns not all the polemical works written by Scholarius against the Latins and the Union of Florence, but the most recent productions of this kind, composed from October 1451 to December 1452. Only two or three pieces out of the ten and more signaled have reached us. At the end, Scholarius speaks of four anti-unionist declarations signed by the metropolitans who signed the decree of the Union of Florence. The last dates back to the arrival in Constantinople of the delegation of the Hussites from Prague, led by the English priest Constantine Platris (ὁ μαγίστερ Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Ἰγκλίνος), that is, in the autumn of 1451.

16.Regarding these signatories of the decree of Florence, the reader will be interested in the autograph note, until now unpublished, presented as number 21, where Scholarius reviews the prelates and ecclesiastics who attended the council and carefully indicates those who signed, those who did not sign, and those who recanted.

17.The Lamentation on the Proclamation of the Union in Florence (number 19) must date from early 1453. Sp. Lampros had edited it from Atheniensis 652, from the 15th century, and Mosquensis 250, from the 17th century. We present it from the autograph Parisinus 1289. It is a curious piece, where exclamations abound, and scriptural texts and allusions proliferate. He laments the futility of his efforts to prevent what has happened and concludes with a prayer expressing the hope that his compatriots will return to the doctrine of the ancestors.

18.The last piece of the anti-Latin polemic (number 23), titled: Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσόδων: On the Holy Entrances, appears here for the first time based on the autograph Pantocratorinus 127, which seems to be the only manuscript to have preserved it for us. It was written before the fall of Constantinople. It is impossible to give a more precise date; Scholarius composed it at the request of a friend who asked him about the symbolism of the introits or liturgical entrances used in the offices of the Greek Church. These entrances number three: one that takes place during Vespers, and the other two during the Mass. The subject, as seen, is purely liturgical; but it becomes polemical under Scholarius' pen because he responds to Latin criticisms of the rite of the great entrance as practiced in the Greek Mass. When the deacon solemnly carries the oblations from the prothesis altar to the sacrifice altar, the attendees make prostrations or metanies as if the bread and wine were already consecrated, which often led to accusations of idolatry by the Latins against the Greeks. Before Scholarius, several Byzantine theologians, including Nicholas Kabasilas and Simeon of Thessalonica, had provided plausible explanations for these signs of veneration toward the already blessed matter of the sacrifice. Even in Florence, after the signing of the decree of union, the Latins had again questioned the Greeks about this ceremony. Our theologian critiques several of the responses provided by his predecessors and offers new ones, which have not echoed in modern Greek theology, probably because they were not known. Gabriel Severus, at the beginning of the 17th century, in the letter he composed on the question, draws inspiration from Simeon of Thessalonica and adopts the solutions that our author finds unfounded. He does not only remain on the defensive towards the Latins but soon takes the offensive on the issues of the form of baptism and the use of unleavened bread, and this completes giving his letter a polemical turn. The reader will notice that regarding the form of the Eucharist and the epiclesis, the author speaks quite obscurely and does not attack the Westerners on this point.

Introduction

The Anti-Barlaamite Polemic

1.As a professional theologian, Scholarius could not avoid addressing the Palamite question, which had agitated the Byzantine Church for most of the 14th century. In the 15th century, despite official decisions, the controversy was not completely settled. At that time, there were still supporters of Akindynos and Barlaam, who were often confused with the Latin-minded, not to mention the Latins themselves, all of whom supported the Calabrian's thesis. We do not need to recount how the quarrel began. It suffices to recall that it led to a high metaphysical discussion on the relationship that exists: 1) between God's essence and His operation, or, which amounts to the same, between the divine essence and its various attributes; 2) between the attributes themselves considered individually. This is the problem our theologian addresses in the two treatises published here under the heading: Anti-Barlaamite Polemic.

2.The first treatise is addressed to an imperial envoy (βασιλικός) named John, who had asked him about two points: 1) the meaning of a passage falsely attributed to Saint Theodore Graptos, in which he clearly affirms the identity in God of essence and energy or operation; 2) an objection from the Akindynists concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit: The Holy Spirit, they said, according to Scripture, is equally the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son. It is natural to conclude that just as He derives His existence from the Father, He also derives His existence from the Son. Scholarius begins by briefly addressing this second question, and he does so in the way one would expect. At the time he wrote, he had just published his two major polemical treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit, as he himself declares on p. 210, l. 26-27, and as emerges from the autograph note by Sylvester Syropoulos in Coislin 101. Syropoulos completed his copy, which served as the basis for our edition, in August 1445 (cf. p. 228, ll. 7-9). Let us immediately state that this copy provided us with an excellent text, far superior to Dositheos' truncated edition, reproduced in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, vol. CLX, cols. 649-664. Our theologian then proceeds to the passage of Theodore Graptos, and to interpret it, he is forced to explain the object of the controversy between the Palamites and the Akindynists. His exposition is sober and clear, clearer than most of the long and tedious treatises that have come down to us on the subject. According to him, Akindynos and his followers posited between the divine essence and its operation or attributes only a distinction of pure reason, what our scholastics call a distinction of reasoning reason, a mere play of our mind, which presupposes nothing real in the thing. Scholarius teaches a real distinction; but this distinction, according to the sufficiently clear explanations he provides (see especially p. 226, ll. 5-29), is approximately equivalent to the imperfect virtual distinction commonly taught by Catholic theologians, or better, it seems, to the formal distinction a parte rei of Scotus. Moreover, for him, as for the Byzantine Church, the radiance that shone from the Savior's body on Mount Tabor at the moment of the Transfiguration was not a transient phenomenon, a created light, but the very radiance of the divinity, uncreated like it, its very operation. It is the sight of this divine light and its enjoyment that constitute the kingdom of God, the supernatural beatitude reserved for the elect in heaven; so that the apostles on Mount Tabor were granted for a moment, by a miracle of divine power, the beatific vision properly speaking (p. 217, ll. 14-31; 220, l. 32-221, ll. 1-31. See p. 216-217 for the various opinions of the Akindynists on the nature of this light).

3.Such is the Palamism taught by Scholarius, a very mitigated Palamism, at least regarding the distinction between the attributes and the essence of God, and freed from many clouds accumulated in the writings composed at the height of the controversy. It is the same doctrine that we find, exposed with even greater

clarity, in the second treatise, where the question of the distinction between attributes and essence, and among the attributes themselves, is examined ex professo and in all its scope. The author composed it after the fall of Constantinople, at the request of one of his neighbors, when he was already living in the monastery of the Forerunner, on Mount Menekse (p. 228, l. 25). He very effectively refutes the nominalist thesis, which sees only synonyms in the various names by which we express the divine perfections; speaks, as an informed theologian, of the three ways by which we acquire our knowledge of God and His attributes, excludes from Him any accident (p. 233, l. 1), and posits between His essence and His attributes only a virtual distinction, which he calls real, but among real distinctions, the finest and most tenuous (p. 235 § 5; p. 238 § 6). He remains silent on the nature of the Taboric light. The treatise was previously unpublished. We have drawn it from two autographs, Pantocratorinus 127 and Parisinus 1292.

Against Simony

1.In his Letter against Simony, addressed to Emperor Constantine in 1451, Scholarius vehemently denounces one of the plagues of the Byzantine Church. He sees simony as the principal cause of public misfortunes and urges the emperor to use all his authority to deliver the Church from it. He denounces the gravity of simony, considering it a form of heresy worse than that of the Macedonians, a crime comparable to Judas's betrayal. It is a very difficult evil to cure, an impiety that does not benefit those who commit it since the grace of the Holy Spirit is not venal. Our theologian teaches, in fact, the invalidity of simoniacal ordinations: the ordainer can communicate nothing, and the ordinand receives nothing (p. 243, ll. 8-25; p. 245, ll. 3-22), a doctrine with incalculable and utterly disastrous consequences for the Church, which has never been common among Eastern theologians. An autograph note from Parisinus 1289 informs us that this letter against simony was written two years before the fall of Constantinople, that it achieved no practical result, and that the original sent to the emperor was found after the city's capture. Dositheos had provided a very defective and incomplete edition in the Τὸμος ἀγάπης, pp. 307-312, reproduced by Migne, vol. CLX, cols. 731-738. Our edition is based on the autograph Parisinus 1289, except for the letter of transmission to the emperor, which was previously unpublished and found in cod. 35 of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople.

Polemic Against the Jews

1.Of the two treatises against the Jews, the first is mainly polemical and aptly titled: Refutation of Jewish Error; the other is more apologetic: it is a rather meager and overly brief overview of the main messianic prophecies. Both were composed in Constantinople during Scholarius' third forced return to the capital, that is, in 1464. They were already known to scholars through the edition by Albert Jahn in 1893 in his Anecdota Graeca Theologica, based on Bernensis 579, from the 15th century. We have been able to significantly improve this text and fill its gaps by reproducing the copy of Parisinus 1294, which is half autograph (pp. 251-276) and half the work of a scribe reviewed and corrected by the author (pp. 276-314). As for Parisinus 1293, copied in 1511 by Paul Colybas, which also contains our two treatises, ff. 1-54, collation revealed that it was a copy of Bernensis 579: the same variants and the same gaps on both sides.

2.The first treatise is composed in the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian. The Christian argues so effectively that the Jew ends up converting. Indeed, this refutation of Judaism through the Bible

and history is remarkable. Scholarius displays a lot of erudition, a beautiful and wide-ranging eloquence, and quite a bit of ingenuity. Most of his arguments have lost none of their value or relevance. Modern criticism has, however, ruined a few, for example, the one he draws from the Sibylline oracles, whose collection he is inconsolable about having lost during the fall of Constantinople. He firmly believes in their authenticity (p. 284, ll. 35 sq.; p. 286, l. 30) and attributes a decisive influence to them in the conversion of Constantine (p. 285, l. 25). He also believes, but with less conviction, in the predictions of astrologers or astronomers about the end of the world, based on the course of the stars. According to these calculations, the final catastrophe is supposed to occur at the end of the seventh millennium, that is, exactly in 1492. And it is already 1464 (p. 287, l. 30)! This belief in the imminent end of the world often appears in the writings of the recluse of Mount Menekse, who witnessed so many upheavals and calamities. He remains quite skeptical, however, about the success of what we call Zionism today. His statements on this subject will be read with interest by our contemporaries (p. 258, l. 13 sq.). Theologians will note what is said about the weakening of human nature by original sin (p. 278, l. 35 sq.), the renewal of the universe at the end of times (p. 288, l. 24 sq.), the influence of the will in the act of faith (p. 295, l. 18 sq.), and historians will learn that Scholarius' father was a Thessalian who emigrated to Byzantium (p. 252, l. 25), and that the situation of Christians under Muslim rule was much better than that of the Jews (p. 292, l. 15 sq.).

Scriptural Questions

1.Scholarius' exegetical work is not extensive. Six answers on particularly difficult scriptural passages: that is all he has bequeathed to posterity in this matter. These answers probably date from the last period of his life and are fruits of his leisure at the Prodrome Monastery. They have come down to us through the two autographs Parisinus 1289 and Pantocratorinus 127, but the first only through the latter manuscript. They were hitherto unpublished, except for the second and fourth, which Papaioannou had given in Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια in 1900 (vol. XX, pp. 159-160; 165-167), based on cod. 35 of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople.

2.Number 1 deals with the abandonment of Jesus on the cross and aims to explain the Savior's words: "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" Scholarius begins by recalling the three explanations given by Eastern exegetes: 1) Jesus uttered these words to show the reality of His humanity; 2) He spoke thus as if putting Himself in the place of the Jewish people, truly abandoned by God and treating Himself as one abandoned; 3) Jesus spoke, in this case, on behalf of all humanity by a sort of prosopopoeic appropriation (following the expression of Saint John of Damascus, De fide orthodoxa, III, 24). Of these interpretations, the third seems the best to our author; but he gives preference to two others that he found himself: First sense: "My God, my God, all is accomplished: I have nothing left but to give up the ghost. Why do you still leave me in my body, and not deliver me promptly?" No sooner had He spoken than His request was granted (p. 317, ll. 27-30). Another interpretation closely linked to the first: "My God, my God, why have you delayed until now and not yet manifested the justification of my person and my works by the miracles decreed from all eternity to confirm the faith of those who must believe in me?" The miracles in question occurred as soon as Jesus expired.

3.Why did the risen Savior permit the apostle Thomas to do what He refused Mary Magdalene: namely, to touch Him? That is the second question. The answer is a bit convoluted: It boils down to this: Jesus only

forbade Magdalene to touch Him after she had already touched Him; but as she wanted to make a more accurate account of the reality of the resurrection, Jesus forbade any further investigation so that she would not lose the merit of faith. As for Thomas, the Savior showed Himself to him and allowed him to touch Him to cure his unbelief and confirm the faith of future believers.

4.The third question concerns the crowing of the rooster at Peter's denial. It is a matter of reconciling the gospel accounts on this point. Here is Scholarius' solution: The rooster had actually crowed twice when the apostle, after his third denial, heard it for the first time. The bird's first crowing had escaped him; but others had heard it and told Peter, who recounted it to Mark. The latter recorded the fact in his gospel. In fact, Jesus had simply said: "Before the rooster crows, you will deny me three times," a version reported by the other evangelists. He was speaking, indeed, for Peter, and gave him a personal sign meant for his ears and not those of others. The solution is ingenious and will interest exegetes.

5.Another point of evangelical concordism is addressed in number 4: The hour of Jesus' crucifixion. Mark and John seem to contradict each other on this question, the former stating that the Savior was crucified at the third hour (Mark 15:26), the latter saying that it was about the sixth hour when Jesus was handed over to the Jews to be crucified (John 19:14). Our author, after recounting Saint Augustine's solution: "He was crucified by the cries of the Jews at the third hour and actually hung on the wood at the sixth," prefers that of Eusebius: The sixth hour in John results from a transcription error. The two signs (6) and (3) being very similar to each other, some scribes changed the reading in the text of the fourth gospel, and thus the error spread.

6.Number 5 is titled: On the Second Coming of the Lord and the Resurrection of Bodies. Scholarius does not undertake detailed exegesis of the evangelical accounts concerning the end of the world. He examines only two questions: the resurrection of bodies and the renewal of the earth and the universe, which will be previously purified by the fire of the general conflagration that will follow this resurrection. According to the tradition of the Greek Fathers based on Saint Paul's sufficiently explicit teaching, he declares that those who will live at the time of the parousia will not pass through death but will be suddenly changed into the state of resurrection. Saint Paul seems to speak directly only of the righteous; but our author, after many other exegetes, extends this exemption from death to the wicked of the last human generation. They too will be changed; but the mode of this change will not be the same as for the righteous. It will not be glorious immortality for them, but painful and crucifying immortality. The resurrection and the change of bodies will be followed by the deluge of purifying fire, which our author clearly distinguishes from the fire of hell (p. 336, ll. 32-34). Hell is located in the depths of the earth (p. 335, ll. 13, 14-15). After the last judgment, the demons of the air and the damned will go there to join the category of demons who have been chained there since the beginning (p. 335, ll. 14-18).

7.The sixth question leads us to the earthly paradise. To a friend who had asked him about the nature of the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, Scholarius responds by drawing inspiration from Western theology and Saint Thomas, which is far from concordant with ancient Byzantine theology regarding the primitive state of man. According to Saint John of Damascus, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge are only allegories. Adam's body in the earthly paradise had almost the qualities of resurrected bodies. Scholarius remains silent on this doctrine and adopts the literal exegesis and realistic views of Saint Thomas on the primitive state. Adam's immortality in paradise was only conditional. He had to sustain his life habitually by eating the fruits

of the garden. The fruit of the tree of life was a sort of remedy against senility and death, which man would have had to resort to from time to time, once or twice during the time of trial, says Scholarius (p. 340, ll. 21-24). As for the tree of knowledge, Adam could have touched it if he had been faithful, but only at the end of his earthly career when he was about to pass into the state of beatific vision and glorious immortality. It would have been the sign of his entry into eternal felicity.

Theological Questions

1.We have already categorized under this heading eleven pieces of varying length and importance, addressing various subjects of dogma and morals. The entire collection fills 90 pages (pp. 343-433). One of these questions relates to the mystery of the Trinity (number 11), three to the mystery of the Incarnation (numbers 1, 2, 4), two to angelology (numbers 5 and 6), one to the Virgin Mary (number 9), one to Saint Paul (number 10), two to moral theology (numbers 7 and 8), and one to a specific topic: The rarity of miracles in the present time (number 3). All, except the fourth, published by Hergenröther in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, vol. CLX, cols. 1157-1162, were hitherto unpublished.

2.The question on the Trinity, which comes last, is a simple note written in 1464, following a dream. Scholarius believes he received it by supernatural means (p. 433, ll. 26-29). It concerns the principle of distinction of divine persons and directly combats Thomistic doctrine. We could have included it in the polemical writings since the author strives to demonstrate against Saint Thomas that the Holy Spirit can be distinguished from the Son without receiving His being from Him, without proceeding from Him. This is essentially our theologian's final word on the procession of the Holy Spirit. However, he adds nothing new to the thesis developed in the long treatises, reiterating that one must adhere to the traditional doctrine: The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, without imagining anything additional: πάνυ τὸ προσεπινοεῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν ὡμολογημένοις τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κοινῇ (p. 433, l. 20). This piece is found in Parisinus 1273, an autograph, at the head of the summary of Saint Thomas's Summa Contra Gentiles.

3.The first question on the Incarnation, a youthful work preserved by Neapolitanus XXII, 1 dei Gerolamini, 15th century, aims to resolve the following difficulty: If there is only one essence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, how is it that, the Son having become incarnate, the Father and the Holy Spirit did not also become incarnate; or: How is Christ perfect God, the other two persons not having become incarnate? Scholarius answers this subtle objection as an informed theologian well-versed in Western scholastic methods. Before providing the solution, he begins by distinguishing the mysteries proper, incomprehensible to human reason, from doctrines that do not exceed the level of our understanding. On this occasion, he recalls the true notion of supernatural faith, whose motive is the authority of God, and the role of reason in the face of mysteries. Then, after showing the propriety of the Incarnation of the person of the Word, he elucidates the problem posed through a series of theological reasons and comparisons drawn from created things.

4.Can Jesus Christ be called the servant of God? This is the title of the second question posed to Gennadius, just returned from his third forced journey to Constantinople, thus in 1464, by a monk of the Prodrome convent. The response was sent to Theodore Branas, whom Scholarius calls his very dear son in Christ. It boils down to this: Although Jesus Christ considered as man can be called the servant of God, we must not give Him this title: 1) because a composite being must be named by what is most noble in him; 2)

because in Jesus Christ, the human nature was never a person but always subsisted in the hypostasis of the Word; 3) because Jesus' humanity is now fully glorified and exalted above all creatures. Calling Christ the servant of God would be like calling God the servant of God, or saying that Christ is a mere man. This does not prevent, however, in discussions with unbelievers, beginning by considering Jesus Christ in His humanity to gradually lead the unbeliever to confess His divinity. This piece is preserved by Parisinus 1289 and Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre 35.

5.The short treatise on the humanity of Jesus Christ (number 4), published by Hergenröther without translation in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, vol. CLX, cols. 1157-1162, based on the autograph Parisinus 1292, appears in our edition with several corrections based on the same manuscript and also on another autograph, Pantocratorinus 127. The author establishes how the individual human nature assumed by the Word could satisfy for all members of the human species. The redemption wrought by the God-Man could extend to all men: 1) because the Word assumed a complete individual human nature free from all sin; 2) because He united it to Himself from the first instant in the unity of His person and communicated His own dignity to it, using it as an instrument to work our salvation. Jesus Christ is the new Adam, representing all humanity. He delivered from the punishment of original sin, at His descent into Hades, the righteous who had lived before His coming and also those of the infidels who had lived virtuously (p. 392, l. 23 sq.). After His coming, personal cooperation is required of man to be delivered from original sin and actual sins. The new Adam did not have to be a mere man because the work He was to accomplish presented great difficulties; hence the necessity of the Incarnation of the Word (p. 394, ll. 6-17). These few pages, as one can see, are full of substance, and it is easy to recognize in them the diligent reader of Saint Thomas's Summae.

6.Again, it is a summary of Thomistic theology that we find in the following two pieces (numbers 5 and 6), which deal with the progress of angels in beatitude and their double knowledge, morning and evening. On the latter subject, it is just a short note placed at the beginning of the autograph Parisinus 1273, transcribed from this manuscript in Iberitanus 248, 16th century. But the progress of angels in beatitude, of which we reproduce the original text from Pantocratorinus 127, is studied more extensively. Scholarius proceeds in the manner of Saint Thomas, and his treatise is modeled on article 9 of question 62 of the first part of the Summa Theologica: Utrum angeli beati in beatitudine possint proficere. Five objections aim to prove the real and continual progress of angels in the beatific vision and love. Then comes the thesis: No substantial and proper progress in the beatitude of angels: they are no longer travelers but have reached their goal and are fixed forever in the degree of glory that belongs to each. However, one can speak of accidental and improperly said progress resulting from 1) the revelations that God makes to them either immediately or mediately concerning the governance of the universe by His providence; 2) the actuation of their habitual natural knowledge. In developing this thesis, our author finds a way to highlight the main theses of Thomistic angelology: double natural and supernatural end, knowledge by infused species, the uniqueness of each angel in its proper form, very short time of the trial they underwent, inequality of their beatitude. The dissertation concludes with the resolution of objections.

7.Iberitanus 248, described in volume I, pp. XXXIX-XL1, has preserved under the name of Scholarius a short piece titled: That the Most Holy Theotokos is incomparably more glorious than the Seraphim (number 9). These words are drawn from the famous troparion of Saint Cosmas the Melodist beginning with the words: Τὴν τιμιωτέραν, which the Greek Church often sings during liturgical services. Some find the adverb

incomparably, ἀσυγκρίτως, inappropriate, which can only truly describe God's superiority over all creatures. Scholarius defends the Melodist and justifies his expression by common language. The dignity of Mother of God elevates the Virgin incomparably above all creatures and the Seraphim themselves. Everything in Mary's life was exceptional and supernatural. It is not surprising that the holy Theotokos is elevated incomparably above the angels since, according to common opinion, the elect from humanity are ranked among the angelic choirs, each according to his merit. It can happen that one of them disputes the place of the first Seraphim (p. 426).

8.Indeed, according to number 10, which follows: Superiority of Saint Paul over the other saints, after the Holy Virgin because she must be placed beyond all comparison, it is Saint Paul who occupies the first rank in the hierarchy of the elect. He is placed even above all spiritual creatures, καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν νοητὴν κτίσιν (p. 430, l. 26). He is the chosen one of the chosen. He who proclaimed himself the last of all has become the first. He is the least in the kingdom of heaven greater than John the Baptist mentioned by Jesus in the Gospel. This short piece, also drawn from Iberitanus 248, appears at first reading a bit strange. It is not explicitly attributed to Scholarius in the manuscript, where the formula: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ is missing. However, as it is inserted between two authentic pieces (number 9 and number 6 of the Theological Questions), everything suggests that it also belongs to our author. It is worth noting that this is probably just an excerpt from a panegyric of Saint Paul delivered before an assembly of monks during some long office (cf. p. 430, ll. 24-25).

9.Number 7: On the Freedom of the Wicked When They Commit Sin, taken from the two autographs Parisinus 1292 and Pantocratorinus 127, is a lesson in moral theology on human acts. It briefly summarizes the theory of habit and the voluntary according to the doctrine of the Prima Secundae of Saint Thomas's Summa Theologica (cf. especially question 6: De voluntario et involuntario; and question 78: De causa peccati quae est ex parte voluntatis, quae dicitur malitia).

10.Under number 3, which has come down to us through the autograph Parisinus 1294 and was composed at the Prodrome Monastery while the author was already an elderly man burdened with infirmities (p. 369, l. 4), the reader will find an interesting dissertation of about twenty pages on a subject that can be said to be always relevant: Why are miracles so rare nowadays, while they were so numerous in the early days of Christianity? Instead of immediately answering the question, Scholarius embarks on a long preamble about the divine plan of humanity's redemption and the role of miracles in the preaching of Jesus and the apostles. God could have, by His omnipotence, suddenly changed the most hardened hearts and converted the entire world to the Gospel in a single night (p. 374, ll. 9 sq.); but such is not the usual method of His providence. The Savior's miracles did not force the assent of the spectators but required goodwill to produce their effect. Many of the miraculous charisms granted to the apostles were indispensable for fulfilling their mission, such as the gift of tongues. The other miracles they performed had less of an apologetic purpose than a charitable one. They were caused not by human infidelity but by God's goodness and the faith of those who benefited from them (p. 379, ll. 7 sq.). After Constantine, miracles became rarer. The great miracle was then the triumph of the true faith in the world and the marvelous flourishing of Christian life, of which an enthusiastic picture is drawn for us (pp. 380-381). But after the golden age, decadence gradually came. Nowadays, the world's perversion is so great that one cannot help but believe that the end of the world is approaching (p. 383). The earth provides heaven with almost no more elect. The Antichrist, long restrained, has regained all his vigor and dominates the entire universe (p. 388, ll. 21 sq.). It is after this long preamble

that the expected answer finally comes: Why miracles in the present time? To convert the infidels? But they have no intention of becoming Christians. Their sole ambition is to dominate the entire earth. Besides, how would they convert when they see so many Christians renouncing their faith for temporal advantages? Suppose they ask for baptism; who among us would be capable of instructing them? And on that note, Scholarius gives us a severe picture of the Byzantine clergy's morals of his time: ignorance, greed, simony, neglect of pastoral duties and liturgical offices, etc. (pp. 385-387). Should miracles be requested for the faithful? But for them, the accounts of past miracles suffice. Moreover, even nowadays, miracles are not lacking. Without mentioning the wonders God performs for the confessors of the faith (p. 388, ll. 13 sq.), what greater miracle is there than this tolerance of the infidels towards us? Under their rule, we can freely practice our religion, and they would be even more favorable to us if we did not needlessly provoke their anger. They grant us more freedom than the heterodox Christians and treat us better than we deserve (pp. 387-388). Such is the response of the disillusioned and pessimistic old monk who believes that the world will end with him, the last word of the ex-patriarch who was disgusted by what he saw in Turkish Stamboul during his forced journeys and kept the bitter memory of the intrigues of a clergy for whom his pen is undoubtedly too severe.

Apologetic Writings Addressed to Muslims

1.Sometime after the fall of Constantinople, probably in 1455 or early 1456, Sultan Mehmed II developed an interest in learning about the religion of his Christian subjects. Did he want to abandon the Quran for the Gospel? Did he dream of emulating the actions of Clovis and Vladimir and baptizing his people? Or was it merely a dilettante's fancy? Regardless, one fine day, the Greek Patriarch Gennadius Scholarius, newly elected and installed at the Monastery of Pammakaristos, saw the Sultan himself arrive, accompanied by the most learned men of his entourage. He was questioned at length about Christianity, its dogma, and its morals. After the second meeting—there were three in total—Mehmed II asked the hierarch to provide in writing the substance of what he had said to them. Gennadius complied, and under the title: On the Only Way That Leads Men to Salvation, he composed a little masterpiece of Christian apologetics addressed to the Infidels.

§ I. The Only Way to Salvation

1.The piece is eloquent, perfectly structured and ordered, appropriate for the intended readers. Here is the general outline: Everything is ordered to an end. The end of man, a being endowed with intelligence and freedom, is to reach God and enjoy Him. It is through the exercise of his higher faculties of intelligence and will that he tends towards this end; and since the driving force of all this activity is free will, it was necessary for the Creator to give man a law to guide his journey towards happiness. The first law given was the natural law. It would have sufficed, with the supernatural complements God would have added in due time, if the first man had not sinned. But the original fall corrupted, though not completely (p. 437, l. 4), human nature. Over time, this natural law became obscured to the point that men fell into the most degrading idolatry. It was then that the written law was given in a small corner of the earth to a small people to rekindle the almost extinguished spark and prepare the advent of a more perfect economy. When the appointed time came, God wished to accomplish the restoration of humanity Himself and bring the definitive law, the law of grace, after which no different or more perfect law is to be expected. For this, it was in some way necessary for God to

become man. There is no contradiction or impossibility in the incarnation of a God since God is all-powerful. It is the Son of God, the Word, who took on human nature in the unity of His person and made it His instrument to work our salvation. Our theologian then shows the divine origin of the evangelical law: It does not contradict but perfects the written law given to Moses. It was announced by the prophecies of the Old Testament, by pagan oracles and sibyls, and foreseen by the wisest among the Greeks and Egyptians. It caused superhuman virtues to flourish on earth, overthrew idols, triumphed over long persecutions, and gave birth to many martyrs. Nothing in it is contradictory, fictitious, or earthly: everything is true, spiritual, divine.

2.However, the mystery of the Incarnation poses the mystery of the Trinity, a significant difficulty for monotheists. After declaring that this mystery was revealed to us by the God-made-man, Scholarius seeks to show by reason that the trinity of persons does not destroy the unity or simplicity of the divine being. For this, he resorts to the analogy drawn from the human soul, an analogy so well developed by Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas: God, pure Spirit, knows and loves Himself; the term of His knowledge is the Word; the term of His love is the Holy Spirit. These three things: the divine Spirit, His Word, and the Holy Spirit are one thing according to nature, one God, one intelligence, and one intelligible thing and one good, as in the human soul the spirit and its thought and its spiritual will are the one soul of one man (p. 446, ll. 12 sq.). Our theologian also seeks to make the mystery of the Incarnation and the immutability of the Word accessible to his interlocutors through the comparison of the human word considered in its three states: inner word, spoken word, written word (pp. 446-447). Then he quickly describes the work of Jesus, teacher, model, savior, and redeemer, conqueror of death, the mission of the Holy Spirit, the apostles' preaching confirmed by all kinds of miracles, the marvelous propagation of Christianity. He concludes by declaring that after the evangelical law promulgated by the incarnate Word and the Holy Spirit, humanity should not expect a new revelation, a more perfect doctrine. Even more so, another legislation in contradiction with that of Jesus and destroying it could not come from God. Undoubtedly, God allows men, proclaiming themselves His envoys, to still bring new charters to humanity. Jesus warned us of this; we find the explanation in the Gospels and apostolic writings (p. 450, ll. 11-18). This fact does not invalidate the conclusion: The only and most perfect way to salvation is the doctrine of Jesus and His disciples. It eminently contains all that ancient wisdom produced of the best. It has come down to us without alteration in the Gospel, preserved by all Christians. If among Christians there are heresies and schisms, these divisions do not stem from different gospels but from the diversity of interpretations of the same text, where one has vainly sought to discover contradictions. May the one and only God in three persons, the master of truth, lead us all to the knowledge of the sacred truth, the only perfection and beatitude of man." This is Gennadius's final wish, who did not fear to attack quite openly, although without naming, the false prophet known as Muhammad.

§ II. The Apocryphal Dialogue Titled: The Only Way to Salvation

1.The remarkable treatise we have just analyzed has remained almost unknown until now. It was only in 1896 that Chrestos Papaioannou published a first edition in Γ' Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια based on a mediocre manuscript, cod. 35 of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople. This edition was barely noticed, perhaps because it was not mentioned in the second edition of Krumbacher's History of Byzantine Literature (1897). Our edition is made from the three autographs Pantocratorinus 127, Parisinus 1289, and Parisinus 1294. Instead of this authentic work, an apocryphal dialogue with the same title has circulated since

the 16th century, almost entirely extracted by a Greek Unionist of the late 15th century from a pseudo-Athanasian writing, itself composed by a Greek hostile to the Catholic doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit. The pseudo-Athanasian writing, which does not seem very old (it is found in 15th-century manuscripts), bears the following title: "Ετερα! τινες ἀποκρίσεις". Incip.: Ερώτησις α'. Τι ἐστι Θεός; The forger copied it, abbreviating it and making some small changes up to question xvιn inclusively. The rest of his work consisted of inventing the following title: Τοῦ αἰδεσιμωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου βιβλίον συντομόν τε καὶ σαφὲς περί τινων κεφαλαίων τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως, περὶ ὧν ἡ διάλεξις γέγονε μετὰ Ἀμοιρὰ τοῦ Μαχουμέτου, ὁ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται · Περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀνθρώπων. Ἔρωτῆ ὁ Τοῦρκος, ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης ἀποκρίνεται. It was under this title that Johannes Alexander Brassicanus (or Kohlburger), professor of classical literature in Vienna († 1539), first published the piece in 1530, with a facing Latin translation. Three years later, another Latin translation of the same dialogue appeared in Paris, presented by the editor as absolutely unpublished. This Latin translation is by George Hermonymus of Sparta, who lived in the second half of the 15th century and whom we suspect to be the author of the forgery. It has been reproduced in several patristic collections, notably in the Bibliotheca Patrum, Paris edition of 1644, vol. IV, p. 951 sq., and in the Bibliotheca Patrum of Lyon, vol. XXVI, p. 536 sq. This is the translation given by Ernest Jules Kimmel in his Monumenta fidei Ecclesiae orientalis, Jena, 1850, vol. I, pp. 1-10, and also by Hergenröther in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, vol. CLX, cols. 319-332. These two authors qualify this plagiarism as Confessio fidei prior Gennadii patriarchae. As for the Greek text, Johannes de Fuchst published a new edition with a Latin translation in Helmstedt in 1611, an edition reproduced by Christian Daum in his work: D. Hieronymi theologi graeci dialogus de S. Trinitate... Huic accesserunt hac editione Gennadii Scholarii patriarchae Constantinopolitani dialogus de via salutis humanae inscriptus: eiusdem Confessio de fidei nostrae articulis; item oratio ad unum et trinam personarum Deum; omnia graeco-latina... Cygnene (Zwickau, Saxony) 1677. Finally, W. Gass published the Greek text of C. Daum anew, collated with the pseudo-Athanasian apocryphon, in the second part of his work: Gennadius und Pletho, Aristotelismus und Platonismus in der griechischen Kirche nebst einer Abhandlung über die Bestreitung des Islam im Mittelalter, Breslau, 1844, pp. 16-304. J. C. T. Otto first demonstrated the apocryphal nature of the piece in 1850, on which Ph. J. Lambacher had written an entire dissertation.

§ III. The Confession of Faith by Gennadius

1.Let's return to the authentic works. As soon as it was composed, The Only Way to the Salvation of Men was translated into Turco-Arabic and sent to the Sultan. He found the piece too long and complicated and asked the Patriarch to compose something shorter and clearer. In the interval, the third meeting likely took place. Gennadius set to work and, in the form of a Confession of Faith, provided a brief exposition of the Christian faith divided into twelve articles, of which the first eleven begin with Πιστεύομεν (We believe), and the twelfth enumerates seven motives of credibility. This is what has later been called the Confession of Faith of Patriarch Gennadius. As for the authentic title chosen by the author, it seems it was the same as that of the first exposition, that is, The Only Way to the Salvation of Men, as can be concluded from the subscription of the piece in Lauriotanus E. 84, f. 10: καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται · Περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων (cf. p. 453). This manuscript, without being precisely an autograph, bears autograph notes, proof

that it was reviewed by Scholarius. Along with the two autographs Parisinus 1294 and Pantocratorinus 127, it served as the basis for our edition. Here is a brief description:

2.In its current state, it has only 64 leaves, so numerous are the mutilations it has suffered. Furthermore, the order of ff. 10 and 11 is reversed:

1.(ff. 1-2): Autograph notes by Scholarius on both civil and ecclesiastical computation; they are almost illegible, not only because the ink has almost disappeared over time but also due to the stains that soil them. We will note only one on the verso of fol. 1, considering the date it provides: † ἐν μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ ἰνδ. ξ', ἔτους επιξς' ἀπὸ κτίσεως, κατὰ δὲ Λατίνους ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, ἔτους χιλιοστοῦ δυνη (= 1458): † ἄρχεται δὲ τὸ λατινικὸν ἔτος ἀριθμεῖσθαι, κατὰ μὲν Φλωρεντίνους, ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς σαρκώσεως, ἤγουν τῆς με μαρτίου, κατὰ δὲ Βενέτους, ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας Λατίνους, ἀπὸ τῆς Περιτομῆς, ἤγουν τῆς ἢ ἰαννουαρίου:

2.(ff. 2-9): Fragments of the abridged Psalter identical to that of Dionysianus 440, f. 100 sq., except for two short prayers, one by Saint Eustratius (f. 5), the other translated from Latin (f. 9).

3.(ff. 10 and 12-14): † Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κῦρ Γενναδίου, τοῦ Σχολαρίου: βον – This was given to those who requested it from Amir, a brief and clear account of the key points of our faith, on which the discussion also took place. It was also translated into Arabic along with the previous one. It is titled On the Way to the Salvation of Men and was composed to be as clear and acceptable as possible to the uninitiated. Inc. Πιστεύομεν, ὅτι ἔστι Θεός.

4.(ff. 11-10): Fragment of a monody on the fall of Constantinople, probably by Scholarius. Inc. Καὶ θρήνον ἐξαίσιον ἡ συμπαθης ψυχὴ καὶ φιλόκαλος.

5.(f. 14): Protest by Scholarius against the union, upon the arrival of Legate Isidore in November 1452. Inc. Ων πτωχοί πολίται, ὅλα ἐχάσατε (published here, pp. 165-166).

6.(ff. 15-46): Τοῦ μακαρίου Αὐγουστίνου ἐπισκόπου Ἱππῶνος, τί ἂν εἶποι ψυχή, μόνη πρὸς μόνον Θεόν. This is the translation of the pseudo-Soliloquies of Saint Augustine by Demetrios Kydones. At the bottom of f. 15, a long note in red entirely faded over time, likely the same as that in Dionysianus 440, f. 116. The following autograph note by Scholarius at the bottom of fol. 9 relates to this part:† Τὰς εὐχὰς ταύτας τοῦ Αὐγουστίνου μετέγραψεν ὁ κορ Γαλεσιώτης ἐν Ἰταλία, ἡμῶν χάριν, ὡς ἡμέτερος, τότε κοσμικὸς ὤν· ὕστερον δὲ γενόμενος καὶ κληρικὸς καὶ σακελλίου, ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ, ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου κῦρ Ἰσιδώρου, μετὰ τὴν ἡμῶν παραίτησιν καὶ ἀπαλλαγήν· δόξα τῷ ἀπαλλάξαντί με Θεῷ:

7.(ff. 47-55): Ἀκολουθία τῆς ἁγίας μεταλήψεως: This office is found in all editions of the Horologion; but here Scholarius has marked with his own hand in marginal notes a number of parts to be omitted. On the other hand, he has added (f. 55) an entirely new prayer composed by him. Inc. Θεὲ καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους, ὁ τοῖς θείοις καὶ ἱεροῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου μυστηρίοις.

8.(f. 56): Excerpt from the treatise on the distinction between venial and mortal sins (to appear in volume IV).

3.The text of the treatise as we present it, coming from the autographs, puts an end to all the discussions that have taken place about it among critics. The German J. C. T. Otto remarkably erred on this point in his dissertation on the Confession published in Vienna in 1864. Based on the Vindobonensis 73 (former no. 14 of the Kollar Supplement), ff. 136-161, a copy with a Latin translation by George Hermonymus of Sparta, he reproduced as the true and original text the truncated edition of Brassicanus, made from this same Viennese manuscript. This edition stops in the middle of article 11 of our edition (number 12 of earlier editions), p. 456, l. 35, at the words: καὶ ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν καλῶς πιστευόντων, turned by Hermonymus into: ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν καλῶς πίστευόντων, to have a final point. Otto found the ending too abrupt and completed the article with what follows up to: 2 νῦν οὐ γινώσκουσι εἰ μὴ διὰ πίστεως (p. 457, l. 4), putting it in brackets. Our entire article 12, or the last eight articles of the older editions, is omitted as a later interpolation not fitting with the rest. This text corresponds exactly to that of Parisinus 1298, ff. 22-32, and Laurentianus 34, Plut. VII, ff. 24-35, other autograph copies by George Hermonymus, where this text is preceded by the apocryphal dialogue and introduced by the title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ βιβλίον δεύτερον περί τινων κεφαλαίων τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν. The German critic convinced several authors, such as J. Michalcescu and A. Palmieri. Others, like the Russian A. P. Lebedev, rightfully maintained the authenticity of the entire text.

4.It must be recognized that at first glance, the long final article on the motives of credibility, not being introduced like the others by the word: Πιστεύομεν, lends itself to the suspicion of interpolation, especially when starting from the idea that the piece is a Confession of Faith proper with a strictly dogmatic character. However, this is not the case. At the Sultan's request, Gennadius simply wanted to summarize as briefly and clearly as possible the first exposition we analyzed above, highlighting its apologetic nature. The final note of the autographs (p. 458, ll. 4-7) states very explicitly: The author did not aim for the dogmatic accuracy of terminology but endeavored to smooth the path for the uninitiated, τοῖς ἀμυήτοις, making the highest mysteries somewhat accessible and also to facilitate the work of translation into Turkish: ἵνα καὶ δυνηθῶσι ῥάον μεταγλωττισθῆναι. It is due to not grasping this apologetic character that theologians have been surprised by certain expressions, for example, the word ἰδίωμα, attribute, property, used to designate the divine persons, considering them as the principles and sources of all other divine attributes (p. 453, ll. 20 sq.); others have discussed the Platonism of Scholarius when it would have been more appropriate to speak of the influence of Latin theology, especially concerning the analogy of the Trinity of persons drawn from the human soul and its faculties of intelligence and will. Finally, this is why many have wanted to make this brief exposition a symbolic book of the Greco-Russian Church, a triply false designation: 1) because the Greco-Russian Church, by the admission of most of its theologians, has no properly symbolic books outside the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed and the definitions of the seven ecumenical councils; 2) because the piece in question is conceived not from a dogmatic viewpoint but from an apologetic one; 3) because it contains nothing that distinguishes the belief of the Greco-Russian Church from the Creed of other Christian confessions. Its content, in fact, abstracts from all dogmatic divergences between the Churches, and this

intentionally, as it is a matter of presenting to Infidels the distinctive dogmas of Christianity and leading them to profess it.

5.The piece indeed gives the substance of the previous treatise on the Only Way to Salvation; but it bypasses the historical development of the three successive laws: natural, written, and evangelical. Although shorter, the exposition of the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation is clearer, thanks to the comparisons that are developed. For the Trinity, it is the comparison of fire, light, and heat, and especially the analogy drawn from the human soul; for the Incarnation, it is the classical comparison of the union of soul and body, which had been omitted in the first writing. The doctrine of the last things is more highlighted, and article 12 on the proofs of the truth of Christianity, which some have considered an extraneous element, gathers in a single impressive enumeration ideas scattered in the first draft.

6.Numerous manuscripts, besides the autographs, contain this brief exposition of the Christian faith. We do not need to enumerate them here. It suffices to note that a small number, presumably from the copies by George Hermonymus of Sparta already mentioned, have an incomplete text stopping in the middle of the article on the last things. It is also worth noting the lack of uniformity in the manuscript subscriptions. George Hermonymus chose the title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ βιβλίον δεύτερον περί τινων κεφαλαίων τῆς ἡμετέρας πίστεως πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν (Parisinus 1298, f. 22). The title of Monacensis 490, f. 293, from the 15th century, is long and curious: Τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ πατριάρχου καὶ φιλοσόφου Γενναδίου ὁμιλία περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς τῆς ἀληθοὺς πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν διαλεχθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστὰς Πέρσας τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, προτροπῇ τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθέντου ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. Ερωτηθεὶς δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ, τί πιστεύετε ὑμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοί; οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατοι. Therefore, it is made here a homily delivered before the Sultan. This qualification of homily appears in the series of manuscripts giving the Greek text of the piece, followed, after each article, by the Turco-Arabic translation in Greek characters. According to these manuscripts, which do not seem to date before the 16th century, the subscription is, with some variations, as follows, which we transcribe from Parisinus 1296, f. 1: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Γενναδίου του Σχολαρίου καὶ πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης ὁμιλία ῥηθεῖσα περί τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀμωμήτου πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν· ἐρωτηθείς γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀμηρᾶ σουλτάνου τοῦ Μαχμέτη. Ερώτησις· † Τι πιστεύετε ὑμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοί; ἀπεκρίνατο οὕτως καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν. After the first article, which is cut off at the words: καὶ ἄλλα ὁμοια (p. 453, l. 10), on fol. 1, before the Turkish translation of the passage, comes the following note: Μετεγλωττίσθη δὲ εἰς τὴν τουρκοαραβόγλωσσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχμὰτ καδδῆ Βερροίας τοῦ πατρὸς Μαχουμούτ τζελεμπὶ τοῦ ἀναγραφέως. Some editors, perhaps shocked by the word ὁμιλία, changed it to ὁμολογία (Daum, Kimmel) or ὁμολόγησις (Jean de Fucht).

7.Like the first treatise, this abridged version was translated into Turco-Arabic, ἀραβικῶς, according to the subscriptions and autograph notes. Was the first translator this Achmet, cadi of Beroea, mentioned in some manuscripts? It is far from certain. All that can be affirmed is that Achmet, father of Mahmoud the scribe, made a translation, which was transcribed by him or others in Greek characters. It seems that the original translation was executed by Greeks knowledgeable in the Turkish language and written in characters of that language. What is certain is that Achmet's work, as we possess it in Greek characters, is very defective and has challenged the sagacity of turcologists and arabists who have tried to reconstruct its text in Arabic characters. Joseph von Hammer attempted the task and was forced to make many conjectures, which have not been approved by one of his recent emulators, the Russian N. Ilminskii. The work of the latter, though superior to that of his predecessor, still leaves something to be desired in certain places.

8.We still need to say a word about the numerous editions that have honored this little treatise, which among all the works of Patriarch Gennadius has been the most often printed and translated in the West. It is first found attached to most of the editions of the apocryphal dialogue indicated above, namely that of Brassicanus, Vienna, 1530, which is the editio princeps but incomplete, as we have already said; that of Jean de Fucht, Helmstedt, 1611, also incomplete; that of Christian Daum, Zwickau, 1677; that of W. Gass, in the second part of his work, Gennadius und Pletho, Breslau, 1844, pp. 3-15. This last edition is the most important of all, for it not only provides the variants of previous editions but is established on three 15th-century manuscripts, among which is the autograph Parisinus 1294, whose true origin Gass ignored. We have already mentioned the re-edition of the incomplete text of Brassicanus by J. C. T. Otto, published in Vienna in 1864. The second edition chronologically—we are speaking only of the editions of the original text, not of the separate Latin translations—was that of David Chytraeus in his Oratio de statu Ecclesiarum hoc tempore in Graecia, Asia, Bohemia, etc.... existentium, etc. Frankfurt, 1583. The following year, Martin Crusius included the piece in his Turcograecia, book II, adding, besides the Latin translation, the Turco-Arabic translation in Greek characters by cadi Achmet. Finally, under the name Confession of Faith by Patriarch Gennadius, it appeared in recent collections of symbolic books of the Greco-Russian Church, namely 1) that of Kimmel, in its two editions, Jena, 1843 and 1850, based on David Chytraeus and Martin Crusius; 2) that of Mesoloras; 3) that of Michalcescu, which reproduces Kimmel without the critical notes. Migne's Patrologia Graeca provides the text of Crusius with its double translation, Latin and Turkish in Greek characters, adding some variants taken from Gass's edition.

§ IV. Questions and Answers on the Divinity of Jesus Christ

1.At the end of May 1470, an interesting incident occurred to the ex-patriarch monk Gennadius, who was retired at the Prodrome Monastery on Mount Menekse. A soldier, carrying a written order, abruptly knocked on the door of his cell and summoned him to follow immediately. The old man had to comply. What was going to happen to him? Would he be sent back to Constantinople and forcibly imposed the patriarchal charge for the fourth time? He might have feared this, but it was not the case. The cavas first led him to Serres, and after a brief stop, took him to a villa in the surrounding plain. There he found himself in the presence of two pashas (δυοῖν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα δυναμένων), one older, the other younger and more learned. They made him sit; they kindly inquired about his health (ἐπύθετο ῥῶτον περὶ ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς ὅπως ἔχομεν); then the younger one began questioning him about the divinity of Jesus Christ: "On what basis do you Christians affirm that Jesus Christ, son of Mary, is truly God?" Gennadius began by telling his interlocutor that Christians do not believe blindly and that they can provide solid reasons for their faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ and easily refute the objections of their adversaries on this point. He then pointed out the crucial role of even purely human faith in social relationships. The best part of our knowledge rests on the testimony of others. All the more reason we should believe the testimony of men to whom God has revealed Himself. Without a doubt, one must beware of false prophets who have often deceived humanity; but Christians are not victims of any deception when they affirm the divinity of Jesus Christ. You Muslims proclaim Jesus as a holy man, a prophet of God; you call Him His word and His spirit and say many other honorable things about Him (p. 461, ll. 15-18), and you are right. Now, Jesus Christ proclaimed Himself the Son of God and proved it by His conduct and miracles, as the Gospel recounts, not the false truncated and

interpolated Gospel that circulates among you, but the authentic one, of which a good translation recently appeared in New Babylon (Cairo) (p. 461, ll. 28-34).

2.Gennadius then cites the main classical passages of the Gospel where Jesus declared Himself the Son of God. He resolves the objection of his interlocutor drawn from the words: "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God," and shows that this text supports the divinity of Jesus. He then enumerates the main motives of credibility that give the Christian faith its reasonable character: Ideal life, mysteries, miracles, and prophecies of the Savior; miracles performed by the apostles, the marvelous propagation of Christianity despite long and atrocious persecutions; testimony of the martyrs, whose acts preserved in the libraries of Rome had a decisive influence on Constantine's conversion; testimony of the prophecies of the Old Testament, of the Sibylline and demonic oracles. The prophecies of the Old Testament suggest to the pasha a common objection of Jews in their discussions with Christians: that drawn from the famous prophecy of Moses concerning the future Messiah. This Messiah is presented not as a God but as a prophet like Moses. Gennadius responds to this as he did six years earlier in his dialogue with a Jew from Constantinople (see p. 251-304) and outlines a brief overview of the progress of divine revelation before the Savior's arrival.

3.The Turkish philosopher listens but is not convinced; he then shifts the conversation to the mystery of the Incarnation, which he sees as an impossibility. Impossibility for man, yes; impossibility for God, infinite in power, no, replies Gennadius. The other pasha, who had remained silent until then, also presents his objection: "You say God is infinite. But infinity is proper to quantity. Now, quantity is an accident. But God is not an accident." Our theologian easily untangles the confusion of ideas revealed by the objection and explains how the negative attributes with which our thought clothes the divine essence are eminently positive in their content and totally different from quantitative indefiniteness.

4.Defeated on this point, the Turkish philosopher constructs the following dilemma: If divinity and humanity united in Christ, one of three things must be true: either divinity was changed into humanity; or humanity into divinity; or they mixed to form a third thing. Gennadius responds quickly: Your wisdom, he says to the Turk, risks making humanity disappear. Man is composed of a simple, spiritual, and immortal soul and a compound, material, and mortal body. If they unite, either the soul is changed into the body, or the body is changed into the soul, or they mix. But none of these hypotheses is realizable. Therefore, man does not exist.

5.The first objector then resumes speaking and questions Gennadius about the necessity of the incarnation of the Son of God. Our theologian distinguishes several kinds of necessity: hypothetical necessity arising from an eternal decree of God; moral necessity for the goodness of God, not for His justice; hypothetical necessity again in the case of adequate reparation demanded by God for sin.

6.After this answer, the theological dialogue came to an end. The pashas asked Gennadius to provide them with what he had written on the Christian faith during the meetings with the Sultan; but since it was getting late and they were in a hurry to leave, they told him they would question him again upon their return, and then they would receive his apologetic writings. And Gennadius concluded: "Thus I was delivered by the mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, who by His illumination has enabled us to instruct the faithful in the highest and most divine mysteries, and to attract the uninitiated with simpler and more accessible considerations. To Him be glory forever. Amen."

7.This dialogue, quite authentic and filling about twenty pages, has remained completely unknown until now. It appears for the first time in our edition based on the two autographs Parisinus 1289 and Pantocratorinus 127.

§ IV. The Response to the Syllogisms of Mark of Ephesus on the Procession of the Holy Spirit

1.We have heard Scholarius in his discourse against Bessarion declare that at one point he had frankly reconciled with the Latins and defended their belief in more than one writing, discharging them from a multitude of absurdities that those who composed long treatises against them sought to impose on them. In his "Response to the Syllogisms of Mark of Ephesus Against the Procession of the Holy Spirit 'ab utroque'," we have one of these unionist writings that earned him the epithet of "Latinophile" and where, in the heat of the argument, some statements worthy of a Latin escaped him. In this Response, indeed, Scholarius admirably plays the role of a Latin and responds to Mark as well as the most skilled scholastic could have done. He shows himself to be a perfect connoisseur of Western theology and writes, in passing, a fine praise of Latin scholasticism. Of all the Greeks of his time, especially those who appeared at Florence, including Bessarion, he alone was capable of responding to the Archbishop of Ephesus with such mastery. If we had no other testimony to attribute the work to him than internal critique, it would amply suffice to ensure his paternity. Moreover, his response aims less to deliver his personal thoughts on the procession of the Holy Spirit, although he declares himself quite openly for the Catholic doctrine on several occasions, than to demolish Mark's arguments, to show they are ineffective, to say to the Archbishop of Ephesus: "Here is what the Latins will answer you."

2.The work has been preserved for us by four good 15th-century manuscripts, namely Vaticanus 1428, Monacensis 27, Laurentianus 14, Plut. X, and Marcianus Venet. 589. They are remarkable in that they are almost identical in content, present the pieces in almost the same order (with the exception of Marcianus), bear the same titles and subscriptions, and often the same marginal notes. The last three are sufficiently described in printed catalogs. As for Vaticanus 1428, copied by Emmanuel Bevainis of Monemvasia (Εμμανουήλος ὁ Μβαιβενής), suffice it to say that the common pieces appear in the same order as in Monacensis and Laurentianus, with the difference that Laurentianus begins with a piece, the 'Confession of Saint Thomas Aquinas translated by Demetrios Kydones, which is not in the Vatican manuscript, and that Monacensis contains three philosophical pieces taken from Marcianus, which are absent from the other two manuscripts. The common fund consists of the already edited works of Bessarion and Gregory Mammas, two translations of extracts from Saint Augustine (one authentic, the other apocryphal), and two or three pieces, also edited, by George of Trebizond. It is from these manuscripts that Hergenröther derived much of the content for the last two volumes of Migne's Patrologia Graeca, volumes CLX and CLXI, and in particular, George Scholarius' Response to the Syllogisms of Mark of Ephesus, for which we publish a new edition, significantly improved on more than one point, as can be seen from the critical apparatus. Indeed, Hergenröther used only Monacensis 27 and Marcianus 589 well. He seems to have only very summarily reviewed Laurentianus and Vaticanus, from which he provides no variants, and which often provided us with a better reading and an important passage skipped by Monacensis. These manuscripts are, as can be seen, unionist collections deriving from a common source, which appears to be a copy by Joseph of Methone, when he was still called the priest John Plusiadenus. What is certain is that this copy was annotated by

Plusiadenus, that the copyist worked during the lifetime of Bessarion, and that he had the greatest admiration for the Greek cardinal. It is also certain that our four manuscripts, and their common source, are later than the death of Gregory Mammas, which occurred in 1459. Gregory is called in the piece subscriptions "the blessed" (μακαρίτης) and nicknamed the New Confessor (ὁ Νέος Ὁμολογητής). Among the notes by John Plusiadenus found in our manuscripts is this one, which comes at the end of Scholarius' Response to the Syllogisms of Mark and at the head of Bessarion's writing continuing the refutation of the same work:

3."These chapters were refuted by the very learned George Scholarius in Constantinople, at the request of the late Patriarch Gregory, then Grand Protosyncellus. But there were others left, which he neglected to execute. So, the late Patriarch, having come to Rome, asked the very learned Cardinal Bishop of Nicaea to respond to them. The latter, acceding to his request, dealt with them in a few words, so that, as he said, these syllogisms of the Bishop of Ephesus would not remain without refutation, and that simple and ignorant people would not consider them irrefutable because they were left unanswered."

4.In the table of contents of our manuscripts, the copyist of the common source repeats the content of the previous note in these terms: "Other chapters of the same Metropolitan of Ephesus, to which Scholarius neglected to respond and which were refuted by my lord of Nicaea, at the request and insistence of the late Patriarch Gregory when he came to Rome."

5.Thus, it was in Constantinople, at the request of Gregory Mammas, then Grand Protosyncellus, that Scholarius wrote his Response. Since Gregory remained Protosyncellus until the middle of 1444, when he was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, this Response is therefore earlier than this date; but it is evident that it is three or four years older. Indeed, in 1444, Scholarius had already declared himself against the union, and it was that very year that he promised the dying Mark of Ephesus to succeed him in the struggle against Latinism. In all likelihood, it was shortly after the return from Florence, in the early months of 1440, that Gregory approached George, as mentioned by John Plusiadenus.

6.Our theologian set to work without delay. After carefully reviewing the κεφάλαια συλλογιστικά of the Archbishop of Ephesus (one can believe he had them all in hand), he noticed that there were many repetitions, and only seventeen out of fifty-six seemed to him to deserve the honor of a response. He skipped the others because, aiming for brevity and tired of the man's superfluous and incoherent speeches, he did not want to keep returning to the same points. This did not please Gregory Mammas, who would have wanted none of Mark's syllogisms to be spared, undoubtedly for the reason indicated by Plusiadenus in the note given above: μήπως δόξῃ τοῖς ἁπλουστέροις, ὅτι κατελείφθησαν ὡς ἀναν-τίρρητα. That is why, no longer able to address Scholarius, who had passed to the camp of the Antiunionists, he later implored Bessarion to complete the work so well begun. Let us note, in passing, that the Greek cardinal had the same feeling as Scholarius: he found the task requested of him to be unnecessary and tedious, and he initially contented himself with refuting at length the first syllogism of Mark, providing principles for solving the others. But he had not reckoned with Gregory's tenacity, who returned to the charge and obtained a short refutation of twenty other syllogisms not addressed by Scholarius. There were still eighteen left to examine. They must have seemed very unthreatening to Gregory for him not to have demanded their resolution.

7.After what has been said, it will be understood why we do not dwell longer on establishing the authenticity of Scholarius' Response against those who have denied or doubted it, either because they ignored the manuscript sources or because they could not accept the idea that George had been successively a

unionist and an anti-unionist. But the truth can sometimes be implausible, and the autograph testimony of Scholarius spares us from establishing the truth of the proverb in his case.

Lost Polemical Writings

1.Not all of George Scholarius' polemical works have survived, or at least they have not yet been found. Without aiming to provide a complete list of lost writings here, let us mention those whose titles we know, in the hope that researchers might discover some of them.

2.First, there is the series of anti-unionist writings indicated in number 18 of the Anti-Latin Polemic, p. 179 of this volume. Of this series, which includes nine numbers, only two surely remain, namely number 5: Ἔτι ὁ λόγος, ὃν ἔγραψα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐν τῇ ιβ' τοῦ μαρτίου, which corresponds to number 13 of the Anti-Latin Polemic, p. 152-165; and number 7: Ἔτι, ἅπερ ἔγραψα τῷ μεγάλῳ δουκί, ὡς προείρηται (= number 12 of the Anti-Latin Polemic, p. 136-154). In number 8: Ἔτι, ἅπερ ἔγραψα τῇ συνάξει διαφόρως, number 15 of the Anti-Latin Polemic, p. 166-170, can be included, but it represents only a part of what Scholarius intends to designate. Scholarius also mentions number 6: Ἔτι τὰ ιβ' κεφάλαια, ἃ ἀνέφερον αὐτῷ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι διὰ τοῦ παπᾶ κῦρ Ἰγνατίου · τῇ α' Νοεμβρίου in the Note addressed to the ecclesiastics opposed to the union on November 15, 1452 (cf. p. 167, 10-13). These writings, composed shortly before the fall of Constantinople, must have disappeared during the catastrophe.

3.Some unionist writings of the kind referred to in the Discourse Against Bessarion, p. 116, 15-16, also seem lost beyond recovery. Let us mention the Ἀντιρρήσεις πρὸς τὸν Νεῖλον Καβάσιλαν, which Scholarius himself mentions in the Response to the Syllogistic Chapters of Mark. This is likely a refutation of the great work of Neilos Kabasilas on the procession of the Holy Spirit, where the Greeks drew their arguments during the discussions in Florence. In the same Response to Mark, our author also seems to say that he wrote a treatise on the meaning of the prepositions διά and μετά, unless it concerns a comprehensive dissertation on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

Apocryphal Polemical and Theological Writings

1.You will not find in our edition the small polemical treatise titled: Κατὰ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων ἐν σαββάτῳ νηστείας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν μ' τελείαν γενέσθαι μυσταγωγίαν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν θείων κανόνων ἡ ἀπόδειξις πέφυκεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ γάμων ἱερέων, which Dositheos published under the name of Gennadius Scholarius in the Τόμος ἀγάπης, pp. 312-315, and which Migne's Patrology, vol. CLX, pp. 737-744, reproduced among the works of the same author: Incipit: Ἡ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπη. Giovanni Mercati has amply demonstrated that this writing belonged to Nicholas of Otranto, the well-known interpreter between Latins and Greeks during the negotiations that took place after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders, at the beginning of the 13th century.

2.It has also been established for a long time that Scholarius is not the author of the Defensio quinque capitum synodi Florentinae, published under his name in the Roman edition of the Acts of the Council of Florence of 1577, and in several subsequent editions. This work is by Joseph of Methone. Finally, let us recall that, following Renandot, 16 pieces contained in Parisinus 1292, which are the authentic work of Mark of Ephesus, were falsely attributed to our author until recent years. We provided the list of these pieces in the introduction of volume I, pp. XXV-XXVII. There is no need to repeat it here.

3.As for the false dialogue on the way to salvation, we have sufficiently dealt with it above.

Works of George Scholarius.

C. Polemical Works.

I. Anti-Latin Polemic (continued)

4. First Dialogue on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (1446)

† Of the same wise and learned Lord George Scholarius: Dialogue Neophron or The Airy Tale.

1.The characters: Neophron and Palaitimos. Neophron is Patriarch Lord Gregory, and Palaitimos is the poet of the dialogue.

2.Neophron. Would you like to discuss what we differ on regarding the divine? I have long desired this, and now I finally have the time. I know you have time as well.

3.Palaitimos. Not about those matters, as you have no understanding or knowledge of them, but only confusion; let my words not seem burdensome to you. But if you wish, let us examine these elegant matters with which you try to deceive the simpler people.

4.Neophron. What are these matters?

5.Palaitimos. I cannot speak clearly about them; for I received nothing from you in my ears. But many say that you always occupy much of the company, I do not know how I could properly say, reproaching us, threatening, predicting certain dreadful things that will happen, and blaming us for them, and promising certain good things again if we fall and, as it is said, worship you.

6.Neophron. You have done well to remind me. It is good, indeed, that you, the accusers, confuse the internal matters with your daily speeches, while those outside, formerly supportive of us, have been persuaded to think the worst of us by the daily letters you send, promising to be with us and to support the union. Or what else did you intend by not wanting to sign the agreements made in Italy until you received the gold? Do you deny this? I could mention names, but decency holds me back. But, by the holy truth, even the many things I brought from home, which were consumed without profit, did not keep me from engaging in the union effort, and I was the last of all to yield to the agreements made there. Many of you were ready to desert, if we had not promptly alleviated the shortages each one complained about. And now, as if you came from the heavens, you go around swaggering and persuading the people not to listen to us or the things we have advocated since youth. Some even wrote against what they now claim, which could be presented and refuted another time. These same people, desiring some honors and failing, pour their defense against those into faith matters; for they wanted, it seems, to receive the same rewards from the Latins, as did the few who nearly achieved everything good. And now, abandoned by Christian allies, we risk becoming the enemy's tool because of you and your opposition; rather, even the Latins themselves will exact from us the penalties for wrongs committed against them, provoking their anger. And what do you think, so confidently opposing the common doctrines? Who among you knows theology? Who even knows the name of divine fecundities?

THE AIRY TALE

Who understands dialectics, which makes two three, and falsehood truth? Who are your teachers? Are you not ashamed? Is not your doctrine Nestorian? The same as that of the blessed Theodoret? And you claim to be the entire church; but you cannot demonstrate this. Do you dare to live as unruly and deceitful, calling the whole church Nestorian? For he said that the Son of God is not the cause of the Holy Spirit's hypostasis. So did Neilos Kabasilas, Gregory of Thessalonica, Gregory of Cyprus who anathematized Beccus synodically, and all your forefathers. And how do we wrong you? Do we not believe the same things as you?

7.Palaitimos. Hold on, my admirable friend; your words are full of anger, and nothing is more irrational than this passion.

8.Neophron. You ask me to hold back? I would indeed tighten the whips, banish, and send you far beyond the pillars of Hercules.

9.Palaitimos. Do you see? How could we come to any conclusion about divine matters in such a discussion, with your anger driving you to say things not only unfounded and intolerable but also contrary to yourself? Even if your anger is just and fitting towards us, it becomes a great obstacle to the discourse. It remains for me to either stay silent, conceding everything to you and seeming defeated, or to leave. I think the latter is more fitting; for what need is there to upset a friend by saying unpleasant things? So, conceding everything to you, I take my leave.

10.Neophron. But I will not let you go.

11.Palaitimos. I will stay, if you hold back from anger.

12.Neophron. Very well, I will be calm.

13.Palaitimos. Then speak what you will, but not confusedly and indiscriminately, turning everything upside down, but starting from where you think best, presenting one thing, and then moving to another. I will respond to each point as best as I can. For I was glad to hear you say such things, even if not orderly, as many have often narrated to me before; and they were almost always truthful, and I too will do nothing apart from the truth. Hence, it happens that I am distressed, if indeed it should be called distress to suffer something for the sake of the truth; and from afar, I would wish you success in these matters whenever it happens. For it did not please me to see a friend and benefactor, let the truth be said, seem to say something to those near him, only to be ridiculed by most.

14.Neophron. You speak well, and I am grateful for your good intention; but how should we conduct our discussion? For we must first seek and determine the method; is that not so?

15.Palaitimos. Yes.

16.Neophron. It seems to me that we should not compete in a contentious manner, but with the intention of finding the truth. I will present what is true and provide reason; you have the right to refute me if I do not demonstrate it, either by taking the greater or the lesser of the premises, or both. And if you wish, you may lead the conclusion to an impossibility— for you too are skilled in such refutations— thus, objecting to what seems necessary in my arguments, or conceding it.

17.Palaitimos. Wow! You suddenly revealed yourself as a dialectician to us; have you perhaps encountered the Muses, and particularly Urania, who is said to be concerned with mathematics and dialectics, just as others are with other subjects?

18.Neophron. Do you marvel at this? And what would you think if I were to philosophize about these matters in a different way, saying geometrically instead of the greater premise the one related to the question,

and instead of the lesser premise the one related to the given, or taking the former from the part of the passion and the latter from the part of the subject more naturally? For these earlier things are known even to the many.

19.Palaitimos. Indeed, this is truly greater than encountering the Muses and their inspiration. I am very amazed, and to tell the truth, I am astonished how you did not revive that bishop who had fallen and was weary with such spells of words, nor did you restrain Scholarius who opposed him with such dire nets; but you allowed him to boast as though he had clearly won.

20.Neophron. I do not understand what you are saying.

21.Palaitimos. Do you not remember those discussions where all of you who honor these new things were present, and almost everyone was there on both sides, and the hall was overflowing?

22.Neophron. I do remember those, and how the bishop argued on your behalf and for us, and your man, on whom you so greatly pride yourselves, countered; but I still do not understand what you mean.

23.Palaitimos. Has your memory also failed you in this, that all of you were shouting, mocking, threatening, and finding fault, attempting to check the force of the man's argument against you and stifle it? But the irresistible force of the argument and its truth swept away both you and the bishop far beyond our expectations. And if you had not wisely withdrawn from those contests, you might have needed the proverbial help from Hades. But finding the right course late, and with that man challenging and wishing to present just counterarguments, you hid yourselves, or rather, we challenged you. For he was always forced into contests by both sides, striving to bring peace to the previous time.

24.Neophron. I deny all of this.

25.Palaitimos. And what would you concede of the agreed points, having denied this? But you must admit the truth. From much discourse, it seems you come to us with this phrase from the dialectical exercises.

26.Neophron. You jest, and you will make me break my promises, and again you will blame my anger; for pretense does not last. Now indeed, if you do not stop jesting, I will be agitated.

27.Palaitimos. For heaven's sake, remain calm. I just want to remind you of this, how that bishop concluded his argument with such a syllogism, raising it high with praises and proclaiming it invincible to the whole world. He meant, I believe, all the people inhabiting the whole earth. He said, "Everything that does not distinguish the Father and the Son in divine matters is common to the Father and the Son; but projecting the Holy Spirit is something that does not distinguish the Father and the Son; therefore, projecting the Holy Spirit is common to the Father and the Son." Then he added some constructions of the propositions, as he thought. Wasn't that the syllogism?

28.Neophron. Indeed, that was it; I remember it well.

29.Palaitimos. Our supporter, appearing not to pay attention to it, and many of your adherents thought he had been silenced by the strength of the argument, with such a demeanor revealing his character, even smiling as usual. But bear with me; I see you are again stirred to raise a wave.

30.Neophron. You predict well; for who could endure your long-windedness beyond the appropriate time and need, boiling with praises of that man as if with spirits? But hurry and finish what you intend.

31.Palaitimos. Then, looking at both his opponent and all of us with a cheerful and graceful face, he resumed his speech as usual and, with great composure, said, "I could have shown you a sophism in these arguments, a great burden to the earth. But since you are irritated if someone calls your syllogisms that, it has

escaped you and many others that the argument I proposed in the beginning is asking for; barely can they detect the errors in the wording. What I have now said suffers from some lack of demonstrative power, which would be best in showing the less clear through clearer things. This I do not say; and your argument's proofs, as you thought, having crushed them with Heraclean clubs of the teachers' words, I will show your attempt against us as more a spider's web than the work of a philosophical mind. But first, let us see what the consequence of your conclusion is: Projecting the Holy Spirit is common to the Father and the Son, and all things common to the Father and the Son are common also to the Spirit; therefore, projecting the Holy Spirit is, according to you, also common to the Spirit. This is full of absurdity and contradiction. If it is impossible for falsehood to follow from true premises, then the falsehood must be in the premises. But the one I added, which you would call the greater, is explicitly from Dionysius and Basil, so the falsehood is not from that. It remains therefore to be found in the other premise of your syllogism; let it be called so, the conclusion is far from the truth." Then, delivering the blows of truth, as he had threatened, and with the teachers' words making him seem thunderstruck and astonished, he clearly carried the victory before the judge himself and all your adversaries. He seemed as one inspired and filled with divine frenzy, needing rather a divine oracle than human arguments. And I would wish for myself to have once in my life such an encounter; even if nothing else, at least to show that projecting distinguishes the Father and the Son, as he wonderfully demonstrated. Why, then, do I become burdensome to you by saying these things? It seemed truly remarkable to me, possessing such power in arguments, that you seemed to come from the school of Chrysippus, as I am now very pleased with you, not helping your friend then in his misfortune, but deserted, he was defeated without friends; besides the noise, and someone might say you starved, contributing nothing to the common need; with him defeated, you surely also fell.

32.Neophron. As for the rest, my friend, do not become difficult by denying them. For truly, the man seems to me formidable both then and at all times, not only using words but also actions, except that he seems to pretend, thinking the same way about God as we do. As for my astonishment, which you say I displayed, I myself have often wondered at it, for I became a dialectician and, most importantly, a theologian in such a short time. The things shown to me recently are clear even to children, and the deeper matters are foreign and unusual to you and the many, as well as mysterious. It is like saying that there are two fecundities in God, one preceding and the other following, and first to think of God, then to will, which you refer to Ptolemy and Valentinus, the ancient heretics, though I do not know how you detected this. I recognized myself the great ignorance of those who would not otherwise distinguish the Son from the Spirit if the opposition of cause is removed, when in fact it is through this distinction of divine things alone, and nothing else, that they can be distinguished. On this matter, Thomas Aquinas from Aquino struggled much, thinking that thus he would rightly establish the Son as the cause of the Spirit. However, he missed both the truth and the aim, as later thinkers introduced the two fecundities of God, from which not only your arguments but even Thomas's fall short. What about mutual love and the concordant will? Are these not almost evidently placing before us the ineffable and inconceivable procession of the Spirit? Who knew these things, Basil or Gregory or the theological summarizer from Damascus? I have partaken of this recent wisdom and hold much similar to these, and for these reasons, I hold myself above the many, considering them almost like flies or gnats, knowing nothing beyond the common and worn-out ideas. Therefore, formerly I thought Scholarius difficult, as many think, not having spent much time in schools but mostly studying at home on his own, after

Ignatius, the great theologian Joseph, and Macarius from Athos, and many other noble and esteemed individuals with whom he was acquainted during their lives and by whom he was admired. Now, however, he seems to me to be almost demonic. For if I, in the time since those discussions up to now, which has not even reached the second year, have noticed myself becoming much wiser by many measures, how much must we think of him, who spent almost twenty-five full years diligently studying the discourses of philosophy? Since, regarding rhetoric, he lacked nothing even before the third stage of life; and he was then an example to the most precise in the Greek language. Let me compare this received wisdom with our current character; for now, the wise are made in a short time, and do not need the testimony of those well-versed as before. If someone, not yet well acquainted with the basics of these arts, wishes to call himself an orator or philosopher, the many must believe him—and rightly so. For who could ever be a witness to someone knowing nothing of wisdom among judges like himself except himself? And if someone happens to be talkative and self-willed, not ashamed to witness the greatest things about himself, nothing prevents him from being believed to have come from heaven. If there is a need to curtail someone else's reputation, then folly and pretense are more fortunate than anything else. For he must clearly place those who secretly hate his opinion, so that they can attach some slander to him, until repelled by the force of truth, unable to resist the evidence from facts, they are ashamed of themselves for having troubled the good for no reason. For it is not easy to conspire against a reputation established by many things and times, and confirmed in the souls of people. And it is easy to bestow favors on those least worthy, such as precedence, services, revenues; but a good reputation, to those who do not truly possess it, cannot be added merely by will. Otherwise, the power would be the greatest, so much so as to prevail against the truth; and virtue would be a very fragile thing, yielding to and darkened by such plots. Do you not think these things are so?

33.Palaitimos. It indeed seems very much so, and I have become truly inspired by your discourse; for I have never heard anyone speak more truthfully about these matters. At once, I was reminded of the words of the holy Chrysostom, which I have often pondered in such need, marveling at the wisdom of the great man and ceasing to grieve, while contemplating much about human nature, the virtue of the one correcting these things, and the wickedness of those doing them. In his fifth discourse on the priesthood, he elaborates in these exact words: "Many constantly cling to the one who can speak in vain and idly. Having no charge against him except that he is esteemed by all, they bear animosity, and one must nobly endure their bitter envy. For this accursed hatred, which they gather without reason, unable to conceal, they revile and blame, slander secretly and act maliciously openly. A soul, beginning to suffer and be vexed by each of these, might reach the point of being utterly ruined by grief. For they not only defend themselves but also attempt to do so through others. Often selecting someone incapable of speaking, they exalt him with praises and marvel beyond measure, some doing this out of madness, others out of ignorance and envy, so that they might overthrow the reputation of this one, not to show the other as admirable who is not so." Let these things stand thus. But, for God's sake, do not tell me any more that Scholarius pretends to the ancestral beliefs; for everything else is true rather than this. Neither is he such a man in all other respects. Besides, he could have enjoyed many honors from the Latins and wielded great influence among you if he wished to align with you. And you could testify to this very well yourself. He would have been worse than Margites and more foolish, if, being able to practice piety with human prosperity, he chose such dangerous adversity, as one who has wholly disregarded not only his body but also his soul. It is sheer folly to say such things about him and to believe

those who say them. Rather, one should marvel at his magnanimity, bearing all deprivations so that he commits nothing shameful voluntarily. It is clear to everyone where he stands, and how you bear being burdensome to such a man, and do not understand what kind of persons you align with, is a great perplexity. But let us leave him aside for the present. To the matter that led us here, let us return.

34.Neophron. Do you recall what the intention was?

35.Palaitimos. How could I forget? Didn't he deem it necessary for us to discuss in this manner, one of us forming proposition by proposition and drawing the conclusion, while the other either objected or agreed?

36.Neophron. Thus, I deemed it necessary. How does it seem to you regarding these matters?

37.Palaitimos. It is not pleasing.

38.Neophron. Why?

39.Palaitimos. I fear you will make me a Latin immediately; for I no longer say you know nothing as at the beginning.

40.Neophron. The argument will make you. What do you fear?

41.Palaitimos. Not that, but the sophistry.

42.Neophron. But you will refute it, if you can.

43.Palaitimos. And if I cannot, will you overpower me with sophistry? But I do not risk it in the matter.

44.Neophron. How do you think I can make you a Latin immediately?

45.Palaitimos. Like this. Everything that is said to belong to something, not as any possession, not as any part, but only naturally, is a hypostasis. And being and not being is said about it, and this is also from that by cause. But the Holy Spirit is said to be of the Son, and all the following similarly as in the greater premise. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is also from this, namely, the Son, by cause. And again, thus: that which is from the Son is like that which is through the Son; for just as those from Europe, so the teachers from Asia say this. But in "from the Son," the Son is indicated as the cause of the Spirit. Therefore, also in "through the Son"; for the same judgment applies to similar things. The third syllogism is pragmatic, and the one after it is doxastic. - Hence, let them be dismissed.

46.Neophron. So, have I made you a Latin with these arguments?

47.Palaitimos. If I cannot refute them, you have.

48.Neophron. Then refute them.

49.Palaitimos. But if I can refute these, and you challenge me with other syllogisms, will you make me a Nestorian?

50.Neophron. Indeed, if necessary.

51.Palaitimos. How can that be? First, I must become and have become; for if something becomes and does not exist, as your Aristotle says.

52.Neophron. You speak well. Then I will make you one.

53.Palaitimos. For God's sake, no. But if I were you, I would do this. Can't I become all the worse things? But I do not want that; I want to refute you. Every thought of Nestorius is Nestorian; but the belief that the Spirit does not have existence from the Son is a thought of Nestorius. Therefore, the belief that the Spirit does not have existence from the Son is Nestorian. And again: Anyone who has Nestorian thoughts is Nestorian; the one who believes that the Spirit does not have existence from the Son has a Nestorian thought; it has been proven. Therefore, the one who believes thus is Nestorian. And again: The one who

believes thus is entirely Nestorian; it has been proven. I am someone who believes thus; therefore, I am Nestorian. Behold, with these three syllogisms, I have been shown as fully Nestorian; it makes no difference in use whether I analyze the premises or derive the conclusion back to the premises without deficiency.

54.Neophron. So, are you Nestorian?

55.Palaitimos. May it never be; but you and your argument have made me one, even though I am not. Likewise, by this method, I can make you a Nestorian, and perhaps you are not one.

56.Neophron. Neither am I, nor can you make me one.

57.Palaitimos. But I will do so by this method. Every thought of Nestorius is Nestorian; you have already used this against me, and now you cannot deny it. But the belief that God the Father is unbegotten and that the Son of God is of the same essence as God the Father is a Nestorian thought, as it is clearly stated in the symbol of faith. Therefore, these are Nestorian thoughts, and you, having these thoughts, are Nestorian. I do not need to use many syllogisms to form you. Behold, you have suffered the fate of being wounded by your own arrow; at the same time, you are enlightened and refuted. Are you silent? I fear everything and worse, that you can make me a bird, a tree, and a stone, and finally not existent, for I do not wish to analyze every matter, nor do I wish these things to happen. Long ago, in the initial constitution of beings, such things existed according to the monstrous Empedocles; now nature is not observed bearing such, even if one appears, it must perish from others before it suffers itself, as they avert such an unpleasant and strange sight as Perseus did the Gorgon, and Bellerophon the Chimera. It is difficult even for me to humanize, even if I had to replace my nature with one not multiform and composite; for I love being human very much. Therefore, never having surrendered myself to dialectical enchantments, pursue another method. Besides this one, whichever you choose, I will agree.

58.Neophron. Shall we then discuss in this common manner?

59.Palaitimos. What prevents us? This seems more human to me, as it is more natural.

60.Neophron. You speak poorly, but I agree.

61.Palaitimos. You must not deny everything, but you should agree to some things; or else we will deceive ourselves by speaking aerial fables, without considering the premises from the beginning.

62.Neophron. But bring it forth as you wish, and such things as these, I do not know how they fit into this discussion. But we will force it, to give some Platonic grace to the argument; for it should not be entirely vulgar and base.

63.Palaitimos. By no means; let those things be avoided.

64.Neophron. Do you prefer to shape everything to Lucianic dialogues?

65.Palaitimos. Farewell to that; for much is entangled in such vulgarity, yet there are times when it is wise.

66.Neophron. How then will anyone praise this dialogue, neither attributing it to Plato nor referencing it to Lucian? These things must be noted somewhere, and many will copy them.

67.Palaitimos. Is it necessary everywhere to follow the ancients? Sometimes one must innovate; they themselves, innovating in necessary matters and dishonoring what the fathers held, considered nothing dreadful in doing so; and do you try to examine what was thought six hundred years ago, yet do not wish to observe what our fathers thought from those times until now, as if you are the best judges of all? But let these not trouble you; just speak how I may respond. For if there is anything worthy of blame in the words, it will require more excuses from me; for I, not you, will exceed the form of those dialogues, making responses

more elaborately, and thus more truthfully, so that you cannot repeatedly question the same things and return to the same points, and struggle with the same matters, making the form of dialogues. We will not structure the argument with more than us two, speaking all ourselves; we do not recount what others have said.

68.Neophron. Let it be so.

69.Palaitimos. So, speak.

70.Neophron. And so I say. We are the friends of unity and the only good citizens, as we are the only ones striving for the good; while the rest of you are waging war against your own salvation.

71.Palaitimos. You do not speak truthfully.

72.Neophron. But it is not enough to say so.

73.Palaitimos. Was it enough for you to speak thus?

74.Neophron. But I have evidence to show.

75.Palaitimos. Whether you show it or not, I will be silent.

76.Neophron. Why so?

77.Palaitimos. Because it is not for us to respond in anger, nor perhaps do we wish to.

78.Neophron. We alone foresee what is necessary, and those we think to persuade with promises of honors, before receiving and after receiving, they oppose and dishonor us; but you are blind and foolish, destroying your souls and depriving yourselves of the temporary comfort that suits you, instead of disgracefully and irrationally acquiring it. What do you say to that?

79.Palaitimos. Falsehoods here as well, except in some things where you seem to praise out of necessity.

80.Neophron. You respond rudely.

81.Palaitimos. But aptly; for opposing falsehoods is indeed elegant.

82.Neophron. But I say again: We alone are wise and understand the Scriptures, able to live healthily in the doctrines, and are correctly oriented in purpose, and we rightly summarize the European teachers from Asia; but to you others, none of this is available.

83.Palaitimos. These also need the same response.

84.Neophron. You say nothing.

85.Palaitimos. I hear nothing.

86.Neophron. Are these the long speeches with which you threatened to overwhelm us? But if you respond concisely again, I will not care for you anymore; for you seem to be playing rather than conversing. Or is it that, not being able to respond, you delay thus and think to hide your helplessness? But now I will try you one last time. Perhaps considering us ignorant, you do not endure aligning with us; but there are many in other parts of the world, wiser than those who now oppose us, to whom we refer. Why then, if not to us, do you not wish to agree with them? Or how could we, leaving them, choose you, much inferior to them so that it is not even fit to compare?

87.Palaitimos. If you wish to think otherwise, you will find many more and wiser than us. Let the rest be; but our fathers (for we are children of the Greeks) were many more than us and wiser not only than us but also than you and anyone else sharing your opinion—Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, a great many philosophers, numerous rhetoricians, who would consider our faith folly, Paul would say. To these, by your argument, we should all yield, being many more and wiser. I do not say comparing doctrines; let that be far; but considering how you should respond to the argument.

88.Neophron. But among us, the wiser ones were recently of our opinion.

89.Palaitimos. It is false that the parricides are wiser than those who obey their mother; wiser indeed than those who cannot even see where the faults lie and therefore attend to them. Many disciples of Christ, but Judas was among the foremost; he showed malice opposite to the first who appeared in Christ's faith. How many do you think were wiser in divine matters than Kydones and Kalekas, if not in other things, at least before them? But none of them sharpened their tongues against their mother, nor did they beat their mother at that time; those who held their tongues did so out of ignorance, so we will not call those before them bad. Whose disciples were they, and again whose disciples were they? For they did not discover everything themselves, but as much as we have learned from them, they learned from others and did not discover anything themselves. But no one dared in earlier times to raise hands against their mother; with everyone being sensible, what need was there for shadowboxing? If from that time, no one became equal or better, it is conceded; and for you, it is now difficult to find many alike. But not for this reason shall we legislate everything contrary to what you might think suitable. What else was to happen, with schools closed, ambition for discourse extinguished, everyone focusing on necessity and neglecting liberal arts, seeing those above seeking daily bread at tax collectors' doors, who should be the first to enjoy the country's goods and the most? But even lacking this human and noble wisdom, they know and wish for one thing: everyone, by no means to exceed the established limits, nor to move the boundaries set by the fathers. This they consider appropriate. And it is fitting for you and all, even if you excel in a small degree in these common matters. Do we not know that Kydones and his follower Kalekas were exiled or fled for the sake of other doctrines, taking refuge in a church that I do not know how holds these doctrines, even if I know well, I will remain silent, and receiving some reward from that church for their advocacy in these matters, at the same time showing themselves to have logically chosen her, not out of necessity, but considering her better in everything than their own first mother.

90.Neophron. And how did you sign yourselves to these doctrines?

91.Palaitimos. Being swept along; this happened to many before us as well. Therefore, laws are set by the church on how to deal with those who experience such things, as this fall can happen at any time. The disgrace is not in transferring the evil, but in keeping it, as the great Gregory said.

92.Neophron. Do you consider the Latin Church heretical then?

93.Palaitimos. And do you call our church heretical? Rather, should you be asking this? Many times you have said in public that we and our ancestors are Nestorians, believing that the Son of God is not the cause of the Spirit's hypostasis, but only of the gifts that come from Him, being of the same essence and that the Spirit is in Him, and He in the Spirit, and through Him, thus the Spirit proceeds from the Father. And all other things that show the natural unity of these hypostases, the Father alone giving being essentially and hypostatically to those who proceed from Him. You often called those believing this, so your voice, recorded by angels, will be reproached by your ancestors when all, according to the word of faith, will give account not only for words but also thoughts. Thus you. But for us, there is no need to apply such names or to hold a church so powerful as this better than the rest, which we cannot correct, our affairs being thus poorly managed, but our faith, kept unchanged by the grace of Christ. But it would be reasonable for those who have sense to keep the boundaries of the fathers and not to quarrel with others. We do not consider the

Latins as teachers or judges of their findings; they themselves justify making these things for us and persuade some to follow them.

94.Neophron. And it is clear that those alone believe rightly; for they succeed among Christians, while those in our parts and yielding to our church suffer the utmost from atheist enemies. And the Latins indulge while we endure a multitude of evils.

95.But this reasoning is also flawed, my friend. For the heresy of Mohammed arose among united Christians and first almost completely shattered the Latin races and enslaved all of Italy. And perhaps some mark of ancient nobility remains for us, but as for the whole of Italy and the current church thriving there, we know how much the heretics of Mohammed have inflicted upon them. For us, however, things were somewhat easier then, and nothing worse than from the beginning. Therefore, it does not matter whether those who triumphed over Christian affairs were Libyans or Turks, as long as they attack us from the same glory and true faith as enemies. If, therefore, this is to be considered great against the faith, we are in no way inferior to others who have suffered similarly and worse. And if those released from misfortunes are now living again in their former blessings, first of all, they are not entirely free, since internal strife is a greater evil than external enemies. And if we, being killed by these atheists, perhaps expect some reward for our faith, which we lose while doing well, those others suffer these things from each other while being Christians. Moreover, it is uncertain where the improvement will come; perhaps there will be some relief from the hardships. But I place all the worse things; even so, we are not weak in faith. Let me tell you a thought incomprehensible to many; just as a symbol, God took away the sorrow in the world from the true Christians. For He himself said no one can serve God and mammon. And he who tries to save his soul, as many do, does not realize he loses it. Therefore, if it is possible to enter the coming life with the sorrow here, but impossible for those indulging in pleasures here and filling themselves with all delights, he came to guide to life; it was necessary for him to come through the suffering in the flesh, just as he indeed did, and for those following him to endure the same sufferings, if they care about achieving the proposed end and becoming sharers in the glory of the leader. For he certainly received the exaltation and greatness of the name from obedience in suffering to the Father, as a human being, for as God, he granted these to himself. Therefore, he who says that we believe in vain because we suffer, legislates against Christ, for he said: In the world, you will have tribulation. You know that the beginning of the increase of faith was through blood and persecutions. To end the true faith in these things, as he foretold and his disciples did. And no one truly Christian should fall due to the expected hardships; rather, they should bring these from those who do not believe rightly, so that impiety will rise and evil will prevail in the last days, as our Lord foretold, so that many of the elect might be led astray by it. Even now, not a few have indeed been led astray, some joining the impious in deeds due to the pleasures and apparent happiness from them, others shaken in mind and unstable due to the prosperity of those and agitated by their good fortune, and making the only sign of true Christians the fact that they believe badly. Therefore, if Christ and truth are true, in the days of the Antichrist, who will appear at the end of times, and now in some way exists, and much earlier was, as seems to scholars, the true faith must be fought, just as in the times of the Apostles and those after them. If no one with sense will attribute the misfortunes from the unbelievers to our faith in God. If we must indulge, as if so persuaded to believe correctly, I do not speak the blasphemous, but let it turn on the heads of those who propose such things, from where they must entirely depart. And how can anyone show that we believe badly because we say the

Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, as Christ himself said? Because we confess the creed accepted by all common councils and to which many laws have often been set, neither to add nor take away? Because we do not wish to say the Son of God is the cause and beginning of the Spirit, and that the Spirit has its existence from him, because we do not find any teacher saying this, but rather some saying the opposite? Because we keep the opinion about the Latin addition, as believed by our fathers, just as the Latins themselves claim their addition was accepted by their fathers? Because we do not so easily change doctrines and faith as in votes? Because we maintain the good and noble reasons for our glory, not yet learning stronger reasons either not existing for those differing from us or not given to us in any way? And who would judge these things justly, that they are not wronged by us, rather than us being wronged by those blaming us for them?

96.Neophytus: But those who said it were shown to be more correct.

97.Palaitimos: Where? For some of our recent agreements were made under coercion, as the Latins themselves well know, not by examinations or genuine affirmations of doctrine, as would be necessary for it to be properly examined and believed; not by the Latins, to tell the truth, but by our own champions who then avoided the arguments and in vain convened that great and costly synod.

98.Neophytus: Are you unable to provide definitions for all these matters?

99.Palaitimos: I am unable. The synods of our ancestors impose severe punishments if someone dares to define these matters otherwise than as they themselves defined; they proclaimed everywhere that the Son is not the cause of the subsistence of the Holy Spirit, and as you now declare. What, then, do we err in, confessing the truths that no one has grounds to criticize, and not daring to transgress the ancestral boundaries, while those who are able do not wish to examine these matters publicly, but, as in human transactions, likewise in matters of faith, accommodating the positions of others and proclaiming from afar, as it were, that no one should pay attention to what they are doing?

100.Neophytus: Do you mean the synods after the schism? But it is not appropriate to give such reverence to those partial synods.

101.Palaitimos: And yet even before the ecumenical synods and during their intervals, not a few partial synods occurred and enjoyed the same honor as the ecumenical ones. But let it be: do not the Latins call the synods held among them after the schism ecumenical, whose title to the universal designation any sane thinker would rightly attribute to our own? And if anyone denies it, let him beware, for I shall demonstrate it. How, then, is it not unreasonable to consider the Latins as competent in matters against us, but not to count them as authoritative where they might help their own case by example, without even thinking about it?

102.Neophytus: But the Latins bear a grudge against us and will use our enemies more oppressively than they will ever ally with us.

103.Palaitimos: This is the culmination of your necessity; hence I believe you should cease. Therefore, with the threat being twofold for you, I say to the former, very well, if indeed they unjustly assail us; they will not prevail; for we have seen even the Latins themselves failing when they attempt to act contrary to justice. But they have no just cause for retaliation against us. What weapons have we raised against them? What cities of theirs have we taken? Have they not rather taken our own, profiting from the labors and defenses we provided against the enemies? They hold all the gains of the citizens, you might say, "playing" the Latin Church. We granted them everything they long desired for a long time, and yet we appeared, and still appear, ridiculous to all men, even if the Latins themselves say this. If it were not possible for them to obtain what

they desired with our consent, they will not suffer, unless we now act wisely; if they are to suffer being fathers, they will experience this over our souls in danger, as they say, of falling from true life. Will they not also attempt to destroy our bodies? They know too, being wise themselves, that God left this one thing free among men, the exercise of opinion concerning the mode of piety universally; therefore, He does not wish this to be subjected to any coercive necessity by those in power. For if He had desired, He could have turned the souls of all men toward one particular belief about Himself, being entirely capable of this. Since He did not do this, He is surely displeased with those who act otherwise. And if some have ever done this, they have thought poorly, perhaps even rightly depending on circumstances. But in regard to the Latins, our position has no just cause for accusation. If we were to be compelled ever to act in such a way, it would be theirs to do what seems fit to them, and ours to endure. But what else is necessary to do for the sake of doctrines? I am convinced they will ally with us, as much as they can if they wish to think rightly. They will not, I suppose, attribute the favor of alliance to us, but to the faith of Christ, to the Gospel of Christ being narrowed by the additions of these unbelievers, not just from us, but also from those among them who recently joined the Latins. How many do you think, having attacked the land of the Hungarians repeatedly and worked the sword, have drawn them into the yoke of slavery and unbelief? And these things have happened to all, while we remain safe, and this city remains free by the grace of Christ, which they would exchange for all their possessions. Now they hold a small portion of land and can only muster a few for military expeditions; they imagine the entire world would submit to them through it. May it never happen to us nor succeed for them against Christ. If anyone were to inquire from the Latins whether they wish all men to be Christians and all others to share their beliefs, or for all to fall under the orgies of Mohammed, they would not be so simple as to prefer that all men become Christians rather than all become unbelievers, and aligning themselves with such Christians. But they are in danger of doing the opposite of what they wish, if they are able to ally, but would rather free us, they will not wish. For they will bring the war of unbelief upon themselves and will display their enmity or negligence against Christ regarding us. If they cannot do these things, it would be another matter. Those who have spent money helping Christ are more just than us betraying a portion of our patrimony and bearing their undeserved disgrace to find alliance among men. How then is it not great folly for those who possess good things, not knowing or willing to use them for the salvation of all, by which we would be saved if we used them properly, but seeking alliance from those who owe us nothing and are so far removed, to exchange the good of faith for it, uncertain whether it will come and be present to the matters, or not, and if it will seem sufficient for salvation when it arrives? But in anger, I risk persuading you and rushing to many. Therefore, wanting to restrain myself, I beg you to put an end to the discourse and no longer inquire of me about anything; for what follows, I think, belongs to Aeschylus and Sophocles to turn into tragedy. Already, the matters of religion attract you, which should not be placed after such idle talk.

104.Neophytus: I am persuaded by you; but tell me this much, where do you currently reside?

105.Palaitimos: I reside nowhere from nothing, nor do I reside at all; for you have abolished every function. But now, I live in much greater poverty, not yet begging but borrowing.

106.Neophytus: That is not what I mean; but where do you stay, so that I may be more simply persuaded?

107.Palaitimos: I did not think you meant by "reside" to inquire of me in a vulgar manner, but now I understand you. You ask another thing than the former. I remain here until I am free from you.

108.Neophytus: That is not what I seek to know.

109.Palaitimos: Then what is it?

110.Neophytus: Where do you lodge?

111.Palaitimos: For I am not traveling, needing to lodge when evening falls.

112.Neophytus: By heaven, I will strike you with my staff, for you jest with me.

113.Palaitimos: By no means to one answering familiarly. But since I also incline somewhat toward a barbarian manner, I wish to free you from labors. Or do you want to know this, what house and where in the city, in which I spend most of my time, sleeping and doing the other things which must be done in a home?

114.Neophytus: Yes, you understand late.

115.Palaitimos: And what need have you to know? Perhaps you already know well, for I remember you coming to my house often and staying there a considerable time, and leading me, who was then attending to matters, except if by the present circumstances you have forgotten.

116.Neophytus: Of this, it seems, I have forgotten, if you tell the truth. But I wish to meet with you again tomorrow, if God wills. For I felt greatly benefited by the things now said, so that I will no longer speak of those matters to the many, but will attend to union in another manner. Or do you criticize any manner in which I should attend to it?

117.Palaitimos: I will praise it, if duly; but what is necessary should be found not only by you but by all, not again by human devices adapting it, nor trading peace, nor submitting to worldly ranks out of fear or need, but considering ecclesiastical and canonical matters concerning the church, even if it involves dealing with those who may be attached to current affairs.

118.Neophytus: You speak very well, and I am likewise resolved. Therefore, I will abstain from what I previously said, for I too have condemned much of their lack of discernment. But regarding doctrine, I desire to learn something from you, hoping to gain much benefit from you even in this. If you could resolve all that troubles me, there would be no longer any means for me not to be changed like the others.

119.Palaitimos: I commend this and pray it, although it otherwise seems impossible to me. But seeking this from me seems overly fastidious; for I have already published two books on these matters, which many possess having copied them. Those will suffice for your need. As for myself, I will henceforth remain silent, and I already swear inwardly, and if you ever catch me speaking, write it down as perjury. I say this, fearing you might do some harm having recognized me; although nothing harmful has been said, truth and frankness are burdensome and envy-inspiring to the many of mankind. Nothing seems so difficult to them as self-praise, even if it has every just pretext. As my own well-reputed action, it would be odious to all wicked and envious people, whether timely performed by me or another, but not to any wise and well-meaning person. Regarding the books, when you receive them, I say this: do not sit as a theater, bringing an unlearned judgment least fitting. For you will speak against the mother, and those writings far surpass the judgment of such people. Only by those who are perceptive would they be admired. If any essential element is missing, since I am a human and know little, I acknowledge this; do not accuse an absent person, for it is womanish and wicked, but rather correct it while present; for this is truly of men and wise ones.

120.Neophytus: Were you Scholarius all this time without me knowing? You ought indeed to have hidden; for neither as a secretary, nor as a judge, nor teaching those sacred doctrines in church, since I have deprived you of these.

THE AIRY TALE

121.Palaitimos: You have deprived me of none of what is truly mine. If you mean the offices, you have rather deprived the fatherland of their benefit. I appear more illustrious without them to those who think rightly. Therefore, it is not because I lacked the pomp of those offices, but having donned the air, that I eluded you. It is not surprising, since this entire discourse was like air. Farewell!

REFUTATION OF THE SOPHISTIC METHODS

5. Second Dialogue on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (1451).

† By the same author, a refutation of the sophistic methods of peace used by the Latins to deceive the simpler ones; in the form of a dialogue, the characters being Eulogius, Benedict, and Olbianus.

1.Olbianus: But it is time, Eulogius, if you will, to examine the problems the newer Latin teachers, including Thomas and Scotus, have with the procession of the Holy Spirit. I was very pleased with your thorough discussion with the friend yesterday, showing that they do not even agree among themselves, as it seems, because their addition has not been safely established. Having grasped this sufficiently (for it is not easy for one who has heard these matters only once to understand them), I request you to repeat what you said to me again. It will benefit both you and the truth for me to have something to say about their inconsistency when some raise a clamor, wielding Latin wisdom against us. Although yesterday Ambrose, sitting next to me, said in reproach that the same thing has happened to you as it did to the blessed one of Ephesus; for concerning the Holy Spirit proceeding through the Son, that one presents the intention differently, as did the most holy Neilos Kabasilas before him, but you understand it differently. And I called him a liar, as well as anyone else who would say this; but you have found a clearer way to respond to the objections of the opponents and do not depart at all from the canon of both their predecessors and the synod once held in Constantinople concerning these matters. But these are not to be heeded; what else is to be expected from them? Rather, we should examine what comes from the Latin teachers.

2.Eulogius: We shall examine those matters immediately, provided no one interrupts us. But do not say anymore that the Holy Spirit proceeds "through the Son"; for no one has said this, nor is it true. Instead, it proceeds from the Father through the Son; these are very different, and many are deceived in their ignorance. But who is this approaching? He seems to be coming toward us gladly, as if seeking something further. Let us first hear what he wishes to say; then, when we are free, we shall examine those matters together. It is Benedict, who is my namesake.

3.Olbianus: Now it seems to me he is more fittingly named; but then he was called Eulogius, and so he was.

4.Benedict: You are unjust, gentlemen, idly disregarding us, as if you do not wish us to exist.

5.Eulogius: To whom do you speak? To those who believe that the Holy Spirit receives its being and subsistence from the Son of God, as it personally subsists in the unity of nature from the beginning, just as from the Father, except that the Son takes the lead in generating the Spirit?

6.Benedict: And in what way do they seem to you to err by believing thus?

7.Eulogius: Not in this respect. But first, tell me clearly if you are a supporter of the Latins.

8.Benedict: I am indeed.

9.Eulogius: And yet, until yesterday, you did not hesitate to criticize them, and you wrote much against the addition.

10.Benedict: But you once advised unity with them.

11.Eulogius: This I do not deny; for I was not mad to desire unity with them. But to be united properly and with truth; I never thought, nor did I expect others to dare to make such burdensome agreements for peace. If you knew what sort of thing the Latins are now like yourselves, I would have long ago condemned

it, and returned to the ancient and ancestral doctrine, holding firmly to it, so that I would rather forsake everything than give it up, believing nothing truer than this. You, having changed to a foreign and, as we think, dangerous position, remain not only favoring it but also accusing the ancient charges as Nestorian, acknowledging the addition was made rightly, and you think you do not err.

12.Benedict: Let us leave these matters aside; they make no difference. But what do you accuse us of?

13.Eulogius: If it makes no difference to you, cease your meddling; for as I perceive, not a few have found in her a leisure that they hope will help them know and accomplish everything without effort, and seem to know and achieve much. Therefore, let us succeed in what we are studying, while you tend to your own matters.

14.Benedict: By the truth, I will not desist from you unless you first state why you accuse us of not speaking in a scriptural manner.

15.Eulogius: Perhaps you want me to make supper, if I am to extend the speech into the evening; for it is necessary to speak so much upon many distinctions.

16.Benedict: What profit do you think there is in speaking of distinctions?

17.Eulogius: But I am saying that these distinctions are mine and bring damage to the matter at hand.

18.Benedict: Then I am not inquiring about other matters, but about the greatest one, this very addition in the symbol. Explain how we seem to you to wrong the truth and to be hated by you, we and the Latins.

19.Eulogius: The Latins are not at all hated by us, but we also regard them as friends; for your seceders have significantly contributed to their differentiation; and we also praise not a few of their best and eminent doctrines, ethics, and practices. However, to commune with them in all things, not sharing the same faith, seemed to our fathers an impious thing, and it seems the same to us, following their logical reflections and persuasion, as it is natural to do so; for we consider them to have been much wiser than us; and we ourselves observe that the Latins introduce not a small doctrine regarding the procession of the Spirit.

20.Benedict: Do you speak of the two principles? We shall free you from this fear; for rising to a detailed examination, I shall oppose most harshly those who place two principles in the Godhead.

21.Eulogius: This is not sufficient for us; but rather, renounce the position that follows from this; that the Son of God is also the principle of the Spirit.

22.Benedict: You say it follows? Just as saying that if the Son of God creates or co-creates the creation, it follows that there are two or three principles of creation, with the Holy Spirit included.

23.Eulogius: And do you think that by any machination those super-essential hypostases would be both creators and believed to be of creation if they were not creating as one God, being one God? This cannot be said about the Father and the Son, for they, being one, jointly proceed the Holy Spirit. Let this discussion be deferred for now; I shall least associate with those who follow this.

24.Benedict: And you should not think so; for the one of Ephesus, standing up and showing this sequence to a wise Latin man arguing with him, was soon silent.

25.Eulogius: This, I do not concede, that the blessed one suffered; but perhaps it seemed to some that he suffered this because he attempted to lead the position to this absurdity, and the opponent could escape to the unity of essence and other such evasions. One must decide, if anyone is to convince you, whether you are led to the two principles or to the Sabellian mixture, or to the diminishing of the Spirit, or to the Spirit proceeding from itself, leading to an indivisible argument; thus confined, you would have no escape, if not by

lay judges; for you will win nothing by speaking to them; neither will the projecting power nor anything else deliver you unless you are ensnared in the same and together with them.

26.Benedict: And yet the Latins proclaim all these things, and those who once laid down or discovered these doctrines.

27.Eulogius: We do not say that they wish to be as the position makes them; for they deny, just as we do, not now coming to this but swearing from the very times of the innovation that they truly wish none of those absurdities; but this does not suffice for our fathers, nor for us; for the position is not true, that these things follow.

28.Benedict: And how can one believe that those opinions follow, when you cannot demonstrate their necessary connection, and the Latins from long ago show how they are separated.

29.Eulogius: I say not even I follow all together, but we show that one of the mentioned absurdities follows, and the opponents flee from the perplexities rather than solve them. And in these cases, they find much more plausible refuges, as if fleeing without finding the truth. And they sometimes take the question itself as proof of what they propose.

30.Benedict: They say that you have found a way for these opinions to coexist, indicating that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and does not proceed from the Son.

31.Eulogius: I am not so naive as to imagine such fables and think that contradiction could ever occur; but rather, they say that you combine these opinions, not knowing what to add to those that can be stuck together; but I am not so skilled as to work such paradoxes in a moment. Explain how you intend to unite these disparate elements, and by what device; it would indeed be a marvel if such a thing could escape the notice of our fathers for so long.

32.Benedict: But since you wish these things to be demonstrated by me, I say, being persuaded. Is it not sufficient for you to agree that we believe the same things?

33.Eulogius: What things?

34.Benedict: Accept the word without examination, man, for the sake of peace.

35.Eulogius: You say something ridiculous if we are to treat matters of faith more carelessly than any other temporary affairs and be persuaded without testing by someone attempting to deceive; we are instructed even by the Latins themselves, who in Florence, when we presented to them the statement of the First Council and Cyril's words, they could not bear to accept them simply; they sent two questions along with ten on the statements, forcing us to respond. Since they did not allow us to hide anything under the voices of the saints, if we thought something contrary to them, as they believed, we will not allow you to sophisticate and deceive us, bringing forth anything from your own bag.

36.Benedict: So I say, what things? That the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; this you surely confess in the symbol.

37.Eulogius: And you confess this and nothing further?

38.Benedict: I expand by adding "and from the Son."

39.Eulogius: How then do you believe the same things as we, considering your addition as something insignificant, but the opposing view as more true, that it does not proceed from the Son, and for this reason we have been separated for so long? Then what need is there for you to confess in such a long circle that you believe the same things as we do? Confess only, and that will suffice for us, that is, say the same things. Is this

not what it means to confess, to say the same things? Yet it is not even clear otherwise to wise ears the thing you have said, that you will confess to believe the same things as we do.

40.Benedict: So I move to another point. Does it not seem terrible to you to say that the Son is the cause of the Spirit?

41.Eulogius: Indeed, it is very terrible.

42.Benedict: We are ready to deny this for your sake if you are willing to maintain peace.

43.Eulogius: Are you not ashamed to sophisticate like this?

44.Benedict: What do you mean?

45.Eulogius: You do not even say that the Father is the cause of the Spirit; for you must be counted among the Latins, since you have chosen this way; for you do not use the term "cause" in divine names, but rather the term "principle" instead. Do you think to please us by denying something you have never confessed? It is like someone being blamed for thinking and saying that fire is cold, and defending himself by saying he does not call it cold but frigid; the Latins call it cold; the one who does not get angry at you for not saying "hot" in the same way, but rather you deny it the quality or energy of heating, whatever this is perceived to be among Latins and Greeks alike, signified by different names, but rather you attribute the quality of cooling to it, which you yourself do not wish to ascribe to fire, no matter how you wish to call it; for it makes no difference to it.

46.Benedict: And why do you so resent the idea that the Son of God is also the cause of the Spirit, who is also God?

47.Eulogius: Why? Because from this proceeds all manner of erroneous things. Firstly, because none of the saints think this, it is outrightly denied by most. Do you not know Maximus, John of Damascus, and Gregory the Theologian who deny this?

48.Benedict: But we explain these things.

49.Eulogius: You misinterpret them, enslaved by your presuppositions.

50.Benedict: And you will show that they are misinterpreted?

51.Eulogius: Many better than us have shown it before, whom you should obey; and I have shown and will show again before sound judges; but if they are in a poor state, what else will they do but condemn the one speaking the truth? For this is what both the philosopher and the truth seem to agree on; therefore, it has been decided for me to remain silent.

52.Benedict: But all others would flee from these words, having denied them.

53.Eulogius: But I am not worse off for this, nor will I become anything else because of what they say, for the coming day will reveal it; and then they will know by experience the truth.

54.Benedict: Let us leave these things aside. We must consider peace; for if we are not satisfied, denying that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, as you say the Romans do not use this term in divine matters, I hoped to deceive you, demanding from us what you think, confessing that we have the same mind as you.

55.Eulogius: You speak well. Then you must deny that the Son's name and matter pertain to the divine hypostasis, that is, the Holy Spirit.

56.Benedict: Do you demand this? I most willingly give it. The Son of God is not the principle of the Spirit, but the Father alone is the principle.

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57.Eulogius: Are you not ashamed, hoping so easily to deceive us, and hardly able to do so even if you were speaking with sheep? Do I not know your Latin matters? For they too are like you.

58.Benedict: What do you say, man? Does even this not please you?

59.Eulogius: Not at all.

60.Benedict: Why?

61.Eulogius: You say, I believe, that the Son is not the principle in the projection of the Spirit, since He does not have the projection from Himself; for the Son is not the principle of divinity. To you, then, this statement might be true; for it places the Son as the principle of the Spirit's existence and its projector nonetheless. To us, who do not place Him at all as the principle and projector of the Spirit, it is not true. But you should rather say: the Son, together with the Father, is not the principle of the Spirit, but it pertains only to the Father to be the principle of the Spirit. And if you are ready to grant us anything, grant this conjunction; for this will most strongly bind me to you, and all Greeks to all Latins, but not those opinions; for it is not possible for this to occur. For the Spirit would not be said to proceed from the Son alone, unless you wish to overturn the entire faith. But you say in the symbol "and from the Son"; so, as you have considered this regarding the Son of God, you think to embellish the novelty of the doctrine and be freed from the worst suspicions, that the Father is not the principle of the Spirit, or that both are the first principle of the Spirit. Thus, we must declare that the Spirit does not proceed from the Son, that the Son is not the principle of the Spirit together with the Father, that in the Spirit proceeding through the Son, the Son is not considered to be the cause of the Spirit according to the Greeks, nor the principle according to the Latins. For we think such an expression of principle, or cause, or projector, would not at all properly fit the Son of God concerning the Holy Spirit, not fearing that we may place the Son as unlike the Father; for this fear is foolish, as Cyril says, and we will show when you wish. Now the purpose is about other matters. Finally, satisfy us thus by saying that the Son is not the principle of the Spirit together with the Father, or rather thus, to free you from many suspicions: in saying and believing that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, we understand one principle according to the Latins, but cause according to the Greeks, the Greeks and Latins alike. The only hypostasis of the Spirit is that of the Father; we believe the Spirit is essentially united with the Son. Until you say that the Son is not the principle of the Spirit in this simple manner, what prevents you from also placing the Son as the principle of the Spirit, considering the principle as the first in all things, here the first towards the Father alone, if the principle includes the first? It is not thus safe to theologize knowingly but wanting to drag us along. Thus, you also explain the sayings of the teachers, which deny the cause of the Son. And what some accuse us of, thinking we make the fathers of the West, whom we call sophists, what truly happens to you and your like concerning your teachers. Or did you not wish, denying or seeming to deny, the Son's name of principle? And if not entirely so, but devising some similar subtlety? I have perhaps anticipated your subtlety more simply.

62.Benedict: Indeed, for I would never deny that the Son is the principle of the Spirit along with the Father; how could I assert that the Father and the Son are one principle of the Spirit if I did not think that the Son is the principle of the Spirit, indistinguishably from the Father, in giving existence to the Spirit? Except that the projection of the Spirit is received from the Father, along with everything else. This distinction, as you know, does not apply to the unity of the principle, just as it does not to divinity, or being, or anything else said to belong to them commonly and as they are one.

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63.Eulogius: Then declare it thus, and you will have us united, and we will praise you for trying to unite us as we might be united.

64.Benedict: You demand something burdensome, man; for what could this be other than to nullify the decree at Florence?

65.Eulogius: Do you think we are doing anything else but nullifying it since then? Rather, we treat it as null and void, for it was nullified by itself unless one is either blind or indifferent and does not see it. I hear even among you there are those who propose to correct the matter. Therefore, you also treat it as void; for you would not dare to correct a valid decree.

66.Benedict: We would rather correct you, granting what seems right to you, if you do not pretend to nullify but rather to confirm it.

67.Eulogius: And yet you, being one of our citizens and till yesterday were nurtured by the doctrines of our mother, now cooperate to confirm what was determined at Florence, thus setting up an inscribed pillar against us for all time and against our fathers, and worse, against the truth itself; for we are convinced they did not err in this.

68.Benedict: Who can touch the ecumenical decree without pretending, man? Or do you not know that even physicians under the illusion of pleasure give to the sick what they want, for their salvation, which they would in no way otherwise receive, and thus they save them, deceiving them without them knowing?

69.Eulogius: I know this well, and that with the same method poisoners kill those they wish with their poisons.

70.Benedict: But ours is not such a case.

71.Eulogius: And I pray it may not be, ever. For now, however, it is such.

72.Benedict: Since we cannot save you by deceiving you, despite many attempts, what remains but to endure the pain of seeing you perish through ignorance?

73.Eulogius: Do not yet withdraw, my friend; but if you have another stratagem, pursue it. Perhaps unnoticed, you might succeed since you have labored so much for this.

74.Benedict: We will grant you that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

75.Eulogius: Oh, what an unexpected grace! We had previously heard complaints and accusations against us for daring to say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, although we did not make this a proclamation as you did with "and from the Son"; the difference between doctrine and proclamation is not small, as the blessed Eulogius and anyone knowledgeable knows. What then have you learned that you have so changed your stance towards the previously hated doctrine? If indeed, unexpectedly changing your mind, you believe the truth with us without hypocrisy, or you have chosen to risk something for the sake of peace, we must also act more charitably towards you and condescend to what is moderate. Therefore, abandon this notion that has long aroused much suspicion in us and has brought us much reproach from you, and we will not turn away, thinking well; for why should we endure this odious notion of "from the Father alone"? But it is enough for us to hear you say that it does not proceed from the Son as well; this is much more moderate than the other. If you say that both can be true (for this is how it is, and we, not believing that the Spirit proceeds from the Son either, believe it proceeds from the Father alone, with the Son and the Spirit united with the Father in a different way, but not in sharing the paternal property of begetting and generating, which is a mark of the Father's hypostasis, as theologians say); if indeed this is so, but since this latter notion

troubled you less before, grant us this opposing statement along with the conjunction, and we will not return to the previous concealments and sophistries, and you will appear to speak something sufficient for peace; or do not even be compelled to give this negating proposition; perhaps even this will be burdensome to you; for it will not suffice to say it thus but to confess it in writing, opposing each other. And thus, you will seem to play with serious matters, contradicting willingly; for you will not err in this through ignorance, which would be very shameful to admit. Contradiction indeed will be your professed and proclaimed belief that it proceeds from the Son, as you will preach in the symbol, and that it does not proceed from the Son, as you will confess in another council for the sake of peace with us. So that you may not be entangled in such matters, we grant you not to say the negation anywhere, but only to remain silent about the affirmation that troubled us from the beginning, being content with the confessed and irrefutable affirmation alone, that it proceeds from the Father. See how much we are now granting you?

76.Benedict: And do you think I would agree that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, as if it no longer proceeds from the Son?

77.Eulogius: But how?

78.Benedict: Because the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, as from one principle with the Father, that is, both persons give the Spirit its being; the Father alone without cause and without principle, but the Son receives the same projecting power as the Father in His generation, through which both project the Spirit as two projectors or two causes. This is taught by the Latin teachers who examined these matters after the schism; so the Spirit proceeding from the Father alone does not exclude the Son from also being a projector and principle of the Spirit, just as the Father. What prevented the removal of the addition, which you always demand, if according to your doctrine the Latins also confessed the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone?

79.Eulogius: Then you have said these things to deceive? And it seems these are the things that some of your listeners marvel at. Stop trying to unite thus, both you and anyone else; for it is to interweave the unweavable. If you hope to change what we previously condemned, accepting these things out of some sudden change, that would be another matter; but as long as we remain as we are, it is impossible to achieve what you think you can through deceit or expecting us to be easily led astray; or even worse, it seems to us that you think we are ready for deception without even possessing reason. Such desires, especially coming from our own people, are intolerable to us; we would endure such schemes from strangers rather than from you who were our closest just yesterday. If you propose what is beneficial and appropriate, we too care about these things in such a way that we would take care of them with piety, if it were permitted to us not only to consider them but also to act upon them. Then, nothing is appropriate or beneficial unless it is found and done with pure piety; piety for us does not only concern the doctrine about God but also not to overstep the limits set by our fathers, who acted properly in all things, and not to add the shame of ignorance to them whom we call our fathers. Otherwise, there would be nothing to prevent us from doing everything up and down, and moving what we have deemed unmoved, and those who have so greatly moved should extend the doctrine to everything, if moving even one thing without reason was proper and beneficial. Who does not know that in this matter it is necessary to reconcile all things properly and paternally, and in such times when it is dangerous to attempt to discover, rather than follow what was discovered by the elders, given our very poor condition now, as in the so-called Trojan times of small fortune, when our proper piety towards God, as our fathers saw fit, preserved us more than anything else from all else that was perishing, will provide not

contemptible hopes for future goods through nobility not abandoning it with firmness of tongue and rectitude. For we must not, fearing everything that exists and abandoning hopes about the future, add willingly to the evils of this life and neglect the divine, as if even in the future we would not act any better through it. Otherwise, we would be the most miserable of all, being persuaded that we are more pious if nearly no one among them benefits from living well through the betrayal of the doctrine about God, which he thought to be most true but was not; and we, all together, would make some hope or fear of temporary matters greater than what happens for the sake of our faith, both evil and better things eternally, either by betraying it or guarding it against everything. Indeed, being persuaded, we alone have accepted from all men the best and truest opinions about God, that from secondary things we are given the primacy by all.

80.Benedict: Do not prolong the discussion about such matters, Eulogius; it is enough for us to hear that you in no way wish to unite with Christians, I mean with the Latins. This is what all of Italy and Greece reproaches you for, that you alone, above all, drive away peace, which is most desirable and beneficial to your homeland. What prevented you, if you were not as many say, from agreeing to any of my words and persuading others, even if it happened to contain some falsehood, that would not harm us or the faith much more than the enemies of it, because of such petty reasoning, to be a cause of peace for Christians, which would also be beneficial in all other matters to all Greek affairs and to yours no less. What is worse, you do not see the Hellenism creeping in among some, having taken root from ecclesiastical confusion, nor do you hasten to apply the only cure for such folly or abandonment—the establishment of the church. For the wicked would perish miserably, those we perceive to be reviving Hellenic nonsense, and trying to rekindle and revive that rotten polytheism, extinguished by the light of truth with overwhelming and truly divine power, impiously and foolishly. If this schism were ended, we would join forces to examine and either correct or punish such people.

81.Eulogius. These matters, dear friend, require a lengthy defense. Since everyone accuses me of such things, it would not be necessary to justify everything solely to you. For if I were not to benefit or persuade you with my defense, what use would it be to address the absent ones? And what benefit would we ourselves gain if, after making this defense to you, everyone continues to accuse us? But I say this to you, that it is indeed irony for us to be grieved over the babbling of some foolish people (for surely those who dare such things are not of sound mind, but rather are foolish, ignorant, and truly possessed by evil demons). And it is irony for you to be grieved over these matters. But God knows those who are grieved by words, writings, and deeds concerning them and would punish and bring them to account if it were possible. I also know those who delight in the babbling of such people, for it is not hidden that they are of such character, and my Jesus will exact justice from them when they see whom they have pierced, for enduring such people is the same as enduring those who pierce. If they were to honor them, what would one say? That even the confusion in the church has been the cause of this terrible evil, how do you not perceive this, leaving it to yourselves? For five hundred years, we were separated from the Latins, almost, yet nothing of this sort dared openly occur, neither in the Peloponnese nor here. But now, after the good union, even this has been dared. I leave aside that some have considered such heresies and preferences as part of this evil confusion rather than union, not arising from the Latins but from us. The treatment of such matters is easy and clear if you are willing; but I know well that you would not be willing. The claim that I hinder the union with Christians is false; for neither is seeking a good union a hindrance to union, nor, if you wish to unite badly, would it be my obstacle to

preventing you from doing so. By what cities, what weapons, and what money, freely spent, do I surpass your zeal for becoming Latin, given all that you possess and can do? Or rather, is it not entirely the opposite, that even the small strength and boldness that I had, through which I contributed something to the glory of the truth and the other needs of the homeland, I have cast aside from an old prayer, and so as not to seem responsible for future evils out of contentiousness concerning faith, I sit here solely contemplating my own affairs? And indeed, I know well the causes of the evils you fear, if they were to occur with divine permission, which may it never be, whose primary cause again would not be piety, as you think, but quite the opposite. But since it is indeed a fear that those who hold faith and other things, by which all cities are saved, carelessly, something terrible might happen, which may it never be, and it is reasonable that this should be attributed to the objections of the more pious, rather than to those now urging to prefer apparent truth over shadows and to blame the non-existent instead of the existent, I chose to withdraw into a corner somewhere, mourning my sins before God and not participating in the evils in the midst. And we are in great danger and you suspect silence, each raising some other rumor, so that it is difficult for me to guess what one might do to please you, except to be capricious and to incline towards the one doing well, and to sell the temporary things of faith, which I would never choose, being about to die shortly and arriving naked of everything at that life. For in speaking what seems best, when you inquire, you are grieved; but in silence, you force me to speak; and if I wish to stay, you threaten; if you perceive that I wish to depart somewhere, you rush to hinder and slander. And while claiming to be devout and desiring the ancestral ways, you delight in those advising the contrary and treat us as the most hostile; and as if knowing, you inquire, and being able to guide to what is beneficial; but when you hear something unpleasant to you, you pretend to know nothing at all. Then again, as if knowing and being able to do something in such matters, you place the whole burden of the present evils' cure, which you consider easy out of ignorance, upon me. You accuse of instability where you regard certainty in known matters as a great injustice. And it seems to me that you most enjoy sinning with me, but alone do not like to do so; and for this reason, you are grieved that I do not sin with you and insist on teaching me the necessary, those who know nothing, insisting alone to do what you deem necessary, not tolerating my disagreement because it does not agree with you; and you do not think yourselves to be doing wrong, dragging our knowledge and conscience to worse things, which I believe to be such either being deceived or thinking well; I believe, therefore, trusting in the most wise and ancient holy men; and you turn away from me, deeming me unworthy of attention in your simplicity, and altogether your behavior is an enigma. But may the only physician heal you; I know according to the holy theologians that both war can be praiseworthy and peace censured, but especially that my Jesus and Lord, having come, cast not peace but a sword upon the earth; indeed, even now, his words make this good battle against the Latins and cast this good sword, not tolerating anything else to be believed about him and the consubstantial Spirit and the causality of their paternal hypostasis, as he himself has said, showing clearly in himself both the divinity of the Spirit and the greatness and the substantial union with him and their common work of divinity and the cause of its being. And I know that the oecumenical council that has convened seven times has thus established peace concerning the Spirit, and I find all the teachers agreeing with the Lord's intention, just as indeed his true disciples and our ancestors should have thus established peace among themselves, separated from those choosing to schism without any necessity of truth. And being firmly on a good foundation, faith, I pursue this life with good hope toward piety, drawing the doctrines; otherwise, I am lazy and owe many trials to God

for life. Therefore, I maintain myself in the glory of truth, whether one wishes to call this a battle against those who believe the opposite, or peace towards God, as it is to be hoped, and towards myself and those who agree with the doctrine among people, and those who previously agreed, as has been said, in the past. I draw none of the others into the community of glory, nor could I even if I wished; except as much as I must not hide from those who doubt me or inquire, nor be envious of God's gifts. I believe that I have sufficiently fulfilled this duty, both in many discussions and advice and writings. Therefore, I have now ceased and will cease from the care of these matters. And I would wish that all were as I am according to the one who said. But if everyone wishes to follow these new doctrines, it may be safe for me; for even if everyone agreed to call iron stone by nature, or fire cold, or anything of the sort, they would not force my opinion upon these things; for only the mind did God leave free among people. Thus, even if all people said that the Word of God is the cause of the Spirit of God that accompanies his nature and jointly cause with God and the Father, and both one principle, as some say, this seems to me far from the truth, I would not be forced to believe in things that are not. So what do I fear, or what do I wish to gain by wanting all to follow my opinion? If someone would say the care and benefit of the brethren, which the divine law enjoins, and the confession of truth, I have thought sufficiently of both, as I said. Therefore, I do not hinder the union with the Latins, except perhaps in myself alone; let others do as they wish. I have said I hinder only in myself, as long as they desire to peace with us according to the common laws of faith and wish to persuade in what it is impossible for those who know to be persuaded.

82.Benedictus. You have defended yourself very nobly, despite the fact that this was not your primary concern. I must also say it is unjust for anyone to accuse you when you are steadfastly upholding what you believe to be true. If anyone suspects that you oppose our union for some human reasoning, it is because they are battling visible human interests. On the contrary, I admire your disregard for all human matters in favor of not acting against your conscience. You could have advanced yourself in royal matters to the extent of a cubit, if you had been willing to please all those who would have been delighted to see you switch sides. And by the sacred truth, you would have succeeded in the greatest matters on either side in a short time before, if you had willed it, and even now if you wished. But you, rejecting what is present for what you deem divine, are admirable even to your opponents. If some slander you out of small-mindedness, unable to do anything else unjust, hating your opposition and thus erring, I am not like them, nor do I grieve for such things; for to you, these matters are according to your firm belief and free from burden. And as you have said about yourself, I also would wish that you be like us concerning these matters. But as long as I know you uphold with virtue what you believe to be true, I neither blame you and greatly admire you, being just. But tell me, by God, wise as you are, if you have any device by which we might be united, since what I have said seems to you to have no power, and perhaps rightly so; for indeed, such arguments would have no power over those who deny that the Son of God is the cause and beginning of the Spirit's hypostasis, believing that it proceeds solely from the Father, yet nevertheless holding the Holy Spirit eternally and intrinsically within itself, as both take their essence from the Father simultaneously in the differentiation of hypostases, believing that in the divinity there is no cause-effect relationship among the hypostases, but rather only causes and effects, or a principle and that which proceeds from it, as we might say; and thus they honor the Christian faith in a substantial manner. For those who think this way and deny our beliefs, nothing proposed by me can be agreed upon; for they are contradictory.

REFUTATION OF THE SOPHISTIC METHODS

83.Eulogius. I, Benedictus, having said I would cease, will say nothing more, nor would anyone notice me discussing such matters any longer. Olbianus here will respond to you, if he is willing to and will consider the issues.

84.Olbianus. I will indeed respond, now that you have ceased speaking. Speak, then, dear Benedictus, as I am ready to respond.

85.Benedictus. How, then, do you wish to be united with both the Latins and us? For you would say in no way.

86.Olbianus. How? By returning to what you previously believed without hypocrisy and as is lawful, and similarly the Latins returning to their former beliefs, which we have received from our Lord, the apostles, and the holy councils, in which we were united for a long time, and all in general, removing what was added that caused the separation. Does this not seem just to you, or would we have prudently and well settled matters of property and money without settling in this manner? And if you do not want this, let the addition remain; but let the pope of Rome teach us and all Christians to believe that in the divinity, the Father alone is the cause and principle, as the sole begetter of the Son and the sole emitter of the Spirit through the Son; the Son is not the principle or cause of the Spirit; nor in saying that the Spirit proceeds through the Son does one need to understand the Son as the principle of the Spirit, as if hypostatically producing the Spirit and giving it its being along with the paternal hypostasis, but because of the unity of essence, this is understood as said by the holy ones, as it is in the Son, that is, not outside him nor apart from him, but proceeding from the Father.

87.Benedictus. And do you think the Latins, if they agreed to this, would not immediately also remove the addition?

88.Olbianus. They would certainly remove it if they did not wish to contradict themselves; but for us, instead of the old addition, the confession of truth itself would suffice; let them consider how they do not seem to contradict themselves.

89.Benedictus. This is impossible. But I also ask you, who says that "through the Son" is the same as "in the Son"? Who ever said that the preposition "through" could mean "in"?

90.Olbianus. Very many indeed; it would not have escaped any of those who know Chrysostom and the other teachers, nor Aristides and Plato among the outsiders, and generally those who know the Greek language, through which the teachers expounded the doctrines of truth to us.

91.Benedictus. And how do you accuse Thomas and Scotus and the other Latin teachers after the schism, who agree neither with your leader of Ephesus nor with Kabasilas here? For they said that "through the Son" means the same as "with the Son."

92.Olbianus. The disagreement among the Latin teachers, man, is in the doctrines; for one of them sets forth, another refuting, thinking he has found something truer. But we agree with Kabasilas and Marcus the holy and all the teachers before them, first in the doctrine, and then in "through the Son from the Father," all understanding the same, the unity and connection of the essence, not the cause. If one speaks more clearly, another more precisely, and another in a different manner than usual because of your insatiability, all say true things and what the saints have said; and no one refutes what another has said, but considering it true, shows the same thing in another way, not contradicting each other, far from it; for it is true that with the Son and through the Son, the Spirit is and proceeds from their common cause, and that it is in the Son and proceeds in him, and not apart from him, and not outside of him; all these things were said earlier by the ancient

teachers, to whom it is not allowed to oppose. And all these things the preposition "through" can mean, and whatever shows the unity and connection and consubstantiality absolutely.

93.Benedictus. And what do you say about the ancient teachers of the West?

94.Olbianus. Simple and just, which neither excludes them from the glory of sanctity nor draws them away from the common rule of faith and the most clear and sincere theology of the Asians, as even they would desire and praise. If you wished, preaching the faith as they did, using their writings as you wish or can due to the limitation of language, which has also happened to you at other times, we would immediately be united with you; for this is what the blessed Ephesus wisely said in Florence, and it holds for us now in agreement with him, as it did then, not praising the opinion of either now or then, may this never be, but seeking the peace of the Christian people in one confession, as in the times of the ancient teachers. This will also be the cause of agreement in one doctrine, with the contentious examination of the doctrine ceasing and all converging towards the common, true, and safe doctrine without undue meddling. But regarding the European fathers and teachers, it is sufficient to say this for now; at other times, more could be said if you wish, rather the many things said and written by our teachers about these are sufficient. But I say this to you, that just as it is native to the Latins to include "and from the Son," since they added it to the creed of faith, so it is native to us not to include "and from the Son," demonstrated in many books, councils, and hymns; and therefore, as long as you hold that, we will hold this even more, and thus we will be divided in contradiction, and there will be no end to this terrible situation. But the pope, as a father and teacher, can justly dissolve the schism alone; let him call all Christians and proclaim that evangelical voice alone in the creed, commanding it to be proclaimed thus without adding anything further; and we, the sheep, will hear his voice, and there will be one flock, one shepherd. For now, because he does not hear the voice of Christ saying, but adds something, whether good or bad, we fear it may not be true, many aiding this fear; and because it is forbidden with the most terrifying penalties to add anything to the creed of the Second Council, and nothing has been added by any council after that; and because he has again expanded it with spurious and incomplete voices, overlooking the genuine and complete voices of the fathers, worsening the evil, I refer to the things determined in Florence without examination; we do not follow him for these reasons; and if such things need to be managed, it would be up to him to manage them; for indeed it is fitting for the greater to manage, as anyone knowing would say; and otherwise, it is allowed to remain silent about what one has seen true for the sake of management; but to confess what one has not known to be true for the sake of management is entirely forbidden. And if ours provides no suspicion of evil and is preached by the Asian saints, who used the broadness of the voice as a helper, they more clearly defined these matters, we are ready to give him leisure for the sake of the good of peace, because he himself, as we think, bore the doctrine that has given us many suspicions, arising from the limitation of the voice of the Western fathers, as it happened to them before in the question of essence and hypostasis, why then not give him leisure, so that the church may be unified by preaching the undisputed things only and which have been preached for a long time, uniting all Christian peoples through them? If the pope cannot change the definitions of the fathers, even though he greatly desires peace, for many things have been written and done in the Roman church to confirm the addition, and the same thing binds us much more; for many things contrary have been written and done in our church, and many threats are directed at those who would transgress them, which are not easy to pass over without fear. We grieve for not being united; but neither were we the cause of the schism from the

beginning, and now it is up to others more to dissolve it, who do not wish to dissolve it in any way, as they do not owe the account to the God of peace, we confess the truths without fear and pass through life. So cease thinking yourself wrong as well.

95.Benedictus. But I will not stop.

96.Olbianus. Then do whatever you will.

97.Benedictus. And you, Eulogius, what do you say? Do you have nothing more to propose for the sought peace than what your companion has already suggested?

98.Eulogius. Go away; I have judged you as a sophist, and I no longer wish to respond. Let what my companion has said suffice for you, as it is excellent and most just. Let us also go, noble Olbianus, postponing the matters proposed to tomorrow; for it is evening.

99.Olbianus. Not yet, illustrious one, before you have resolved two doubts for me, rather hearing from others who are in doubt or opposed to us. I have indeed resolved them, and as I convince myself, sufficiently; your vote now will either commend those things, or by finding fault, much better our own, which you might teach.

100.Eulogius. Then tell how you have resolved them and what they are, so that I might vote rightly.

101.Olbianus. I wished, by setting forth the arguments of the men, first to hear something from you in defense; then, comparing what I have said to them with your responses, to know if they agree; nothing would be concealed from you later, even if they seemed to conform; for what would we be ashamed of not speaking freely but learning? But since it seems to you better for me first to say what I answered to them, I will indeed say both theirs and our own. So as not to weary you, first they said that the Son of God is not called the cause, but the co-cause with the Father of the Spirit; this they said is no difficulty and seemed to have found something wise in saying the Father generates the Spirit in an archetypal manner. This I indeed say in brief. Then they said that the blessed Kabasilas said somewhere that there is no other cause of the division between us and the Latins up to the present than the unwillingness of the pope to allow the decision of the disputed matter to an ecumenical council, but wishing to be the sole teacher of the matter, having the others in the place of students. If indeed this was the cause of the division, and it has been resolved, they say, since an ecumenical council was held recently in Florence, the division must thus be resolved by the argument of Kabasilas; and those who departed from that council and Kabasilas himself contend with what is proper, if he indeed thought rightly speaking thus. These they said, adding many things to construct these arguments, as they thought. If you do not wish me to go through those as well, I will proceed to my own points.

102.Eulogius. I do not wish; I see those from what has been said; present only your points.

103.Olbianus. As for the second point, I said that if that marvelous man did not call the Latin doctrine of the procession a snare and deception and all terrible things altogether, nor did he lead it to innumerable absurdities, perhaps there might be a reason to suppose that the ecumenical council sought to confirm the doctrine, being good and true, awaiting the common vote to be ceremonially proclaimed. But since he leaves nothing of the unpleasant things unmentioned against it, showing it unnecessary from what the Latins say, and absurd and contradicting the faith, there is no place for that reasoning, but rather he proposed the council as having the authority to define the truth and confirming those speaking rightly about this doctrine, no longer placing the pope as the teacher and distressing the church with his autonomy, but owing to obey the greatest part of the church. He hoped that if an ecumenical council were held, it would be there, with two

or three representatives fulfilling the role of the pope, as in those ecumenical councils, and it would vote freely for the truth and justice, which would be clear to anyone wanting to judge rightly with authority. For in the times of Kabasilas, the state of Christians was better than ours, and it is likely he was moved by such hopes regarding the council, although even now, with matters as they are, it took little to convene the council here; and with our ambassadors poorly promising the transfer of place, and consenting to the Italian cities instead of our city, the emperor, wishing to restrain the divine, prepared those double triremes to send, some calling to Italy, others to the overseas with more just cause. And all sensible people cried out that we must stay, freeing ourselves from bad promises with the decency of the apparent battle of the Latins against themselves; for we must first make peace among ourselves, thus all seeking peace with us together. But we all drank the mandrake so much that, ignoring all sound reasoning and every sign from God, we were within the Latin nets willingly not for long; once inside, what was left but to pay the last farthing or be the ready food for those in power? What wonder if even that great man, following the counsels of sensible people and divine votes, advised a council able in place and manner to investigate and confirm the truth, and to drive away the evils introduced into the church by personal caprice according to its laws to the furthest extent, and to favor none with apparent just claims? If he foresaw such a council, where the pope would again be the teacher of the matter, as his vote immediately shows and the events testify, with the others not sitting as students but rather enslaved, and our champions, some given over to the hoped-for honors from there, as is clear from the events, others oppressed by necessities and unable to bear two years' absence from home, and besides being enclosed inland, so that descent seemed impossible without submission, and the emperor fearing for the rule, as his brothers were watching the matter, and everyone looking to one thing, the escape from dangers, if they dared anything irreverent to faith, although poorly, yet thus everything was in straits for them; and for these reasons the pope would pledge faith as he wished, and they would sign, not in council nor by public opinion of each, but by secret devices of those not yet pre-surrendered persuaded, nor previously sought in common, about which the pope decided, but again legislating from his own, worse and more obscure than from the beginning, raising an unceasing fight against the teachers; and if there was ever a hope of good union, clearly destroying it, as no one sensible and knowledgeable could agree to such additions to the previous; and there will be no argument for those of us going to the council, neither from what Kabasilas and those before him said, nor from what the council in Constantinople defined about these matters, but they will bow their heads like slaves to the Roman pope and his laws without examination and ignobly; if Kabasilas foresaw these things, he would rather shout that we must sit quietly holding to the faith of the fathers, and by no means undertake negotiations suitable for their preparation, and harm the whole world with them; as many cried out before departing here, as is evident from their writings, clearly foretelling what indeed happened. So cease slandering the holy Kabasilas; for not even he, but none of the most impious could be said to prefer so much against the truth because it had not yet been decided by a council in common, as the multitude of opinions, but not by the power of truth as all wise men are accustomed to align; even if someone were first to reveal this. How would that marvelous man not know that a council could either confirm or not confirm the addition? Let it be granted that he thought thus, he would be the cause of error for all who believe his writing, or at least for those until the council, instilling a bad opinion about the best, and persuading all to hate the truth; and he drives those attentive to his words. If it was easy for him to see this, as indeed to everyone, how could he, being a Christian and holy, undertake such a danger

out of undue contentiousness? I think not only considering the harm to others but also his own disgrace, either he would not leave such dire writings against the Latins for the future, or not advise the council if he wished to undertake such unholy ambition. How did he understand himself advising the council if it were to confirm the addition as valid? For he would be crowned more for such counsel than judged for daring, as he thought it most true, needing only common vote; and advising that the Greek objection be resolved by the council, by his own words he would again convince them to object more, teaching how terrible it is to believe the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, and prayed at the end of his words not to have sung in vain into deaf ears, those serving the addition, but hoped persuading them showing the truth to refuse falsehood in peace; for this would indeed seem a great audacity to the council if judged by our opinion. Now, other than accepting something, we heard many Latins blaming the man; but no one had or would have the charge to deceive people, not until now nor even now if intending to listen justly and wisely to what he said. But you now first fabricated this accusation against him under the pretext of goodwill; you should rather praise his counsel as seeming so to you than denounce the most stubborn of all men willingly afflicted with such a disease. But this is not so, it is not so. The marvelous man hoped on the contrary that the council he advised, if proposed, would crown him and those good words against falsehood, using also with others for the confirmation of truth and making him part of those gathered and now deceased, the books speaking instead of his tongue, and he expected some reward from God, having brought peace with truth even after death; for those wishing to be pious should chiefly seek peace; then to make friends and companions those choosing the same truth, and with one heart and one mouth, that is, harmonious confession, to praise God, or not mix with those otherwise minded, better to keep one's own through truth than acquire the foreign through so-called management, as one of the inspired said; knowing this well, he advised the council rightly, and showed that the autonomy and greed of Rome, and the unwillingness to entrust the judgment of the doctrine to the majority of brothers, caused the church's schism; if they brought that vote, if intending to judge rightly with freedom, he quickly brought his own vote, being part of the church by reason of high priesthood and wisdom, with which God adorned the man. For it is more fitting to think thus of a wise and holy and just man, as all know him. The very preserved words testify, showing nothing of what you fabricate, disregarding the true and obvious, and gathering support for your schemes from some riddles as truly; what is worse, seeming sensible inside, but outwardly supporting the opposite in the struggles of our only hope, I mean faith. And this about Kabasilas.

104.Olbianus. I said that calling the Son of God the co-cause of the hypostasis of the Holy Spirit is joined with many other absurdities, none of which can absolve the Father of being the archetypal cause, which we will show whenever you are willing to engage in these discussions. For it is not right to allow the weapons of truth to be handed over to your sophisms in a contest, but these must be preserved, refuting falsehood in due time. It is sufficient to say at present that if indeed he is a co-cause, he is a cause; this is forbidden to us. For we do not admit what is not a cause in the same way as you, when the power and energy of proceeding come to him from the Father with the essence; but we do not wish in any way to believe the Son to be the cause of the Spirit, with the power of proceeding remaining in the Father alone without participation; nor do we wish the truth to be such, and those who think otherwise to err in this. And as, if indeed he is a co-cause according to you, either there will be something worse among the two principles, which I now say in silence, or at least you will not escape making two principles of the Spirit, I mean cause

and co-cause; for the co-cause divides. And furthermore, you say these things, being Greek-Latins, knowing nothing and being deceived by the Latins, so that you might only share with them, consenting to say what they themselves do not praise for themselves; but the Latins themselves would never say this, nor would the pope with his council say that the Son is a co-cause with the Father of the Spirit, and not a cause, in the Latin voice, for many reasons. And we for even more reasons would not accept this if it were so said by them. And you do not interpret the blessed Augustine rightly when you say he speaks of the Spirit proceeding archetypically from the Father; rather it must be said archetypically, as the words of the holy ones who spoke it would be in favor of us and the truth itself, as the Spirit proceeds from the Son in no way archetypically, but either indeed according to the common energy of the Spirit and the other divine persons, we say it is temporal, and the Spirit has carried out the sanctifying progression, for it yields this energy in time that completes the work, not that it happens in time nor having continuity with time as in movement, nor measured in any way; for the Spirit does not need time, just as it does not need time to be, nor in any way to act. And if we say the eternal progression of the Spirit, being only from the Father, as indeed proceeding from Him alone both archetypically and causally, we do not believe it acts in time, nor gives the energy in time, being entirely eternal. And for this reason, I immediately called upon the great Basil as a witness, as you know, almost agreeing with me in his words; for he says, "How in time does what proceeds from God proceed, if it gives the energies in time?" This I said; what do you think about these matters?

105.Eulogius. What else but that you have spoken excellently, as you always do, and not in a relaxed manner like ours, but with a noble tone and, so to speak, oratorically; and considering the things you have kept silent about, I find those also to be very true. There is only one thing absent from our words, man: the knowledge and conscience of the listeners. As long as that is absent, we will seem to be speaking nonsense.

106.Olbianus. But I do not worry about this; for they will not despise us alone, but many of the most ancient and wisest men, if they disregard us so. It is sufficient for us to be in agreement with the most pious and prudent here, with whom we hope to be with our very souls not much later, and to see these things as they are, better and more accurately, as they undoubtedly now see. If someone thinks that we, following such great men, are speaking nonsense or committing some other injustice, it is fitting for them to grieve, being such, but for us to rejoice and be glad to hear whatever is for the sake of truth, and to strive much more in this mortal body and its sufferings; for it is not harmful, and it will be rewarded.

107.Eulogius. Then let us go.

RESPONSE TO THE LATINS ON THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

6. Examination of certain passages of the Latin Fathers on the procession of the Holy Spirit.

† Of the same: Regarding the statements of the Western saints, on which the Latins particularly rely, a brief and clear response:

1.Since the Latins and those who share their views on the procession of the Holy Spirit draw support from some of the Western saints, especially Augustine, and even made him the cornerstone of the flawed agreement in Florence, thinking it demonstrated the agreement of the teachers, as they believed, between the Asians and those from the West, as stated in the Latin aspirations in Florence, we must clearly provide the true and just judgment on these matters in brief words with God's help, since we have dealt with them more extensively in our two books.

2.As far as our own consciences are concerned, we who are genuine sons of the Catholic Church and wish to be, and true successors of the piety of our Fathers, the statements of those Western saints mean nothing, nor should we care about them, as much as in the present study. Firstly, because our faith does not come from those saints but from the Eastern ones, whose books we have and whose voices we listen to, and it is sufficient for us to agree on the procession of the Spirit as we agree and follow in the general faith. Moreover, because these teachers from Asia are more authoritative, having fought against heresies and been present at the ecumenical councils, sometimes at different times, and sent forth the faith and its symbol to the whole Church of Christians as if they were some kind of lawgivers. Secondly, because the matter of the Western saints has always been spoken of by the Latins after they added to their Creed, for their own justification, and it never disturbed our Fathers or persuaded them to have a better opinion of the Latin innovation. For all our Fathers, in their writings against the Latins, always make some defenses even concerning the sayings of the Westerners, which the Latins produce, so they were always brought forth by them. Therefore, the judgment of our Fathers, of so many and so great, in almost five hundred years, should suffice for us. And if we had no judgment from their writings, but only from their work, that is, their most certain opposition to innovation, it would suffice, for their conscience was not corrupted. But since we must abundantly have and defend against those who present the blessed Augustine and his sayings as some great authority, although most do not know either Augustine or his sayings, but have grasped this voice from the Latins, that the Western saints also testify to them, they become burdensome to us, ready to believe any word and add to what appears, out of lightness or distrust of the truth. We divide the defense of those sayings into three parts.

3.The first of these considerations is that we have no reliable assurance regarding the authenticity of the sayings, and for this reason, it would not be rational to abandon what is known and trustworthy for what is doubtful. There is considerable suspicion concerning those sayings, and this suspicion is confirmed by numerous factors, not least of which is that they are not found in the canonical Scriptures. Therefore, the saints would not have said it, nor is it necessarily inferred from the Scriptures. If any of the holy ones from Asia had inferred this, it would have been perilous and dangerous—hence, all the Eastern teachers avoid it—and they would not have dared to assert it. St. Jerome says that within the very name of "substance" lies concealed, as it were, poison in honey; for through this term, the simpler people, being deceived, may end up professing multiple essences as well as multiple substances, since "substance," if understood from the

standpoint of "standing under" accidents, actually signifies essence in its primary sense. Therefore, how could Jerome or Augustine, who feared the term "substance" to avoid causing divisions among the people, themselves introduce honey laden with such deadly poisons? What grave consequences would follow from this term being used; either a duality if the Father and the Son divide the Holy Spirit by personal power; the mixing of the Father and the Son if they advance it by one personal power; the decrease of the Spirit if it is advanced by a substantial power without communion with the Spirit; the tetrad of divine substances or, if you will, the infinity, if this is advanced by substantial power with communion to the Spirit; or the primary principle being the Spirit in the Godhead, or rather no substance being primarily causative, with the divine generation being reversed, and other such consequences which it is not necessary to detail here but have been elaborated in the aforementioned books.

4.There is nothing unreasonable in the doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds solely from the Father. Indeed, the whole truth of the faith is established by this dogma. If some people assert that this would mean that the Son is not truly God since He does not also project the Spirit, these individuals do not merit a response. However, to prevent any confusion among the simpler minds, Cyril provides a reassuring answer that dispels any fears. No rational person, he says, would claim that the Son is unlike the Father, for He did not beget nor is He the Father of the Son. Rather, through this, one would see a wondrous and precise image of the Father in the Son. Just as the Father, being immutable and unchanging, always remains the Father without transforming into the Son, so too the Word who proceeds from Him, being the Son, remains what He is, showing through Himself the unchangeability of the Father, and thereby being similar to the Father in this respect.

5.Therefore, it is foolish to say: The Son would be unlike the Father if He too were not the cause of the Spirit. He is similar precisely by maintaining His own distinctiveness without usurping the Father's distinctiveness, which is unbegottenness, that is, the cause of what proceeds from Him. Otherwise, these people would not also claim that the Spirit is unlike, if it is deprived of begetting and projecting, which is not rightly deprived, for if they grant the projection to the Son. For begetting is not the same as projecting; this is how they respond, as will be shown. But begetting is not opposed to being projected. Therefore, according to them, the Son can also be both begotten and projector because projecting is not opposed to begetting; so too the Spirit would at least be either a father or a begetter because begetting is not opposed to being projected. Thus, how can they not evidently fight against the Spirit, seemingly honoring the Son wrongly, and dissolving the principle of equality among the divine persons? Returning then, I say that Augustine and Jerome would not have introduced honey with such deadly poisons; they should have feared to say what none of the Eastern teachers, whom they regarded as examples, ever said, nor should they have expressed any substance.

6.The third argument confirms our suspicion regarding the mentioned points, that both Jerome and Augustine affirmed the confession of the Catholic Church and preached the Creed in Constantinople. It is unlikely that they would confess one thing publicly and write something else in private.

7.The fourth point is that if the Latins added to the theology of our Lord Christ and the faith of the ecumenical councils alone, it would not be surprising for them to also add to the books of their teachers, whose authority is lesser than that of the ecumenical councils.

8.The fifth point is that in Ferrara, before departing to Florence and shamefully betraying the truth, when we were all gathered in one hearing, the Latin Archbishop of Rhodes, Fra Andreas, read from the Acts of the

Seventh Council in a book written in Latin, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and we all laughed aloud. For the confession of Tarasius in the Acts states that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, not from the Father and the Son. Consequently, being ashamed, they condemned the aforementioned bishop and expelled him from speaking on their behalf. That book was evidently written with such corruption as read by that archbishop.

9.The sixth point is that even if the books were not corrupted before the addition in the Creed, it is very likely that they were corrupted afterward. For those who transcribed the books of their teachers among the Latins, most of them being laymen, where they found something about the procession of the Holy Spirit, they transcribed it according to the confession of their church, not as they found it written, thinking it was erroneous, using the Creed sung in their churches as a standard. Thus, all the books were transformed to match the form of the addition. Many such things reinforce our suspicion regarding the mentioned points.

10.The second point is that all the books among them received no alteration, neither from any malice nor from the ignorance of the transcribers affecting the usual confession of their faith. I say that even if Augustine says that the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, as they claim, it does not necessarily imply that the entire Church changed its belief because of Augustine. For the Church establishes the laws of faith for Augustine and every other saint; it is not to be regulated by him. Nor is it necessary that because Augustine said so, it must be so; for this privilege is reserved only for the canonical Scriptures and the ecumenical councils. And no Orthodox person may deviate from these; but it is proper to respectfully dismiss one or even two saints in what they do not agree with the common belief, whether this happened by the necessity of speaking against heretics or in any other way, without contention with the Church. For if they had contended, they would not be saints. And this is the difference between heretical and Orthodox teachers: not that the saints held no divergent opinions or said nothing erroneous, and the heretics adhered to falsehood, but that the former did not contend with the Church, while the latter did. Many, indeed, have held many opinions contrary to the common belief, but we do not follow them, and yet we honor them as saints and teachers because they did not contend with the Church. Holding them as saints, we are not compelled to think those things as each one said, rather than as the majority of the saints, the councils, or the more mature consideration of those examining these things assure us. Thus, the great Gregory the Wonderworker said in the Exposition of Faith that the Father and the Son are two in conception but one in substance. And the great Basil criticizes him in the Ascetica, saying that he did not speak this dogmatically but contentiously. The same Basil also says of Dionysius of Alexandria and martyr that we do not admire everything about him, but there are things we utterly reject; for this man, as we know, was the first to sow the seeds of the impiety now spread about regarding the Anomoeans. I think the cause was not malice of mind, but the great desire to oppose Sabellius. And again, concerning the holy Gregory the Wonderworker, the same Basil says that you would find many statements there (that is, in Gregory's writings) which now give great strength to heretics, such as the creation and the making and anything of that sort. And Gregory of Nyssa, believing in the restoration and the end of punishment, appears to think this clearly, although Maximus the Confessor, doing well, attempts to transform the harshness of his expression into a pious sense through certain devices. And Augustine himself believes that the soul of the first man, that is, Adam, was created before the body and by its own will inclined towards the body, so as to assist its formation. And Jerome, with him, says that the heavenly bodies are animate. These opinions were condemned by the Church in the Fifth Council as

doctrines of Origen and the Manichaeans and Plato, which occurred long after these saints. Therefore, Thomas, the teacher of the Latins, where he finds Augustine and Jerome, the blessed ones, disagreeing with the common doctrine of the Church, places Basil and Damascenus and Gregory the Great, our own, before them and follows these more closely, doing very well. Whom at least we should imitate, even if we knew nothing else, being a Latin and placing none before all, and holding to the more precise ones in matters of the procession.

11.The eleventh point is that a teacher might err in some precision without heresy, provided they have not contended, their opinion being distinguished in common. Augustine himself is a witness to this, and he advises us not to accept anything of his own that appears to disagree with the majority or the common rule. For, apart from what he wrote to Fortunatus, some of which we included in our confession, he says to Jerome: "I have learned to attribute this honor and reverence only to the canonical books of Scripture, so that none of their writers are believed to have erred. But other authors I read so that, however great their holiness or learning, I do not consider true because they wrote thus or thought thus." And again, in the same letter to Jerome, he says: "I have learned to bestow this reverence and honor on none but the canonical Scriptures, not daring to believe that any of their writers could have erred in writing. And if I come across anything in their writings that seems contrary to the truth, I presume either the book is spurious, or the translator did not follow what was said, or that I myself do not understand it." Regarding other authors, he reads them with the same attitude, not believing them to be true because they so thought, unless it can be demonstrated to him that it does not contradict the truth, either through other writings or canonical and demonstrative reasoning. He also writes to Niketas the victorious: "Do not raise slanders from the writings of our bishops against the divine testimonies, which are so many, so clear, so indisputable, as with Hilarion, Cyprian, and Agrippinus before the Donatist schism. First, because this kind of writing is distinguished from the reverence due to canonical Scriptures, for they are not read in such a way that testimonies are brought from them and it is not permitted to think otherwise where perhaps they think otherwise than the truth requires. For in this catalogue of bishops, we do not disdain to say the apostolic: And if you think otherwise, God will reveal that to you." And that Augustine says many things not asserting them, but leaving them in doubt, either because of their seeming plausibility or because tradition does not yet establish them, and he was catechized late in life by Ambrose, coming from the Manicheans or, to be precise, the Platonic heresy to the true faith, as those Latins who report these things to us say. Thomas himself makes this clear in his theological works, saying in many places with that very word: "This conclusion, I say, is not Augustine's assertion, but left in doubt." The same is evidenced by his book of Retractations, where many things said and written earlier by him are corrected when he had not yet been able to be exact in all things, having come late to the faith. This happened to none of our teachers in such a way. Therefore, they confidently assert what they say, knowing that others think the same, except when something proceeds from their private mind, which no one has yet thought about. Then they rightly dismiss the listeners, as Augustine himself shows doing.

12.Therefore, to conclude this second section, it is not necessary to think that because Augustine alone, or another with him, thought thus, holding piously as he could, we should hold him and his teaching above all the most manifest teachers and writers, and, most importantly, the councils and the Scriptures, where it seems to us that his views do not agree with theirs, whether rightly or not, it seems thus. Neither should anyone judge Augustine on this matter irreverently, far from it, but rather as he himself advises and did with Cyprian

and Hilarion, his predecessors, and Gregory the Theologian in either case, we value him according to Augustine's rules. Hence, no reasonable person could blame us for respectfully exceeding the holy Augustine in this present inquiry, placing others more just and greater above him, while still preserving the proper reverence due to him.

13.Thirdly, I say that we can accept the statements of the Western saints as genuine and show them to be in agreement with the Asiatic theologians in what they say about the Spirit. For this, we rely on the blessed Maximus as our guide. In his letter to Marinus, Maximus appears to testify to the Roman Fathers about the procession from the Son, reconciling it and connecting it with the views of the Asiatic teachers. If the Latins accept the letter as genuine, its words should reconcile us. If they claim it is spurious, they cast out the only testimony of the authenticity of the statements they mention. Therefore, we stand by what was said in the first and second sections. They say either Augustine did not say the Spirit proceeds from the Son due to what was said previously, or if he did, he should be piously dismissed due to the latter reasons. But we are so far from holding contentious views on such matters that even though the letter is not entirely ours and our objection is valid, we take it as able to piously unite us. We have no doubt, given many other proofs examined in both books and this greatest one, that even if it is not a letter of Maximus, it would be of Maximus or another of like mind, for it agrees with the views of all our teachers. And if it agrees with the statements of the Roman Fathers beyond our own understanding, it proves them to be in harmony with the brethren easily and truthfully, beyond which there is nothing sound to think or say. Since the letter seems true to us, confirmed by other irrefutable ways in the previous and second books, we do not greatly contend with those who doubt it. Even without its support, we seek the agreement of the teachers, and without its testimony regarding the statements of the Roman Fathers, we believe them to present them to the Latins, favoring them more despite differing needlessly, and they could avoid differing if they wished, or they could favor us, willing to accept the testimony and agreement through the letter.

14.Therefore, accepting the authenticity of those statements without argument, as they are expressed in the Latin idiom, for the sake of peace, we must still value them as corresponding to the manner of the Eastern saints in a just way. This can be done only by always drawing the less clear towards the clearer, and regulating the more distant from the principles through those nearer or more similar to the first, if one does not wish to be sophistic. It is evident that the statements of our teachers regarding the procession of the Spirit are clearer than those of the Latins, due to three reasons contributing to their greater clarity: one, because the Greek language is much broader and clearer than Latin, especially since it is the source of the latter. Augustine admits this in his work on the Trinity, and Athanasius and Gregory the Theologian say the same, attributing the schism that arose then in the question of hypostasis and person to the narrowness of the Western language. For brevity's sake, the statements of the saints are omitted here, but they are clear to all. Secondly, the Asiatic teachers spoke more clearly because they were engaged in war against the heretics, hence they needed to speak definitively and clearly for the sake of revealing the truth and avoiding the snares of heretics exploiting the indeterminate nature of words. Thirdly, the Latin idiom prevailed in discourse, using more universal and general terms to signify the divine, which was their mode of discourse on these matters. For instance, they used the term "principle" for the divine instead of "cause," considering it more common, and perhaps rightly, since through such terms the divine is better and more appropriately signified, ensuring the listeners' safety and stopping those resisting the truth less effectively. Our teachers, whether

judging this better or following the idiom of their language, used more particular terms and spoke of divine matters as they did of others, using the most fitting terms for each purpose. Hence, the European statements must be drawn towards the Asiatic ones and explained through them, as they are undeniably clearer. Since they are also more similar to the first principles, that is, the canonical Scriptures, the statements of our teachers should judge those of the Latins, using them as a standard. Let us acknowledge that the theologians in Asia appear to have greater accuracy, not relying much on external arguments in discussing divine matters, nor yielding much to human wisdom, which Augustine used for reasons shown in the previous books, commendable then, but not making a doctrine now of what he reasonably preferred, setting aside the reverent adherence to the common rule of faith and those firmly holding it, which cannot be meddled with, not allowing human meddling. These are the teachers of our Church. And lest it seem cold to say these things about Augustine, though he is blessed, wise, and praiseworthy in such zeal, they would rightly be blamed if not using his things as he would want; and if anyone does not think and say Augustine is holy and blessed, let them be anathema. Nevertheless, as has been said, guarding against ignorant or malicious hearings, chiefly for their sake; no one can accuse us of any ignorance while we hold to the truth itself and the saints of both sides in an upright, sincere, and canonical manner, having many recommendations of diet and discernment of various seeming differences. For these reasons, it is not the Western against the Eastern, but rather all together the statements of the Western and Eastern teachers should be aligned with the rule of faith, and so should it be done.

15.The teachers from Asia say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and no one says that it proceeds from the Father and the Son. All of them say that it is given, sent, and conferred through the Son, and such things, in which causality is not understood from one person to another, but rather both together are the cause towards the external result. And thus, not only do they say that the Spirit is sent and given from the Father through the Son, but also from the Father and the Son and from the Son, simply, adding the Father, as the Spirit is believed to have been given and sent by the Son himself. These statements precisely agree with the common rule of faith, as demonstrated in the previous confession by the authorities of the saints.

16.Following this rule of faith, which also the pattern of the Eastern teachers agrees with, where the Western Fathers say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son (for what they mean by "proceeds" is what we mean by "goes forth"), we explain their proposition as follows: The Spirit goes forth from the Father and the Son, but from the Father as subsisting and proceeding, and from the Son, that is to say, from both, or from the Father through the Son, as conferred and given, because it naturally exists in Him and is consubstantial with Him. Thus, both parties of the saints agree in the rule of truth, and otherwise, they do not agree. For in making the Son also the cause of the Spirit, they do not agree, nor as the principle. All the Easterners deny the Son to be the cause or principle or projector of the Spirit, attributing such things solely to the Father. This is exemplified by many saints who say it is possible to say that the Son goes forth from the Father and the Holy Spirit, but we distinguish that the Son is begotten, while the Spirit proceeds. What goes forth can mean begotten for the Son, and proceeding for the Spirit. Thus, the Spirit goes forth from the Father and the Son according to the Westerners (for it is given), but from the Father as cause, from the Son as transmission; and from the Father as subsisting, from the Son as sent and manifested; and from the Father by hypostasis, from the Son by operation; or, as one might wish to distinguish the eternal

procession and the temporal mission of the Spirit. If some interpret the statements of the Western Fathers otherwise, they interpret them wrongly; correctly and genuinely interpreted, they can agree with the statements of the other saints as mentioned before. Additionally, the Holy Spirit exists from the Father, is consubstantial with the Son, and thus, the Son and the Spirit are in each other, as the Father and the Son are in each other, as the basis of faith says. Following this rule, our saints sometimes say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, meaning that it is with the Son and in the Son and not apart from the Son, nor outside the Father; these are all expressions of the saints equally capable, and these are all what the preposition can mean.

17.They say these things not considering the Son to be the cause or principle of the Spirit, or a co-cause with the Father; for they explicitly deny such things as absurd and false and impossible and inconsistent; but they present the unity and indistinguishableness of the essence.

18.Therefore, if according to the faulty interpretation of some, the statements of the Western Fathers are interpreted to mean that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, with "from the Son" replacing "through the Son," and "through the Son" not indicating causality and the giving of being, but the connection and natural union, then the Western teachers would agree with the Asiatic theologians, and all together with the rule of faith. Otherwise, if someone thinks to reconcile them differently, they suffer from ignorance of both common and theological reasoning, or from wickedness. For it is impossible for them to agree with each other and with the faith otherwise, even if all angels said so, if it were possible for angels to say things inconsistent with the teaching of the Spirit. Thus, our Fathers and leaders reconciled them, being much worthier than those now daring to legislate against them, if there is anyone so inclined. The agreement in Florence, made through the terms established there, being an ancient invention of the Latins, since the addition to the Creed (for surely they intended this addition when they made it), signed by our Fathers with God's abandonment, declares all our predecessors Nestorians, as the Latins themselves wrongly say, the protest and doctrine of our ancestors were Nestorian, and the Asiatic teachers too. I refrain from speaking of further evils out of discretion. Therefore, if we refrain from saying all that our conscience suggests about that disagreement of the teachers (for it is right to speak of disagreement rather than agreement), we simply say this: neither was that an agreement, nor can it be otherwise agreed than as we have now said, and before us, our much better and more divine predecessors.

19.If someone says, "But this agreement of the teachers is forced," they lie. For it would be much more forced to explain the clearer through the less clear and to regulate the more precise through the less precise. It is clear that what agrees with the canonical Scriptures and the common councils of Christians is more precise, as are the teachings of the Asiatic teachers, whether due to the idiom of their language, greater attention, or other causes not inferior to the piety and holiness of others. But even if there were no way to draw the Western teachers' statements towards the common confession of faith, supported by so many scriptures, councils, and teachers of ours, as we and our Fathers before us deem right, we would rather respectfully pass over the others, allowing them to add to the more familiar place and language, saying more familiar things, than to separate all from each other and from the holy Scripture. For this would indeed be to hold on to the responses of the second part.

20.If anyone finds this burdensome, even though it has been explained before, we adhere to our previous responses, and no one could accuse us of boldness, audacity, or contentiousness, as we rely on the canonical

Scriptures, the ecumenical councils, and the well-known teachers, whose books we possess and whose voices we understand, and whom we value above all for the faith, for we use almost exclusively them as guides, adding nothing to nor taking anything from their works, leaving aside the rest of the meddling, because it hides much danger with the hope of uncertain gain. No one could blame us for this. But if for the sake of ecclesiastical peace we dare further, safely accepting theology or testimony without witness, and the testimony of those very statements cast out by the dissenters, I mean the letter of Maximus, it is safe to accept such statements according to the pattern of the Catholic faith, and further the pattern of our teachers. Therefore, if for the sake of ecclesiastical peace and the glory of Christ, which increases with the increase of ecclesiastical peace, we and our Fathers in their writings have advanced thus far, it is impious to go further, contrary to our good conscience, and like closing the eyes of the soul, to accept an unheard doctrine under the guise of an unjust and impossible agreement of saints, and to say the whole is sophistical. What we and our ancestors are and were, God sees, and the just among men. There are many among the Latins themselves who justify us in their inner conscience, even if they do not openly dare to do so, respecting the laws of their mother, which, alas, some of our own do not regard, adding to our calamity in these most difficult and unfortunate times. It is evident from the contrary that the Latins have wronged us and still wrong us and the peace of the Church. For they added alone without the other patriarchs; and among us, the four patriarchs did not add in opposition, although they could have done so more justly then, as being more numerous, and because they would have added the truth; but for the sake of peace and fearing the boundaries set by the Fathers, they did not do this.

21.They say it was of urgent necessity to add; and now, with no such necessity, they do not remove it. They present testimonies without witnesses, and many great and just suspicions might arise not against the saints—far be it—but against the statements attributed to them, and we believe they present them for the sake of peace.

22.They slander the only testimony about them, the letter of Maximus, because of the attached suspicion of the teacher's misinterpretation, and we tolerate it. It is proper not even to consider them further, but to resort to the common rules of faith; we place the blessed Paul and our Jesus as interpreters of the statements, if they are truly of the saints, and make them mediators of the dispute, along with the ecumenical councils; and they pay no heed, but insist that we pay the last farthing. And when they resolve this issue not with the indisputable voices of Scriptures and saints, but with their own modern inventions, they expect us to bow our heads, and are offended at those who do not, as if serving a law, but not knowledge and conscience, or having a less attentive regard for their mother, whose laws they must rather serve, and not exceed the bounds set concerning these matters.

23.But may it happen, O God, king, that the Roman Church too seeks the peace of the Church more justly, so that we may render to it the former reverence. Now, whatever was necessary to say concerning the statements of the Western teachers and Fathers, in accordance with those proper to our mother the Eastern Church, and her glory and teaching, so that they may not be troubled, a little has been said from many with God; to whom be glory and praise forever. Amen.

THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SPIRIT TO BE FROM THE SON

7. Absolute Repugnance of the Procession of the Holy Spirit from Both

† Of the Same. It is impossible for the Son of God to be the projector of the Spirit or to project it together with the Father, or rather, it is impossible for it to proceed from the Son; and those who deny making two principles or conflating the hypostases, holding this opinion, are not less acceptable to those who think correctly, even if they seem to say something to the unlearned.

1. That according to the principles of faith it is impossible for the Son of God to be the projector and cause of the Holy Spirit has been demonstrated by many arguments in the first and second books of our works; it can also be concisely shown in this discourse.

2.If the Son were to project the Holy Spirit hypostatically together with the Father, as a principle or cause, as indicated in the decree of Florence, or since there is one God, Father and Son, they project it, or since they are two hypostases, because in the Father and the Son, the unity of the essence and the distinction of the hypostases are fundamental to everything that exists in them, whether communally or individually, and apart from these, nothing else exists. But as they exist in the essence, they do not project the Holy Spirit, for two reasons, even according to the Latins: according to Thomas, because the divine hypostases create the world as they are one God, and thus they are one creator of the world; according to Scotus, because the Holy Spirit would project itself, since it exists in the essence with the Father and the Son. In this proposition, that the Father and the Son are one in essence, and the Holy Spirit is contained in the same unity of essence. Since therefore, either the Spirit projects itself, or it will be a creature and outside the divine unity, if the Father and the Son project it as they are one in essence, these are clearly blasphemous, so they do not project it thus. Nor do they project it as they are two hypostases. For as something in them by the nature's principle would be undistinguished, so something by the hypostases' principle would be dual and distinguished, and thus the Father and the Son would not be one principle of the Spirit. Therefore, the Church's teachers say it proceeds from the Father's hypostasis, excluding the Son, and no one has said it proceeds from the Son's hypostasis. Since it is also blasphemous to have two principles in the deity, it follows that if they projected the Spirit as distinguished, or as two hypostases, they would not project it thus. With no other way remaining, it remains impossible for the Spirit to subsist from the divine Logos as from the Father.

3.The most learned respond to this argument, saying the Father and the Son project the Holy Spirit, not as they are in essence, nor as distinguished (they concede to those absurd conclusions), but as they are in the projecting power. But this response is first unproven; nowhere is it found in Scripture or the saints that there is one projecting power or operation in the Father and the Son. Secondly, it is sophistical; it tries to solve the question by the question itself; for this is the very question, whether the Son has the same projecting power as the Father. Thirdly, it returns to the same or greater difficulties. For we ask from where this one projecting power in the Father and the Son has its unity, whether from the unity of the essence or from the unity of the hypostasis; for every power in the divine is either essential, from the essence, or hypostatic, from the person. If it arises from the unity of essence and follows it, as the power of creation does, then either the Spirit will project itself, in the same unity of nature having the same power, or if it does not project itself, it will be a creature and not in the same unity of essence, lacking such power. If it follows personal unity, being personal like the power of begetting, the Father and the Son will be one person, and as one person will project the

Spirit. But by no means can the Father and the Son be considered or said to be one person; thus, such a response is false.

4.Others say that the Father and the Son project the Holy Spirit, not as they are each individually, nor as they are two individually, but as they are two in one; for the projecting power pertains to them both as they are two and as they are one, indicating nature with property. And as it signifies property, there is no impossibility for it to exist in two subjects as long as they have one nature; but as it signifies nature, it is in those that have such nature. And this response, being almost the same as the former, is monstrous, being attributed to a certain Alexander; for in no way is the Father and the Son two and one, or as they say, two in one; otherwise, everything would be mingled there in a Sabellian manner, so not even according to the one projecting power, as they say. Furthermore, how would this one power exist in two subjects, being one? It should rather be twofold as the subjects, if it were personal and not a property of the nature; or being one and personal, it would belong to one person, being immovably determined in the same. For the personal properties must remain immovable. How can properties remain if they move and change, according to Gregory the Theologian? If the power is twofold according to the number of subjects, to which they give the power, then there would be two principles of the Spirit, those projecting with twofold power. For if there is one principle due to the power, then there would be two principles due to the twofold power; for just as it is impossible for one power to exist in two divine persons unless it is essential and natural, so it is impossible for two powers to exist without opposition or difference in kind, neither of which applies to the supposed one power in the Father and the Son; how could the one be multiple? If it is necessary for them to be two, being such, how could they be one in those in which they exist? Each is a principle, as they say, due to the power of projecting, which cannot be one in two, so it is impossible for them to be one principle in projecting, at least in the power of projecting. Since it is necessary to be one principle if they project, it is impossible for both to project. Saying that there is nothing absurd in one property being in two subjects having one nature and being one in number, if they include the natural properties which are of the whole kind, that is, the divine and common, they speak truly but do not conclude. For the projecting power, not being in the Spirit, would not be such. If they mean a personal property by this term, they seem to legislate. They cannot show any personal property being one in number in two subjects, unless they laughably call the sought property itself personal. Nor can they call the power of sending the Spirit; for it is common, as it is said to send itself and give itself. The person sending is not necessarily understood as the cause of the sent, but rather both. Augustine and Thomas after him say that the whole deity is the cause of any external effect. But they cannot make the projecting power common to the Father and the Son unless it is also common to the Spirit, Dionysius and Basil and all saints deeming what is common to the Father and the Son to be common to the Spirit; for such things are divine and properties of the divine nature, and the Spirit must also share in them. Nor would they be common to two but be determined in one person alone, as anything not calling upon the divine nature or the three hypostases should belong to one person alone and not exceed or transition to another unless it is to be worshipped as a duality by us. Saying that the unbegotten and the caused each belong to two persons does not make the super-divine unity and trinity any less; for they are not like projecting; the caused is only an attribute, or common; but in the Son and Spirit, it is in effect, being begotten and proceeding, two and differing in kind; but projecting is one thing in the Father and the Son, the Latins say, and one operation in kind and number. Much greater is the difference of the uncaused and the

proceeding, to which some apply a common name, the unbegotten; as if one called both a stone and a horse irrational, the one partaking of the opposite of reason, the other entirely separated from the genus, and as one might say one negatively, the other affirmatively; therefore, being one personal, it would belong to the paternal person, being one nature's property, it would belong to the divine nature. But the second is impossible because of the Spirit; therefore, the first is true.

5.Some have devised distinctions of the personal properties, but this is sophistical, positing the question as a principle, and absurd in itself and the origin of many absurdities, as has been shown elsewhere. Namely, that some personal properties are hypostatic, while others follow the subsisting person, as in a human being, where one is rational and another is capable of laughter. And even when they say that the Spirit could project if it were not contrary to its own principle, they do not solve the difficulty but rather avoid it; for they say that not projecting pertains to the Spirit and is the cause of it. But how, if this is so, the Son can project with the Father, they do not explain. That is, they do not address the sequence, since the saints' words support it, saying, "If anything is common to the Father and the Son, it is also common to the Spirit." That it is absurd for this to pertain to the Spirit, and why, they say as if they agree with us, not knowing that just as it does not pertain to the Spirit because it does not suit the principle of the Spirit, even though it could without this, so it does not pertain to the Son because it would necessarily pertain to the Spirit if it pertained to the Son, which is impossible, even though it could pertain to the Son if not for this. Thus, not allowing the Spirit to be a projector as impossible, they permit the Son to be a projector, which is very contrary to the laws of reasoning. It is rather necessary, since positing the Son as a projector requires the Spirit to be such, which is impossible, to consider that impossible, which follows from this.

6.The sequence is not only confirmed by the reason of faith but also attested by the Latins themselves; for what else is their statement that the Spirit could project if not hindered by its own property? But it makes no difference to us whether it is hindered by this cause or another; it remains impossible as long as such conditions exist, and this demonstrates the impossibility of the conclusion. If the Latins say that the saints meant something other than projecting, this notion is false; for they say that the Father alone is the source and cause, and that the Son possesses everything of the Father except causality, and many such things, showing they did not intend for projecting to be common to the Father and the Son. They did not intend this, because they believed that such would be given to the Spirit as well, due to the principle that every operation in the divine, as stated, not defined in one person but extending to the whole divine nature, is common to the three hypostases. Moreover, if they say that the Spirit being the Spirit of the Father and the Spirit of the Son is common to the Father and the Son, but not to the Spirit—for the Spirit is not of itself—they say this in vain. If they mean by this that the Spirit proceeds from both, they assume what is questioned and misinterpret those who said it; if it is called the Spirit of the Son in Scripture as being the same in nature and consubstantial with the Son (thus all the saints interpret), and the Spirit of the Father as proceeding from the Father, then it would not be common to the Spirit, as it differs in them, being said to be of the Father as from Him, and of the Son as naturally related to Him. If anyone means that being of the Father signifies the natural unity, with causality signified by proceeding from the Father, we concede that it is common to the Father and the Son to say the Spirit is of them as the same in nature; we will likewise grant that the Spirit is of itself; for as it is the same in nature with them, it is the same in nature and subsistence with itself, one in one, even in the ultimate immutability.

THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE SPIRIT TO BE FROM THE SON

7.Since the responses given by the Latins to this argument are indeed evasions of the truth, willingly adopted for the sake of their preconceived opinion, and have nothing sound or clear, it is reasonable to show through the clearest principles of faith and the shortest way that it is impossible and absurd for the Son to be the cause or projector of the Holy Spirit together with the Father, with so many absurd and impossible consequences following from this, though more absurdities follow from the doctrine than those mentioned, and no other doctrine is shown to have so many absurdities as many before us and we have shown in two previous books. But it seemed sufficient to us to bring the argument to this extent, from which at least the Latin position must be turned away. This can be done by both the necessity of this argument and the weakness of the responses to it, as stated, for they try to resolve it with sophistry. Therefore, we rightly reject such a position, and do not wish to associate with any who hold it, following ecclesiastical laws, which command separation from those who think differently about the divine. As Cyril says, that we may leave other matters aside: "From those whose opinion we turn away, it is proper to flee also from their fellowship." If anyone pretends to confess the true faith but seems to associate with those, advise them to withdraw from such association; if they promise, regard them as a brother; but if they persist contentiously, reject them; thus maintaining the purity of faith, and they seeing you will benefit.

8.Falsehood is difficult, and it must be avoided in thought and association with those who think it, not only when it openly and directly opposes the truth of faith, as when someone says there is not one God, or that the Word of God did not become flesh, but also when from its position something contrary to faith follows. Our ancestors and teachers show privately and synodically, and confirm by action, that the Latin doctrine of the procession of the Spirit is one such contrary to faith, having separated from the Latins for this doctrine for almost five hundred years, using Jerome himself as an advisor to flee from this doctrine, it being truly such. Jerome says, "Even if we attribute something to the Father by the reason of being the source, we do not, however, attribute anything to the Son or the Holy Spirit that implies submission or diminution in any way, to avoid the occasions of heresies." Hilary says in the eighth book on the Trinity: "By the reason of the gift, the Father is greater, but the Son is not lesser, to whom it is given to be one and the same." They used therefore all the more familiar teachers, I mean the Asiatic ones, as guides for what to think and do. They all did not accept this Latin proposition anywhere, and avoided it as a clear precipice, and explicitly theologized the opposite, showing it to be faulty. Using such advisors ourselves, we avoid this doctrine as an occasion of heresies, not wishing to give the people honey with many hidden poisons, and again saying with Jerome. If they anathematize all those heresies associated with this doctrine, they do not satisfy us; for it is the habit of innovators to do so, and the habit of those holding to the truth not to heed them. In the dilemmas, those against the truth, unable to resolve the sequence, try to free themselves by denying the absurdity, thus confirming the premise. They seem more tolerable to the right-minded for denying the absurdity, but not acceptable unless they also deny the premise from which that absurdity necessarily follows.

9.For example, those around Pyrrhus, asserting one will and one operation in Christ, when they were accused by the Orthodox of thereby positing also one nature in our Lord, from such a sequence that the unity of operation would also entail the unity of nature, since according to the number of natures there are also the number of natural operations (we do not argue this point here accurately but only as a type for example), being unable to resolve the sequence, resorted to denying the absurdity. They thought they resolved

it and said many things, but were dismissed as sophists. No one among the right-minded heeded such denial, but rather required of them the denial of one operation, which was posited together with the absurdity, that unity of nature in Christ follows. Neither did denying the consequence free them from blame, nor did it seem that they were moved by some reverence for that doctrine; for they wished to show the human will and operation in Christ as being subordinated to the divine order unchangeably, so that they would also become one. They were ignorant and would not learn even when taught that the simply one and the one by order differ. Saying the latter alone would be pious, but positing or seeming to posit the former introduces the unity of nature. And those asserting one nature in Christ did not say they attributed passion to the divinity of Christ, nor that He suffered in appearance, or became merely human, for which they were anathematized by the pious, but they subjected these things to anathema. Their premise had some semblance of truth, for they did not deny the concurrence of the two natures in Christ, nor did they believe they were confused and commingled into one nature after the union. But calling nature essence and form, they could not bear to posit two natures in Christ, considering it impossible for one hypostasis of Christ to be in two forms, especially such wholly distinct forms, in divinity and humanity. They thought it more likely that the same nature, in kind, would have multiple hypostases. But since the God-man was alone, and no one shared in His God-manhood, nor could anyone in the entire world share in it, they said that both nature and hypostasis concurred in Him, and He was the God-man and His God-manhood, just as the sun and sunlight are one sun, and as in other unique cases. The God-manhood being the nature, the God-man the hypostasis, thus two natures in Christ, divinity and humanity, coming together into one nature, the God-manhood, as the soul and body of a man into humanity. But those standing with the truth and being its stewards to the Christian people from God paid no attention to the denial of those absurdities but required rather the denial of one nature, which, being posited, also admitted those confessed absurdities. Nor did they consider the decency in their premise, even though it was full of error if one examined well, colored with some semblance of truth. But even if it were entirely correct, they considered it honey concealing many true poisons and the beginning of many great heresies, and therefore did not wish to allow it, reviving those heresies which the Church had needed to uproot with much toil. Eutyches and his followers were ignorant, nor would they learn even when taught, that incomplete natures and having an unfulfilled form can combine into one nature, as the human form, that is, soul and body, combines into one nature of man, neither having a completed form, so that they would not be truly nature and essence, but only as principles of nature and parts such as these, having the reason of the whole and form; but complete natures combining into one, as the divine and human are, is impossible without the corruption of one or both, and denying these things did not persuade the pious to accept the origin of those absurdities, but required rather the denial of one nature in our Lord after the union of the two natures, and confess that the two natures truly came together in Christ and remained two after the union, having come together into one person and one hypostasis unconfusedly and distinctly. This has happened to all who have in any way deviated from the truth and the common faith in greater or lesser degree equally, and those holding to the ancient doctrines have treated them in the same way. Therefore, those who say the Son of God is the cause of the Spirit along with the Father cannot persuade us to accept this doctrine or to commune with them while we differ, even if they many times denounce the absurdities they think their doctrine carries. Nor did they persuade our Fathers at the time of the addition, thus blaming themselves and demanding communion from us; nor does their most compelling argument, the believed natural and essential

likeness or consubstantiality of the Son to the Father, believed equally by both by the grace of Christ, persuade us to accept this innovation as necessarily connected to it. For we believe the Son to be consubstantial with the Father, but we are taught by Him and His own to distinguish Him from the paternal dignity; this is, as they say with Him, the principle and cause of the divine persons naturally proceeding from the Father, the Word, and the Spirit.

10.And we, saying in the Creed that the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone and adding nothing about the Son, confess that the Son of God is consubstantial with the Father and that the Spirit is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and the Son; thus, no one can confine us. Those who add that the Spirit proceeds from the Son do not confess the same and avoid all those absurdities, thinking they make their doctrine safe for those nurtured in it, driving away what seems to follow, even if it only seems so. Yet more consequences follow from the doctrine itself, the least of which pertains to the foundation of the doctrine, which they would choose from among all, being unaware and not willing to learn that the existence of something from something and the existence of something for something do not necessarily coincide but sometimes separate. For instance, they coincide when we refer the Spirit to the Father, not as having the same capacity; "For," says Chrysostom, "the term 'of God' signifies one thing, and 'from God' another," speaking of the Spirit, but rather as concurring in truth. They separate when we refer the Spirit to the Son; hence the Fathers of the Second Council, completing the Creed which the subsequent councils found sufficient, confess the Son consubstantial with the Father and the Spirit worshiped and glorified together with both, but do not say the Spirit proceeds from the Son, only from the Father. And the Word of God Himself and His blessed disciple John call the Spirit the Spirit of truth, that is, of the Word, but specify it proceeds from the Father. Paul, the mouth of Christ, says the Spirit is of God and from God, indicating the cause in the former and the natural kinship of the deity in the latter, but nowhere says it is from the Son, only the Spirit of the Son and the Spirit of Christ. And generally, the fact that something is consubstantial with something else does not necessarily introduce it as the cause of the other; thus the unity of essence in the Father, Son, and Spirit is not undermined by the Spirit not subsisting or proceeding from the Son causally, as it remains consubstantial with Him as sharing the same numerical essence proceeding from the Father, which the Son receives being begotten, thus the Spirit is also said to be of the Son but not as His projection or procession. The idea that the Spirit subsisting from the Son harms many truths, as has been said and more clearly shown elsewhere, and should not be overlooked for this reason. The Latins would consider this if they did not serve their preconception instead of accuracy, and for the sake of the just and straightforward peace of the Churches of Christ. But we, believing the Son to be consubstantial with the Father and the Spirit consubstantial with the Son, and the Spirit of the Son to be the Spirit of the Father, and likewise in the unity of nature, regarding the distinct hypostatic properties pertaining respectively or personally fitting, piously exclude the Spirit and the Son from such considerations, showing the true Trinity and venerating their purest unity, as through this being such, the Trinity would not be saved without the distinction of properties. These are in the Father to beget the Word and project the Spirit, and as summing up, the principle, the source, the cause, the fruit-bearing, or the generative; all of these being the same in this context, as the teachers use them interchangeably, giving these exclusively to the Father, not believing the Son to be a projector or the Spirit to be a begetter, as long as the Father alone is Father, that is, begetter and projector. God the Father shares His own goods with the Son, but not the property within them which He has as the source and origin of all

proceeding from Him naturally and coeternally, likewise with the Spirit. Thus, the Spirit shares with the Son, and as it is in the Father naturally and super-essentially, even though believed to proceed ineffably from Him and be distinguished; so the Son receives this being begotten from the Father, having the same numerical essence, but does not receive from the Father the projecting or subsisting of the Spirit; this would be receiving the paternal property; nor does He receive the projected. All things are there simultaneously and coeternally, and the teachers rightly understood that the Son receiving anything from the Father as begotten means having it or having been begotten with it. And the Father having the Son does not imply precedence; for the order of precedence is not in the coeternal and consubstantial, but only the order of cause and caused exists; that is, to project and to proceed; or to proceed differently; one pertains to the Father towards those from Him, the other to those from the Father towards each other.

11.Just as the Son receives His being from the Father and with Him possesses everything, but is not the cause of Himself in any way (for this alone distinguishes Him from the Father, since possessing everything in the same way as the Father, how would He be distinguished otherwise?), so the Spirit, having its being from the Father without variation as the Father, being naturally conjoined and consubstantial with Him from the Father, is in no way the cause of itself or of the Spirit. If it were the cause of the Spirit, what would prevent it from also being the cause of the Father, being the cause of the Spirit within the Father? For it is impossible to say that it is the cause of anything within the Father and not also the cause of the Father Himself, the simple simplicity of the Father preventing them. Nor can they say the Holy Spirit in the Father and the Son is not completely the same; nor do they believe, it seems, that both project the Spirit distinctly, since they insist both are one principle of the Spirit. Therefore, it is necessary for the Son to be the cause of the Father, being the cause of the Spirit within the Father, as has been said. This should not be feared regarding the Father towards the Son. We must necessarily think this way, that the cause of the Spirit in the Son, being also the cause of the Son, should not think the Son of God the cause of the Spirit to avoid reversing the order of divine generation. The very notion of the Son co-projecting the naturally and coeternally proceeding Spirit with the Father, what propriety would it have? For as in all things where chronological precedence exists along with the order of cause, this is impossible and inconsistent; so also in things where the order of cause exists without chronological precedence, overturning such an order in those capable of correct reasoning, the cause co-subsisting with its cause being co-causal and the co-causal with the common cause becoming co-causal, proceeding coeternally and ordered in relation to the common cause, at least as far as its power reaches; this even the Latins admit.

12.Therefore, given the many and significant consequences that follow from the Latin position (for it is necessary to conclude with fewer words as we proposed from the beginning), they must either proclaim all these things in the Creed, not having made their innovation, although something of the absurdities silenced might escape others and ourselves, which could be found with more examination; for more absurdities follow from falsehood; or they must remove their source. Even if the former were sufficient, which it is not, for the reasons stated and many others, they should do the latter.

13.Proclaiming the Sabellian confusion and the duality of principles and such things, and that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, and making the Son the principle of the Spirit, or the cause, as the Greeks might say, they themselves say that the Spirit exists from the Son or has its subsistence from Him, if they propose to proclaim these things, they deceive sophistically and mislead those willing to unite with them irrationally and

irreverently; just as they sophistically misinterpret the teachers who say the opposite, on whom we rely, a practice familiar to all similarly afflicted. No one with reason and knowledge and trained in ecclesiastical doctrines and practices will adopt a better opinion of them than what our Fathers rightly held. Let the prudent keep silent; let the books proclaim it. We, however, give thanks to the Holy Spirit who enlightened us about His procession from the Father, to whom be glory together with the consubstantial Son and the Father, the blessed Trinity in the highest unity of nature, now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen.

ARGUMENT AGAISNT "FROM BOTH"

8. Argument Against the Procession of the Holy Spirit "from Both" and the Response of the Latins.*

† Argument of the Greeks: From Scholarius.

1.If the Father and the Son together project the Holy Spirit, they either project it as one or as two, that is, either by the principle of essence, being one in both, or by the principle of distinction. But the second is entirely impossible; for they do not project it as one, since in their unity the Holy Spirit is included, and it would also be a projector with them and the cause and principle of itself, or if it does not project itself, it would be excluded from their unity and different in essence; nor as distinct and two, for then there would be two projectors and two principles. Therefore, if the second is impossible, the first is also impossible. They do not both project the Holy Spirit.

† Response of the Latins.

1.But to this they say that they neither project it as one in every way, nor as two in every way, and thus the resulting absurdities do not follow; therefore, that sequence is not valid. That they project the Holy Spirit neither as one alone, nor as two alone, is evident from the following. The projection of the Holy Spirit is communicated from the Father to the Son along with the other goods of nature, because projecting does not oppose begetting, that is, it is not contrary to the principle of the Son; all things not contrary are thus communicable to the Son from the Father. Hence, projecting is common to both by the principle of a single operation, and the Father and the Son are one in the projection of the Spirit; but the Father is the principle to the Son of such operation and has no sharer in such an operation, being the first principle in the Trinity and simply the first principle of all; the Father and the Son are two in the projection of the Spirit, since one projects from Himself, the Father, and the other not from Himself but receives such an operation from the Father, being begotten from Him and Son. Therefore, it is not necessary to say they project as one in every way or as two in every way because of the reasons mentioned, but rather as each together, or as by the principle of unity and by the principle of distinction.

APOLOGY OF THE ANTI-UNIONISTS

9. Brief Apology of the Anti-Unionists.

† By Gennadius Scholarius. A brief apology for why the sound-minded Greeks do not accept the Council of Florence and the ill-defined union made there. It was written after the death of Emperor John.

1.As for why and how the Latins introduced the addition in the Creed, that would be a matter for another time to examine and consider. They added a doctrine to the Creed of faith, which is neither small nor simple, requiring thorough investigation. It is not insignificant whether the Word of God projects another divine hypostasis as He is projected from God as a divine hypostasis, or not. Therefore, the entire sanctity of Asia refrained from communion with the Latins, not immediately or entirely, but after many letters and embassies over many years, having tried to rectify it, they grew weary and despaired of the cure, even though our Fathers reproached them previously for other reasons, such as the innovation of unleavened bread. But the addition to the Creed acted as a culmination, making the separation more justified and compelling.

2.Three severe issues the patriarchs in Asia had with the Latins as soon as they made the addition: that they added to the Creed of faith something preserved by four ecumenical councils after the third and their decrees; that they dared to do this alone; and that they added a doctrine least known. Until then, the fault of the Latins lay here. Those innovating without the greater part of the Church, not those unwilling to innovate together and risk together, are responsible for the schism. That the Latins themselves acknowledged their wrongdoing is evident by the fact that they immediately appointed four puppet patriarchs while the true patriarchs held their thrones, flourishing in wisdom and all other virtues. If Rome alone could innovate, what need was there for puppet patriarchs? If Rome alone could convene an ecumenical council and decide matters of faith, why this fabrication? If, despairing of cooperation and communion with the true patriarchs, they created patriarchs as the only way to claim ecumenical power, then the addition was poorly made, not being ecumenical. If they had created the patriarchs first and then added, the addition would have had an ecumenical appearance; but now, appointing patriarchs after the addition and division condemns the addition as unjust. And appointing patriarchs itself, as an indication of contentiousness, should be scrutinized by anyone with sense; for where did the bishop of Rome get the authority to appoint patriarchs? Nowhere; nor is it reasonable to act on the non-agreement of the other patriarchs, whether justly or unjustly. He would rather be ecumenical pope and patriarch if all others innovated, as he claims, shepherding the orthodox alone, being the only patriarch among them, than counting the fabricated ones as equals; otherwise, he errs and departs from the truth, wishing to create what is not. The Eastern patriarchs and emperors always showed truth and magnanimity against the pope's contentiousness or indifference in this matter. Able to create one much easier and more justly than he the four, they neither did this nor convened a council without him, to vote the opposite and true, which they could easily do; but they sought the addition to be examined by a common council, allowing time for it, as was proper and just. Until they saw the universal Church strong in wisdom and all other virtues, they did not trust the judgment; but when they saw us almost completely cast aside, and themselves esteemed by all, thinking they could grasp heaven with their hands when they wished, they then sought to confirm the addition with an appearance of a council and ecumenical terms, to ease their troubled consciences. They neither wished to remove the addition if we could disparage it, nor thought they could universally prevail over our doctrine, but only wished to remove the shame of that innovation

universally reproached. Hence, they desired to confirm the innovation with our concessions and agreements, remaining unchallenged for the future.

3.Thus, they held the council in Lyon. Our envoys present there had to concede against all reason; the king deceived the Church, promising to achieve union through their economy. This was Michael, the founder of the line of emperors following him. He chose envoys who understood his intentions deeply, who brought back not a calculated economy but blatant Latinization and acceptance of all things favored by the Latins, pleasing both the sender and reinforced by honors and gifts received there. The king (and this must be added), seeking to avert Latin retaliation (for he feared their resentment after they had then seized the city), wished to secure his and his children's reign through betrayal of the truth. Therefore, after his death, the Church, moved by a more divine zeal, rightly overturned the acts of Lyon by a great and illustrious council, whose lasting judgment rebukes those unwilling to be wise even after it, and the ancestral doctrines were proclaimed again. Until the need for aid and the threat from enemies, to avoid saying the abandonment by the divine hand, and the hope of returning to the throne and dissolving the opposition in Basel, drove Eugene to the Italian council.

4.The details of that council, how it began, through what means, and where it ended, are clear to good consciences and to those truly willing to examine each point, requiring not long words but many-lined books. In summary, we base our apology to God on why we do not wish to unite with the Latins. We know those who started the schism are the culprits, not our ancestors, and therefore we side with the wronged and law-abiding, not the wrongdoers. We know even now the Latins are responsible for the schism. Why do they not remove the addition made in any way to unite the Church? And if the pope alone could add, why can he not remove it with all? If he made the addition out of urgent necessity, as they say, why not remove it now, that necessity ceased, another greater one compelling?

5.As for their claims of necessity, that would require another investigation to expose their falsehood. They added it against the Orthodox, those who opposed the innovators but agreed with us, those who honor and cherish the common faith, whom they accuse of being Nestorians or Arians, falsely accusing both us and them. Where is the Arian or Nestorian here, unless one says fire is cold and expects to be believed? Against us and our like-minded then among them (many were still holding to the ancient faith), they made this addition, accusing us shamelessly and claiming some necessity compelled them, which they may appear to some fools to say something. But this, as stated, would require a greater investigation to examine and show accurately. If the pope respects the Latin people and does not wish to scandalize them, fearing they might think those who died with the addition believed wrongly and are thus lost, why should we not fear God and respect our ancestors, instead of blaming the innocent, making it seem they are lost, having fought against a true addition for so many years and died in the most grievous heresy concerning the Spirit? And if that innovation was established over a long time, why not much more will the length of time establish our praiseworthy objection in the sight of God?

6.If it is true, as they say, that it is an explanation, not an addition, they will not remove it from the Creed; but even with that word removed, the Creed would remain intact and unharmed; or they wish to deceive us, saying it is an explanation but also an addition. If they cannot remove it for the sake of peace, as they say, how dare we make an addition, as we say and are convinced theirs is an addition? If anyone thinks that the synodal decree, remaining and believed among us (and it should surely be believed, until nothing nullifies it is

made among us, and we are united with the Latins on such terms), can be anything other than confessing the addition in the Creed even silently; and if anyone thinks that those who commune with those adding are not to be blamed, he is utterly simple. And if anyone says that mentioning names in sacrifices is not complete union and communion and proof of doctrinal agreement, he seems to adhere to laws of another religion or introduce a new Christianity.

7.If the Latins say they praise our faith, most of our people hearing this think our faith is what proceeds from the Father, which we confess in the Creed of faith each time; it is clear, therefore, they also believe this, but they also add from the Son. But we, explaining as they say explain, say and believe not from the Son, as they say from the Son, differing so much that they explain it in the Creed, they say, we do this outside the Creed, not doing this on our own, but finding the teachers and all true words deeming so. And because their explanations imposed on ours were contrary and openly so, we neither recognized nor praised their explanation. Now, the Latins supposing we invalidate our teachers' explanation, which we trusted for so many years, and adhere to theirs, say they praise our faith or believe as we do. But it is quite the opposite for those with sense, that we will believe them equally, abandoning our doctrine entirely, not the proceeding from the Father, which is common in both, but the not from the Son; this is where we differ. Or, here we say to them, how we understand the proceeding from the Father, and how our ancestors and teachers understood it, clearly not from the Son; this was the entire contention between us and the Latins.

8.If they say they believe this way, we will unite with them today; but they never have and never will say so. Therefore, if they claim to believe like us concerning the Spirit, they deceive and mislead the simpler ones. If they find it troubling that we also explain, even doing so piously and without touching the common confession, following the example of the first who dared and truly explained out of necessity, let them cease explaining, and we will give our explanations a rest for the sake of the good of love. Whether the Son is the cause of the Spirit or not, let it be sought honorably by those willing, or let it be equally silent by all. Let the Church make the Son of God the mediator of this dispute, having nothing of His words more secure or holy or complete; rather, the Church did this well at the Second Council, and we trust it, and the Roman Church should do so, and will do so if it wishes to act rightly. Seeing from every angle the Latins as the cause of this strife, as seen now and before, knowing all just things along with our Fathers, we trust that we will not be blamed at the future judgment for not wishing to commune with the cause of the evil. We have canons from the saints and examples of how to keep the faith, which we must not transgress. According to those canons, it is dangerous for us and seems full of error to abandon the evangelical teaching, in which it says the Spirit proceeds from the Father, is the Spirit of truth and sent by Him, and the apostolic teaching similarly, where it says the Spirit is of God and from God, the Father clearly, only being of the Son, not from the Son; the explanations of the Fathers, carefully given to these scriptural passages; the teaching of the First Council, where it is clearly shown that the Spirit has its being from the Father alone; the explanation of the Second Council, when the matter of the Spirit was sought and most precisely determined, concerning the essence of the Spirit and its cause; the affirmations of other councils of the truth, the clear decisions of all our teachers, and besides these, sufficient and strong reasons from the principles of the faith; it is not right to abandon all these and accept a doctrine neither from canonical scriptures nor ancient precedents, nor from our teachers whose books and voices we have, nor confirmed by reason except sophistical ones not from common principles, but from some unknown sources.

9.But they say, blessed Augustine says these things. But we believe in the Church, which the canonical scriptures and common councils of the faithful constitute, presenting the Church of Christ, not in Augustine, nor in Damascene; nor would we adhere to Damascene in this matter if he did not hold to the common doctrine, as he does in all other things.

10.And God would not rightly hold us accountable for not wishing to abandon the common and confessed faith and follow the opinion of a particular teacher alone. Would we also be punished, surely, for not heeding Gregory of Nyssa, who dogmatized about the end of punishment, being authoritative, and testified by councils? And shall we be judged for not abandoning councils and scriptures but heeding Dionysius of Alexandria and Gregory of Neocaesarea, the great wonderworker and teacher of the faith, who held some heretical doctrines out of necessity, as the great Basil reproached them? Blessed Augustine himself gives us such a rule clearly, and commands us to use his and others' writings accordingly. Nor would we appear burdensome to Augustine himself among the saints in that life, if we keep the rule he gave us, and we will show all this not only to our doubters but also to the Latins and all people, although we believe Augustine himself agrees with our teachers. What the Latins cite from his writings, they themselves extract and interpret as they wish and explain as they desire. What will be our defense before God, abandoning the common and customary, for a Latin presenting us a quote from blessed Augustine, wishing to believe it without examination, with the Latin having the book, not us, interpreting it, explaining it and testing the explanation, with all things not supporting it, rather opposing, the greatest of which is that the Fathers of Europe, including Augustine, confessed the same faith in the Creed in the common seven councils of Christians? Let everyone willing to judge rightly consider this.

11.Therefore, if we were to establish union with the Latins on such foundations, what argument would save us from appearing as betrayers and poor guardians of the faith handed down to us and to those who currently look up to us? If we had managed a mortal matter so poorly, we would have been condemned by the laws and judgments of reasonable people. Besides, if these matters were first being sought now, it would be proper for us to examine what the ancient teachers think about these issues. However, with nearly five hundred years of schism, our Fathers and teachers have examined these matters well over these many years, and their decisions are testified by both their works and the blood shed by many in opposition to the Latin doctrine, and countless books, writings, and teachings bear witness. We should not then become interpreters of the ancient teachers, but rather good and grateful students of our Fathers, who rightly upheld the doctrines of the more ancient ones. If our wisdom and virtue were entirely equal to that of our Fathers in any time, it would still be daring to reinterpret the Scriptures and the ancient Fathers, I mean those before the schism, differently from how our post-schism Fathers interpreted them, who were not responsible for the schism. Time, revealing many teachers, would show greater virtue and wisdom, as tenfold more in a hundred are of greater rank, with time having some power of finding the best. If we see those often deliberating on the same matters find the needed better than those deliberating once, how much more likely is it to find the necessary over a longer time? With many generations passing since the schism with the Latins until now, each having thousands of virtuous and wise, especially in our great and then powerful and devoted nation, we, now judging or compelled to judge such matters, are not even a fraction in power and number compared to those in the last proximate generation, whom we saw and associated with. How then would it not be the height of arrogance and madness to oppose such a long-standing finding and judgment by us, who are

nothing, or to attempt to judge contrary to those we have been nurtured by, judged by so many Fathers over so long a time?

12.If we were so poorly informed on all matters to attempt things beyond us, how could the reasonable and true sons of our Mother Church not consider us fools and betrayers? How could all generations at the future judgment not condemn us, holding to the error themselves, but shaking us from the truth as some wish and compel? We do not rely on the separate judgment of each of our Fathers but on those often gathered together. We defer to the eighth ecumenical council, which confirmed the seventh following the custom of ecumenical councils, restored the blessed Photius, and condemned any addition in thought or word, and those who would ever dare to add to the Creed, with the pope's legates present. Some of its canons are in the collections of holy canons, supported by the whole Orthodox Church. We defer to what was spoken and done under the Komnenoi, under Laskaris and Germanos, when the Latins held the city. But under Andronikos II Palaiologos, an ecumenical council convened against the innovation his father intended and tried hard to establish but failed, with God revealing the truth through many signs and works. That council, assembled by a sufficient number of Fathers, should move any soul of stone to renounce the current union; what pious reasoning preserving the Fathers' ordinances could heed the determinations made in Florence?

13.If someone says that council was partial, if he is a Latin, he will be caught by his own wings; for how do they consider and call their councils after the schism ecumenical, those in Toledo, Lyon, and other cities, almost too numerous to count, despite the four patriarchs not being present or voting with the pope? He might say that since we separated, the remaining part of the Church was ecumenical and catholic, for the absence of schismatics does not remove the ecumenical nature. Therefore, it is right for us, with the Latins being the schismatics, to claim the ecumenical title for the same reason. It is more just for us to judge these matters as we said from the beginning. If the pope, with puppet patriarchs sitting with him, seizes the ecumenical title, why do we not consider and call our councils ecumenical, where the truth of the patriarchs was present in all? If the one saying this is from our side, he errs much more than the Latins, depriving his mother of what they grant themselves. Yet the Latins, while rightly claiming it in general, wrongly apply it to themselves. Saying that those who think correctly about everything are the Church of Christ, even if few, is true but applies more to us. We did not separate, but they did, nor do we think worse than they, unless they think worse now than they did before the addition. Some among us, or rather not truly among us, shamelessly disgrace their mother and are mad, revering the Latins for other reasons but ignoring what would benefit by following their example, treating it as minor, though it is central to the entire judgment. By many other truthful ways, we believe that council against Beccus was ecumenical. The one in Florence, this latest one, we could not accept, being forbidden by that council, with the events clearly persuading us to remain quiet, and God sending many signs for us to take heed and avoid future shame and harm; these signs are well known but not mentioned here. We established that council, though it had perhaps the outward form of ecumenical councils, not exactly, as another council then held the pope accountable, choosing it as more secure for agreements, but lacked the spiritual aspect entirely. We leave aside the rest; our intention here is not to accuse individuals. Yet, was it not promised by the royal envoys that after the Greeks' arrival, within two months, union would surely happen? This was the head clause in the decree; all else fit around it. Who with sense does not see what this meant? The Latins were not so simple as to waste their money without sure hope of

achieving everything for themselves. Coming to the final point, we pass over the interim, as all know the intrigues, the secret dealings and negotiations, the deceits, the manipulations, the removals. They decreed and dogmatized that the Son of God is the cause of the Holy Spirit, that He is the principle, that the Spirit has its being from the Son, that the addition to the Creed was justly and reasonably made.

14.Where was any of this shown? Was not everything concerning the addition demonstrated contrariwise in Ferrara? Did not the Latins repeatedly request that the determinations against the addition not be read publicly, and the associated penalties? What should we have done then? Should we not have torn our garments? Should we not have protested? Should we not have read those determinations in the crossroads and marketplaces there, if we intended to confound and shame the violators and thus prevail, having all the Latin populace as allies? But we granted them not to bring any of those things forward; and with the populace excluded, it was read in vain to the few responsible for the troubles. It was as if someone granted the enemies seeking to strip off the strength of their weapons, giving them the naked body for their blows, so we became ready prey for the Latin bishops, having silenced the decrees of the councils at their request. But even then, they did not have the victory; quite the contrary. The blessed memory of Ephesus fought valiantly and well, and everything from them colored sophistically was exposed. And this was the conviction of all present at the council.

15.How then do they vote that the addition was reasonable and legitimate? Rather, how would they not vote so, being the ones who made the addition and now controlling the vote? Having arranged the vote to suit themselves, our champions followed with their signatures, persuaded by unspeakable means. Who finds the Son of God being the cause and principle of the Spirit, and all that was added there? Where are these found in Scripture or the teachers? These things should not have been defined arbitrarily, but rather, the Greeks say the Son of God is the cause of the Spirit. If they want to quote the Greek teachers, let them show them, and we will be immediately persuaded; if some present Greeks, whether in the council or after, dogmatize these things from themselves, the theology is unworthy of an ecumenical council's foundation.

16.Where does it appear that these matters were examined in the Council of Florence? Rather, where does the decree of the pope (for he is the legislator, not the council, who alone made the addition earlier) agree with the acts of the council? How do the struggles in Ferrara first, and later in Florence, conclude, if not that they altered those records to suit themselves, thinking they could escape reproach? When did they vote synodically on the decree? But rather, having gathered in a corner, they persuaded each one separately to sign, by means not appropriate to mention, with our own assisting in the drama? If truth must be spoken, all the trouble was within ourselves, while the Latins were satisfied with the necessity of the events and the confusion of our champions; and some, evading the hounds of Hades, did so not by lack of words but by fear of seeming responsible for the schism, with most already surrendered; while others immediately yielded everything to the Latins, foreseeing nothing of the future, but hoping that whatever else they might add to the faith with the Latins, all would be accepted without scrutiny. The hope of rewards did not let them consider the necessary from all sides, thus their actions made the vote unworthy of an ecumenical council. What vote of an ecumenical council begins and ends this way? What ecumenical decisions do not put forth the creed of faith or confirm the preceding council? This one now in question, what council did it confirm? The seventh? And indeed, that council does not vote likewise, but rather the opposite in every way. Let that be; for now, it does not confirm that one, but the eighth, the ecumenical one of Photius; and indeed, that one

legislated the opposite. Let that be; for now, it does not confirm that one. So, does it confirm the Latin one in Lyon, where our envoys were present, and they were corrupted, as experience showed, and the great and true council against Beccus annulled it, which pious reasoning showed as ecumenical and can show much more clearly if necessary. If someone reads well the vote of that council, they will know what shape those who were to judge matters of faith took from there and what shape they now impart to those adhering to them. But let that be. What synodal canon has a pope or patriarch defining faith, as this one, but not the whole council? Let someone consider the difference between the council in Florence and that gathered against Beccus in Constantinople. That one agreed in faith entirely with the ecumenical councils, both the others and the eighth; this one disagrees with all, including that one. That one had present the pope of Alexandria, and the other patriarchs agreed, and they embraced the vote as piously and lawfully made; in this one, representatives of the patriarchs were present, but bound by their letters and oaths only to allow union on the ancient terms, while the Latins adhered to the addition, granting nothing in return. Acting on what seemed good to themselves, not what pleased those who sent them, the patriarchs remain in their former opinion, and their rightful recompense for upholding the ancestral doctrine, given continually until now, continues. All adhered to the decisions of that council against Beccus, both those who issued the vote and all those after until this recent upheaval; the vote of the council in Florence was annulled by those who made it; except for three or four, persisting until now stubbornly or seemingly, all reconsidered and returned immediately to the ancestral doctrine; rather, in mind and soul they never left it, but yielded to the time's pressure, not entirely without excuse, for which we owe gratitude. For if, ashamed to appear changeable, they had until the end secretly and unexamined allowed their willing departure from the truth and had issued a vote passionately against the ancestral doctrine, the proceedings of that assembly might have seemed lawful, and except for those knowing them and their consciences, the nature of the events might have escaped notice. And if they, honored and enriched, rejected what was done, the suspicion of their change would have been great; now, dishonored and suffering, they flee from what they wrongly conceded, choosing this rather than the silence and injury of the truth, harming themselves and further corrupting others. Perhaps it is not the virtue of these men alone that should be considered, but rather, the whole belongs to God's good providence, not deeming us worthy to be torn from the truth and the choir of the Fathers, hence moving these men to this. Yet, these men deserve some praise for their will inclined to the better. If some say they departed from the union unknowingly, then those terms made without their knowledge should not be heeded, and those heeding them must necessarily be deceived, following the vote of the ignorant. For they were the ones who did everything then; who else voted the Son as the cause of the Spirit in those votes? We cannot call the Latins' council ecumenical without these of ours; they themselves labored for their addition before the council in Florence, mocking those who reproached it with countless jests.

17.Not even those three or four who are responsible for everything and still adhere to their votes should be considered along with the Latins in a council. They did everything contrary to the opinion of the patriarchs they represented. No law permits us to heed them in this matter, even if they are otherwise noble and worthy of respect. But let enough be said about them. Many call that council the eighth. It should rightly be called the first, for it is the beginning of other councils that may perhaps bring worse evil and is detached from that sequence. And it seems, because it does not quite deserve the ecumenical title, they could not rightly number and name it. How is it the eighth after the eighth? Or how is it the ninth, being opposed to the

eighth? They neither called it the ninth nor is it reasonable; they call it the eighth, but it is not so. But enough has been said about that.

18.We see no necessity in accepting the wrongs committed by some, for which they later repented, to embrace them ourselves; they wisely repented for their actions, and we should learn from their repentance, holding the true opinion about their deeds and being their heralds. Not even in human and temporary matters should we seek expediency so; how much less in divine matters should we appear pious using such reasoning. Those who committed the grievous deeds among us were not compelled to serve their errors indefinitely. If anyone compels us to do so, they are enemies of our salvation and their own. Therefore, those who committed the grievous deeds are subject to the judgments of the Church; let her judge them once she has received their cases, and let her not deem us worthy of the philanthropy prescribed by the canons. The Church's freedom, which we preserve, will suffice for our happiness and hope for God's forgiveness for our fault. We, who did not partake in those deeds, firmly hold to the ancestral doctrine, taught by the example of others. For just because many councils made incorrect decisions on the matters they sought, it does not follow that those decisions must always remain wrong and never return to the truth, or that those correcting themselves should face hostility for not wanting to remain in error, harmful to themselves and others forever. Those who returned to the truth rejoiced, and others rejoiced in the change of their deeds and were greatly benefited. Since this often happened and can happen, the Church made and kept laws for those who might act similarly. Histories and teachers' words are full of these, especially Gregory the Great, who praises Athanasius the Great, giving many such examples.

19.That council compels us in no way to unite with the Latins, given how it proceeded; it is merely a name, instilling fear only in the simpler ones when brandished, and cannot daunt those with strong reason. How many gatherings of people could persuade those with sense that fire is not hot? How many councils of the faithful could persuade those who know how to pay proper attention that the Father descended upon the Son of God, with the Spirit descending upon Him like a dove, or that the breath given to the apostles had inherently the nature of the Spirit, or that it imparted double souls to the disciples, accustomed to doing this from afar, or something similar? There are likely strong arguments to be found about these things, or some might be persuaded by them. But no one with sense would abandon the evangelical teaching for some supernatural doctrines, nor dismiss the words of Christ and their proper aim for other human thoughts, following seemingly logical sequences. If those councils and other matters do not sufficiently show their trustworthiness, who will confidently heed them? Such was the nature of this council; it legislated from its own accord and clearly contradicted all else.

20.If anyone were to claim that the Latins alone are wiser than us, and therefore more trustworthy, even if they alone appear to have voted on matters concerning the Spirit and remain steadfast in their votes, that would be another argument, but it must be shown weak with the truth. If this issue were being raised for the first time now, we might think, as some say, that the Latins, being wiser than us, likely see the truth better than we do on every disputed matter, and therefore we ought to follow them as teachers in whatever they dictate; but now, it is the opposite, for they made the addition knowing little and later justified it with verbal sophistries, blossoming much in arguments after the addition; but our fathers, flourishing then in wisdom and other strengths, opposed them in everything, deeming the addition incorrect. It would be charming to see the current Latins uphold their innovation with their own wisdom, while our fathers' wiser part of the Church

judged it better, and we, in such poverty and weakness of words, undoing the opposition made by our wisest fathers, made with strong arguments.

21.Even if the matter were newly raised, we should not rely on ignorance so much as to be cautious and guard against deception. Standing on the secure ground of our once common faith with the Latins, we ought to be willing to attribute the risk from this upheaval and the schism to the causes, and not wish to share in a doctrine which we can no longer judge, our acuity in these matters having left us. With such guidance from our fathers existing, what excuse would we have, entrusting the judgment of such a great matter to our own limited knowledge, to judge differently than all our ancestors and teachers? If we are to be persuaded by those now wiser than us in every matter, rejecting the reference to our nearer and wiser ones, then it is time to shift to the Armenians' or, if you will, the Persians' doctrines; for the Armenian Church has over seventy teachers, well-versed in Aristotelian philosophy, lacking in nothing compared to those knowledgeable among the Latins. And among the Persians, there are even more, engaged in natural and mathematical wisdom under logical methods very well. We would have to move to those wiser than us if ever debating with them, yielding to their arguments, which would be necessary; but no one with sense would say and believe this.

22.Therefore, just as we stand firmly against those heresies by relying on the judgment of the Fathers, whom we believe to be the wisest and most God-fearing, we will also stand in the same way against any other dispute, greater or lesser, knowing that our Fathers and teachers over many years, after thorough examination, have judged rightly and formed an opinion about the Latins which they once held and strove to leave us in their writings, so that we might agree with them and not deviate from their faith in any respect. If anyone claims that the wiser among us have joined the Latins in their opinion, that is false; it is false to say that those who betray their mother are wiser than those who obey her. Indeed, those who cannot discern their own fallacies and therefore heed the Latins are wiser only in doing harm. Many were disciples of Christ, but Judas was among the first in name, demonstrating his opposing wickedness as one of the first in the faith of Christ. How many do you think were wiser than Kydones and Kalekas in both divine and other matters before them? But none of them sharpened their tongue against their mother, nor did these strike their mother in their times; they held their tongues in ignorance. Whose disciples were they? But no one dared to raise hands against their mother in earlier times; with all being prudent, what need was there to shadowbox? Then it is clear to all that both Kydones and his disciple Kalekas were driven from the sacred enclosures for other heresies; they were adherents of the heresy of Akindynos and Barlaam. They fled to the Roman Church and rewarded it with their advocacy against their mother in those sophistical arguments, while also wishing to show their defection as reasonable and convince everyone that they did not choose that church out of necessity, having nowhere else to flee, but because they found that church thinking better in all other matters than the one that raised them. Under King Michael, those who chose the Latins were seized by worldly honors, which we have also seen in recent times; it is difficult to resist such allurements without a heroic and divine spirit from God. Many such have been, and they themselves remained prudent and guided others well, freeing them from the corruption of those deceived ones; and until now, through the teachings and efforts of those noble ones, the ancestral truth has been preserved in our race, for which we owe them the greatest gratitude. We owe no less gratitude to those who established these enclosures that protect us than to those who set the boundaries of piety and imposed penalties on those wishing to overstep them. They acted for the freedom of future generations, and seeing the great deception and falsehood in human words, they

endeavored to protect us from it. Therefore, just as we would be most foolish to dismantle these walls that give us safety and freedom, much more so would we be to betray these spiritual walls, for the danger is greater. The end or change of this world is near, as the events show. If not of the whole world, at least our nation and fatherland are almost in their last breath unless the divine hand intervenes. We do not wish to appear as cowards at the end, more timid than our ancestors. We must show and be braver, which our ancestors would wish for us, with such examples standing before us, and equally preserve the faith in much greater difficulties. If someone argues that we must choose the lesser of two evils, persuaded by the difficulty of the situation and fearing disbelief, expecting us to deviate slightly from the true faith, they clearly have no concern for anything; such is the judgment of such people. We know that anyone deviating even slightly from the true faith is deemed heretical by all laws, as is clear to those experienced in these matters; and that, with truth being one in divine and all matters, errors in each are countless, varying in degree and order from the truth. To reach eternal life, one must follow the truth; "Unclean shall not pass through it," whether the defilement is in mind or will. If one deviating slightly from the true doctrine will attain eternal life, so will the next by the same logic, and so on, with equal deviation from the one deemed worthy, and the next similarly; and thus, all who err in any way will attain eternal life equally, in both great and small errors. If this is impossible, then it is equally impossible for one deliberately deviating slightly from the truth to be saved. Therefore, being firmly established in the safest faith, we must not willingly accept such a great danger, even if it means deviating slightly.

23.If anyone among us were to inquire, as many are wont to do, whether we regard the Latins as heretics, we say it is not our place, in such poverty and weakness of circumstances, to assign such titles to a Church now holding so much power and not deeming it right to submit to our laws, just as we do not to hers. It suffices for us to adhere to our ancestral teachings and laws and not to quarrel with anyone else. Whatever they may be, God knows, and the future day will reveal. If indeed they could stand with the truth in faith while having added, even then our position would not be worthy of reproach before God the judge, as we are persuaded by so many just reasons. But if their opinion is found to be removed from the truth, as we suspect, how much danger is there for those who abandon the truer, common, and ancestral opinion without reason? What argument from the current Latins has persuaded any of ours to join them? None, surely. They bring forth those old arguments always repeated by the Latins, claiming to have been convinced by them. But these have been well refuted by our fathers and teachers. Firstly, as stated, we believe that deliberately falling away even slightly from the truth is equally a fall into great impiety, as both necessarily lead away from true life. Moreover, God will care for the whole faith; it is not ours to care for it, but each of us must attend to his own salvation.

24.If we are to care for the faith by actions to ensure it is preserved for others, let anyone willing show us swords, cliffs, or any such thing, and they will see our readiness, provided we clearly see that our bodily dangers will free this city from the enemy's slavery. What have we ever hesitated about when the guardians of this city sought its salvation? Were we not almost always the first to be ready for the need? But to require us willingly to betray some part of the faith, so that the city and the whole faith might be saved, let whoever wishes praise that. Rather, we pray that those who praise this would change and adopt the right opinion. If they persist in this, we will never adopt that opinion, nor will we wish to benefit the whole world while mortally offending God and the truth, and bringing eternal punishment upon our souls. We see that our

whole city shares this opinion with us, except for a few who gape at present matters. They say they would endure anything rather than deny the ancestral faith, and the fear of the enemies seems nothing to them compared to the faith. Even if they could see nothing else that those with sense and healthy faith should, they would not wish to appear worse than all men in this matter. What nation ever decided as a whole to change its faith and religion merely to please outsiders? Some condemned much of their own faith to embrace the true one, choosing this amid dangers and slaughters, and easily giving up everything to attain the truth. Rather, to speak truly, who presenting such an issue to any nation would not immediately face fire and stones? We greatly fear that this might bring us many misfortunes from God, and that the punishment they would impose, if there were sensible ones among those able to correct this, would be severe from the divine. But it is evident that those boldly speaking these things are very few, while most of the city is prudent and firmly upholds the faith with great reverence, ready to give up everything for it, which gives us good hopes. Nor do we see any lasting and ever-present help from the Latins, even if we were to appear worse than all nations by exchanging our faith for the temporary. Let someone show us this clearly; let them not speak of shadows and dreams. To be persuaded wrongly might someday happen to us if God abandons us; but to trust in the help expected from them, which even those speaking of this believe or pretend to believe to deceive others, would be impossible for us, knowing well the situation there and considering what sufficient help might be through the continuous pressure on us. Therefore, if nothing else, we should fear this: that anyone might face great evil and miss the good if what is sought impiously ever becomes good, which commonly happens to those acting without God.

25.You see the aid provided to us by the pope after our envoys knelt to him there; and this after so many embassies to him and so much money spent on them by us, which could never have been sent all at once for assistance, nor indeed was it sent. We constantly negotiated with him, being on the razor's edge, so to speak; and if God had not mercifully looked upon us, delivering us from evils, the pope's part and our hopes in him would have led to our destruction seven times over, if it were possible to perish so many times. If he aided us not from his own resources in Rome but from what belonged to us, which he should have returned to us after the schism was resolved, as he hoped; and if he did not persuade others to return the islands and cities in Greece to us, but repaid the ecclesiastical revenues, driving out those sent by him as shepherds. Indeed, it is clear that if he did nothing else, by doing this he could have moderately shown his goodwill and desire to help, by returning the revenues of the churches in Corfu, Sicily, Crete, and other islands he had seized from us, like others held the governance of the islands. But he did none of these things, and greatly resented our reclaiming the city of our Fathers. Perhaps, appeasing his anger, they conceded some improper things until God delivered that city into the hands of the barbarians, dulling his wrath and showing those appeasing him that it is better to fear and serve God than to heed human threats if it involves injustice; which should make us cautious not to suffer and provoke our enemies further, as divine providence turns against us. Thus, it uses those who counsel poorly, just as it follows and guides those who undertake pious and wise actions.

26.The hope of help from the Latins is futile. If we are to be freed from slavery, we must guard the faith we received, atone with other works to God, employ more and better advisors for all affairs, govern common matters with equality, justice, and reason, providing each with what is due and just, after reserving what is necessary for common expenses, equally supplying common needs, and caring for those capable of saving us, diligently finding and employing them. Above all, a council from all citizens and classes must be established to

care for all things with God. With these measures, we should pursue peace with the Latins and, if possible, with all nations, not by sharing in wrongdoing or overall descending to worse, but by drawing others to our piety and justice, if they are persuaded; if not, they should be left to that judgment. We must deal justly and rightly among ourselves, binding by the laws of the Fathers, not doing to each other what the Latins once did. They refused to lay aside the addition and then discuss, wanting to seize our weakness and make us completely subject to their laws. But becoming one body under one head, Christ, whom we all honored until recently, and unanimously abandoning the wrongful deeds without contention, giving each other such assurance clearly and sincerely (as the laws of the Church desire), we will then consider our rights with the Latins; and we will all collectively present our defense to them, as fitting for Christians under one mother. Thus, all good things from God will come to us, both internally and externally. This suffices to say. But if anyone demands our words and how each matter should be well arranged with God, we are ready to give them both privately and publicly, and with God's help, persuade all rightly and godly thinking about these things.

27.We often brought these matters to that most noble king, and we knew well what he thought about the events he was involved in. He was pleased with our responses, neither compelling us, wanting us to preserve the ancestral doctrine, and praising those who did so while despising those with a different stance. We are all witnesses of this, each knowing everything from his words and tongue. But fearing for his reign and not wanting to appear unpleasant to the Latins after breaking promises, he, alas, prioritized his soul's safety less and did not openly achieve the remedy for his soul and save many who were perishing under the pretense of the king. Nevertheless, much thanks to him for not disregarding his conscience's reproach, as most rulers do, but making it a priority above all else, even if not openly as he should have, and as the laws of the Church command, but showing in other ways his displeasure with the actions and not approving of them kindly. We pass over those confessions he made continually to the spiritual fathers during his illnesses; we also pass over other signs of his repentance. But wishing to atone for that fall moderately for himself and others who signed the agreement in Florence, he granted us permission to meet often in the palace called Xylalas and give a response about the objection, with the legate present and insisting on the union. And we, having given a mature and deliberate response, he ordered that the document or libellus of faith be signed, and receiving it signed, he made no objections nor disturbed it openly, but told one of his most trusted, "I felt a great burden of my conscience lifted. For instead of those wrongful signatures, I made these holy men sign the doctrine of truth, and if I could not heal that wound of the soul by any better or stronger means, this way, appropriate for the time, will be sufficient, I think, for divine mercy." He said this to them, wishing no further benefit for the Church, and in the very pretense of Latinism, he lost his reign and life and was justly deprived of honors from the Church, as he did not act beneficially. If he receives any greater favor from divine mercy for his gentleness toward us and internal repentance for his wrongful innovations, God would know. Thus, from then until now, that document suffices to overturn the wrongful promises, being in agreement with the decision of that holy and universal council convened against Beccus and deposing him canonically, until God provides another revelation of the truth to the whole people. To Him be glory forever, amen.

AGAINST THE DISCOURSE OF BESSARION [EXCERPT]

10. Against the Discourse of Bessarion. Excerpt.

† … of necessity, from which it follows that the Spirit does not proceed indistinctly from both; let his division now be stated, since it does not use this as Thomas did, but honored him by keeping his syllables, yet scorned to use it for another purpose.

1.Even later, as if unaware of himself and forgetting his distinctions, he asserts that the intention shows only order; thus, the Son is not the cause of the Spirit, like the hammer of a statue, but rather an instrumental cause. For the "through essence" signifies not only order but also something else, namely the disposition and preparation of the material by the craftsman towards the form given by the art, through which the hammer and the craftsman act dissimilarly, and there are two distinct principles according to form. Thus, he claims that assigning the property and nature of a cause by intention is true, but he has entirely mistakenly rendered the manner of causation, which he attributes to the "through the Son," and not as the Latins would wish. He does not yet state how it should be said but that the Son should rather be called an instrumental cause of the Spirit, just as the Father; this is also the opinion of the Latins, and it escapes many absurdities.

2.Having thus demonstrated, as he thought, that saying the Spirit proceeds "through the Son" means the Son is the cause of the Spirit, and equated the greater proposition with the lesser, he now moves to the lesser, citing the authorities of the teachers, where it is theologized that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, and here he again undergoes a more futile labor. For who would be ignorant of the teachers' authorities, where it is proclaimed that the Spirit proceeds through the Son everywhere, or seeing this intention everywhere with some cause, would deny it here alone, and not grant that the Son is in some way a principle of the Spirit? If he has undertaken an empty labor, citing the teachers (for his clever argument should have preceded), he has labored in vain, explaining them and supposedly refuting those who interpret them otherwise. If he says, "This did not please the Bishop of Ephesus," then, as I said, it is not about the true union of the churches or resolutions of disturbing issues for the thoughtful, but only about refuting the misunderstandings of the Bishop of Ephesus, thinking this path sufficient for union and knowledge of the truth. If he speaks of others who barely conceded the instrumental cause, those others judged these matters in such a way that they excluded this intention from any cause and considered the Bishop of Ephesus to hold the stronger argument. They were not convinced by the present arguments which they previously denied. How could they, not even tolerating them in the least? They were persuaded by certain machinations and other methods; they would have been persuaded thus to anything better readily. If it was not possible to persuade, the one fighting for true and just union should have sought, found, and added all truths to all, writing a discourse that would reach the hands of wise and capable judges. I wished to go through all the teachers' words, showing in each case the man excessively bringing these to the forefront, and providing many gaps in their explanations for those wishing to contradict him; but to avoid appearing to go beyond the time and need, suffering what I rightly reproach in others, I will pass over everything in between and go to the final conclusion, where he confidently asserts, trusting in the strength of his reasoning, that the Son is a cause, if this truly follows for him; but that it truly follows, witness divine Maximus who accepts those saying this; thus, among all others, we have divine Maximus, believing the Father alone is the cause of the Son and the Spirit. If he believes the Father is the sole cause of the Son and the Spirit, clearly excluding the Son from

this title, it is evident that he believes the Father to be the sole cause, holding the theology of Dionysius as the most precise rule, judging his own and others' doctrines well by it; for he declared the Father alone as the source of the superessential divinity.

3.Damascene in the eighth chapter of his theological works says, "We say that the Holy Spirit is from the Father and call it the Spirit of the Father, but we do not say it is from the Son, though we call it the Spirit of the Son; and though it proceeds through the Son, it does not proceed from the Son." In the letter to Jordan, he writes, "For us, there is one God, the Father, and His Word and His Spirit; the Word is a begotten hypostasis, and therefore also a Son; and the Spirit is an emitted hypostasis and proceeding, but through the Son and not from the Son, as the Spirit of the mouth of God." Again, in the chapter on divine names, he states, "The Holy Spirit is of the Father, as proceeding from the Father; for no impulse is without the Spirit; and it is of the Son, not as from Him, but as proceeding through Him; for the Father alone is the cause." What could be clearer than these statements? Who could express these matters more precisely, being the last of all and having examined all thoroughly, wishing to present the common doctrines?

4.Theodore the Studite, in his confession of faith, says, "We believe in one Holy Spirit proceeding from God and the Father, co-theologized and co-glorified with the Father and the Son as consubstantial and coeternal. We glorify the Trinity in hypostases or persons, preserving the distinct properties of each as unmixed and unmoved: the Father with unbegottenness and as the cause of those from Him, the Son with generation, and the Spirit with procession. Understanding both the begotten and the proceeding as shining forth from the Father as light from light, a supercosmic triple-light and triple-sunlight." Here, the teacher declares the property of the Father as the cause of those from Him. He asserts that this property must be kept unmixed and unmoved, contrary to those who say the Son is the cause of the Spirit, as they make this property pass to the Son, confusing and mixing it, as is evident from the teacher's words. This is not from himself but following others and Gregory the Theologian, who says in the work on the establishment of bishops, "The properties: the Father is unoriginated and considered and called the principle; a principle as the cause, the source, and the eternal light; the Son is in no way unoriginated but the principle of all things." When he said unoriginated and principle, Theodore said unbegottenness and cause, indicating the same with different words. Gregory adds more precisely that the Son does not share the unoriginated nature in any way with the Father but shares the principle only concerning creation; for He is the principle of all things, not of divinity. I also pass over Anastasius, Nikephoros, and Neilos, and many others honored by our Eastern Church and esteemed with the honors of the blessed, excelling in the contests for the faith and in holiness and purity, not less than the most ancient and first. I pass over what Cyril and Nyssa agree with the above, being beyond all doubt, each preserved alone from the entire case corrupted by some villains, and not easily cited as evidence for those wishing to dispute. But I consider what has been said sufficient for a wise judge with an impartial criterion, even less than this; for no one would reach such impudence as to dare to despise these in any way.

5.Is it not entirely necessary, O man, to testify to the truth of these words of the teachers by all of us, without agreeing to any fabrication or falsehood, and to accord them as much reverence as we do to the others? How then do you reconcile those who say the Holy Spirit proceeds "through the Son" with those who say "from the Son," and why did you not wish to associate all these sayings with them? For this is both entirely necessary and difficult, requiring much wisdom; but the other task was easy and anyone could achieve

it. To shift "through the Son" to "from the Son" is the work of the unskilled; but to unite "from the Son" and "not from the Son," "cause" and "not cause," and their opposites requires much effort, if one is to do this, and the assistance of the Spirit from above, removing all error. The former creates no perplexity for the knowledgeable, but these things equally disturb and frighten everyone's souls. If the Son is the cause of the Spirit, how is He not again the cause, and how is the Father alone the cause and sole source? And if the Spirit proceeds from the Son, how is it not from the Son? And if the Son is the principle of the Spirit, how is the principle a property of the Father? If these things are said so plainly, but no one has called the Son the principle of the Spirit, nor among the Western teachers except Hilary, nor the cause of the Spirit, nor that the Spirit has its being from Him, except that it is said to proceed from the Son, who would reasonably overlook the most evident and plainly spoken things and follow those only appearing from elsewhere, and these defended by Maximus with the Latins of his time, asserting these do not follow, but rather that the common opinion of all others follows; that the Son is not the cause nor the principle clearly, and that the Father is the one and sole principle, source, and cause of the Spirit, as also of the Son?

6.But to set aside such a strong perplexity and move to something worse, you say that "through the Son" is the same as "from the Son"; that to proceed from the Son means to have its existence from the Son and to have the cause of its subsistence from the Son. These things signify something specific. The teachers among us clearly separate the being from the Father through the Son and the being of the Son from all these. If they separate them, and you unite them, should we say they spoke nothing sound, thus contradicting themselves and their brethren, or that the one uniting them is mistaken, joining them in a manner they would not accept, and worse than any war? That the teachers of the Church separate the being of the Holy Spirit from the Son through the Son from all the other equivalences is clear from the fact that they all agree that the Spirit is from the Son through the Son, but none say it has its being or cause of subsistence from the Son, but all say from the Father. Thus, it is clear they assign this manner of the Spirit's order only to the Father. The first of the holy councils says, "Accept one divinity, of the Father who ineffably begot the Son, and of the Son who is begotten of Him, and of the Holy Spirit who proceeds from Him, the Father, but is of the Son, as the Apostle says, 'If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, he is not His.' It neither said from them, which would be ready, if ever, and proper, if it wished, nor does it say from Him; but to avoid being understood as from the Son, it added 'of the Father,' so that being of the Son and being His own is not the same as being from Him, just as being of God and being from God is not the same, but different, as the divine Chrysostom says; one signifies belonging and the other causation. In the revelation of divine Gregory, it is said, 'The Spirit has its being from God and is manifested through Him, i.e., to men.' Basil the Great in his letter to his brother says, 'Since the Holy Spirit, from whom all the distribution of good things to creation springs, is said to be of the Son, with whom it is inseparably comprehended, but has its being from the Father's cause, from whom it also proceeds, this is a distinguishing mark of its hypostatic property, that it is known with the Son and through Him, and has its being from the Father.' If, as some texts have, it says 'is associated with' instead of 'is said to be,' and 'with the Son' instead of 'after the Son,' it makes no difference, but is rather more clearly stated by us, and could be an explanation of many other sayings that the Latins defend by the order; for 'is associated' and 'after the Son' similarly signify order. But he also makes clear the manner of the order, and how it adds nothing to the Spirit's procession from the Father and its being from the Father, which is a mark of its hypostatic property; being after the Son, it is nevertheless with Him and associated with the Son, as it is

comprehended with Him. Nonetheless, from the peak of the Father's cause, it has its being, reaching it through the Son as the final point of that operation without interruption. Basil also in the fourth book against Eunomius says, 'For this reason, the Apostle clearly proclaimed that the Spirit is from God, saying, "We have received the Spirit from God," and made clear that it is manifested through the Son, calling it the Spirit of the Son as well as of God.'

7.Gregory of Nyssa, in his works against Eunomius, says: "The Father is considered unoriginated and unbegotten and always the Father; from Him immediately and inseparably, before any empty or unsubstantial thought can intrude, the only-begotten Son is conceived with the Father; through Him and with Him, the Holy Spirit is immediately comprehended, not following the Son in existence, as the Only-begotten is never thought of apart from the Spirit, but also having its cause of being from God of all, from whom the Only-begotten is also light, shining through the true light."

8.And again: "Another such light in the same way, not cut off by any temporal interval from the begotten light, but shining through it, having the cause of its existence from the original light." Again, Cyril, interpreting Luke, says: "As the finger is attached to the hand, not alien to it but naturally in it, so the Holy Spirit is united to the Son by the reason of consubstantiality, even though it proceeds from God and the Father. The same in the letter to John says: They were not themselves speaking, but the Spirit of God and the Father, who proceeds from Him and is not alien to the Son according to the essence."

9.Again, Damascene in the chapter on divine names says: "The Father is the source and cause of the Son and the Spirit; the Son is the Son, Word, Wisdom, Power, Image, Radiance, Character of the Father, and from the Father, not the Son of the Spirit; the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and proceeds from the Father; no impulse is without the Spirit; and the Spirit of the Son, not as from Him, but as proceeding through Him; for the Father alone is the cause." And in the discourse on the divine-bodied burial, he says: "This is the one we worship: the unbegotten Father, begetter of the Son, not from anything; the Son begotten of the Father, as begotten of Him; the Holy Spirit of God and the Father, as proceeding from Him; which is also said of the Son, as manifested through Him and imparted to creation, but not having its existence from Him."

10.Behold, it is evident that to have its existence from the Son and to exist from the Son, and similar expressions, are distinctly separated by the teachers of our Church from being through the Son or being of the Son. For they clearly attribute the former to the Father, confidently assigning the latter to the Son. Therefore, either the phrase "proceeds from the Son" does not mean the same as "has its existence from the Son" and similar expressions, but rather is equivalent to being of the Son and through the Son, as the teachers of the Church agree, and as Maximus considers them to agree, or rather, as those then judging, he concurs. Or if these are the same, as your argument and the new decrees proclaim, it is clear that "proceeds through the Son" is distinct from "proceeds from the Son," as "through the Son" is separated from those other expressions. How, then, can "proceeds through the Son" and "proceeds from the Son" be the same if "proceeds from the Son" means "has its existence from the Son" and "exists from the Son," while "proceeds through the Son" and "has its existence from the Son" are clearly separated by the teachers? It follows, therefore, that it is either entirely impossible to unite the teachers and us with each other while maintaining their position, or these must be considered ignorantly separating in words what is not separated by nature, while we, recognizing their identity and making this a common doctrine, seem more earnest and wiser than they. But I think even our brethren, I mean the Western teachers, considered worse in the knowledge of

truth, would not easily endure such a great crowd of teachers, much less praise us for seizing this honor from them; nor should we, even if we had to prefer the other part of the teachers, where they speak better, simply issue such a judgment, but first completely disavow their agreement and, unable to find a way to decently unite them with the truth, be compelled to judge and join those who speak more truthfully. It is easy for us to reconcile with them, as they guide us on this path and provide non-ignoble grounds for the wise in what they say, and Maximus, long before us, unerringly came through this, so following him, it is impossible to experience any deviation. Therefore, without condemning so many teachers, nor wholly subjecting them to accusations of disagreement or imputing folly and falsehood to some, we will appear burdensome to all and stand outside the truth, not escaping blame irresponsibly. Do you consider this a small difficulty for those not simply brushing over these matters as a game? But you did not endure even to resolve this perplexity, but simply say "exists from the Son" and "has its existence from the Son" and similar things, without having any firm basis, nor, if you had any such thing, addressing the perplexity first, leaving a second way of war and conflict among our teachers, or rather kindling it first. Moreover, it is no less perplexing to wonder how those who say the Spirit proceeds through the Son could mean it has its existence through Him and exists personally from Him, as you interpret them, if in explaining themselves, they say the Spirit is supplied to creation, poured out, and imparted through the Son and all such things, or signify the temporal mission. For the first council in Nicaea says: "The Spirit proceeds from the Father and is of the Son, and springs from Him to us." In the revelation of Gregory, it is said (it is timely to recall the same again): "The Holy Spirit has its existence from God and is manifested through the Son, i.e., to men." And again there: "The Holy Spirit is perfect, provided through the Son to the adopted." Cyril says: "It proceeds, or rather emanates, as from the source of God and the Father, but is supplied to creation through the Son." And again: "The Father causes it to proceed from His own nature, but the Son also supplies it to the worthy." And again: "As I just said, it proceeds from the very essence of God and the Father, but is imparted to the worthy through the consubstantial Word and is manifested from Him." And again: "Though the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, it comes through the Son and is proper to Him." And again: "The Father's own Spirit is naturally brought; it flows from the Father, but is supplied to creation through the Son." And again, in the chapter on the Spirit in the Thesaurus, he says: "The Spirit is God by nature and from the essence of the Father, but supplied to creation through the Son." Concluding, he says: "How is the Spirit not God, having essentially in itself the property of the Father and God? And it is the Spirit, supplied through the Son to creation." And again: "The Spirit is therefore God, dwelling in us as in the order of God, and, to speak thus, emerging from the highest essence of all, existing in itself and from the Father, but supplied to us through the Son by faith." And again: "Having its source as the essence of God and the Father, but poured out as from the Father through the Son and sanctifying creation."

11.Thus, all these things are said by Cyril, who was considered by the Latins from the beginning to be most aligned with the opinions of the Western teachers. Damascene says, "The Spirit is also called the Spirit of the Son, as it is manifested and imparted to creation through Him, but does not have its existence from Him." And again, "We call it the Spirit of the Son and acknowledge that it is manifested and imparted to us through the Son." Maximus says, "That they may signify its procession through Him and thus show the consubstantiality and unchangeableness of the essence." It would be excessive to enumerate everything. You

see how precisely these distinctions and separations are made, as if they were asked how they say the Spirit proceeds through the Son, they would make clear the manner in which they say this.

12.When, then, did you ever dare to claim that your explanation is better than theirs, or show that both are consistent, so that you could be trusted to reconcile all the teachers' statements correctly, or present this opinion, after examining and considering everything well? With so many and such great perplexities left unaddressed, do you think all people will heed you? Will they overlook such a great number of statements, dishonored and despised by such union? Who would fall into such insensitivity or ignorance? Rather, who would not judge your words as either ignorant or malicious, or I do not know what else? You promise to show that the teachers agree with each other, yet you only name those of the West that suit you, leaving out the others. You should have placed their statements first and clearly shown everywhere that they call the Son the cause and principle of the Spirit, which should have been the conclusion of your entire argument. It was not enough to simply say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, but you should have explained this much more clearly than the Eastern teachers, so that, after revealing their meaning, you could then attempt to show that the others' statements fit the same idea. It is not difficult to shift "proceeds from the Son" to "through the Son" and from that to another, and to show that the Western statements sound completely opposite. Many do this, and it is both without cause and worthy of much prayer to follow them in everything, even if you saw this yourself and were before the schism. Therefore, you did not do this first, although it was very necessary. Then, trying to reconcile the Eastern statements with the surface of the Western teachers' words, you left out the most perplexing parts, silenced the secondary ones, and only took those saying the Spirit proceeds through the Son, without mentioning the others, which seem to explain them. But examining them, you tried to fit them with the words of the Westerners, or rather, you left out the statements, using only their apparent sense, and when it came to practical use, you did not use the apparent sense. Instead, you took the fact that the Western authorities proclaim the Son as the principle and cause of the Spirit, though this requires much scrutiny, and adding that the "through the Son" said by the Easterners to all means the Son is also the cause, you concluded that all the Church's teachers hold the same opinion and all believe the Son to be the principle and cause of the Spirit. How, then, can we say you reconcile the teachers, or all of them, if you do not remember all, or properly and justly, as you do this not from what they all say, but from what seems brief to you in their explanations, as if promising to unite all the Latins with us and advocating for peace, you neither attempt to persuade the Galatians and Celts, considering them not worthy, though they live far off and are wise and conciliatory, nor others for various reasons, but only negotiated peace with some Italians, and those few whom the Eridanus flows by; then claiming to fulfill the promises and compel all Latins to peace with us by necessity. But by doing so, you neither paid those promises nor fulfilled what you promised about the teachers.

13.Just as you have made a forced and incomplete agreement among the teachers, so too the union of the churches has responded to you and those who collaborated with you in these matters. Many of our people do not even tolerate the name of the Latins, but rather reject it more than before. You know yourself how little the largest of the cities cares for the union and those who brought it about, so that those they used to revere and honor, they now neglect out of hatred for what has transpired. A few, perhaps not better than the others, either having accepted this earlier, considering change difficult, or believing this way, adhere to their agreements themselves but do not dare to speak to others, preferring, if not to be like sacred objects excluded

from sanctuaries and banquets, to remain silent. Some have been so hostile to them that they delight in depriving them of all previously mentioned, and the intense zeal previously burning for union has ended in disgust, hatred, and relentless conflict. Those managing the good aspects of the matter, both what they did there and what they foresaw being done here, caused such an unexpected change. If, with ill-intent, you have considered such a semblance of agreement among the teachers, hoping to persuade our simpler people and fill them with doubt, it would not befit a wise man to say such a thing. Rather, you should have found the common opinion of the teachers and convinced everyone of what is right. Since you admit the Latins can be somewhat helpful, perhaps learning something better themselves, they could have felt grateful to you and your collaborators and sought peace with much more precision and decency, preserving what is fitting for us. For it was not just about uniting with the Latins simply, but also doing so rightly, justly, and decently, which was the goal from the beginning. Even if you proceeded with this action with some cunning, it would have been reasonable to unite the churches, with a few expected to dispute and hesitate about the method. But presenting a confession of faith to the common Church that persuaded more and contained clearer statements, while many were intoxicated with their own, and was least similar to the decrees of former councils, was not a way to act for anyone, nor should you and your associates have permitted it. For the deceit would have been exposed and revealed. It was necessary to trouble those knowing and judging such matters with the innovation, and those previously convinced, suspecting the actions, would stand against them. If your conscience suggested this way alone to unite the teachers, you should have known that you did not know more than each of the others and altogether understood less. If you were the best of all men, being human and subject to the dangers of error, especially when arrogantly handling great matters, you should not have attempted such things alone, nor relied solely on yourself in the conclusions of these matters, but sought advice and guidance from others, trusting more in them in your discussions with the Bishop of Ephesus. Rather, you did not exclude anyone, nor did you prevent anyone; it was not possible. You delighted in others doing this, perhaps even provoking their anger and stirring suspicions, lest they secretly choose what is expedient out of necessity and align with those good and capable of defending them. Many served you in such matters, whom you sent ahead as if in a hunt, and they fulfilled your need for dogs, showing and tearing apart where needed. Some were truly hunters and beast-fighters, long trained in battles against wild beasts, and thus it was likely they were formidable even in wars against men. They often uttered many things about doctrines, having fed themselves on hunting, not laurel or Helicon, as the saying goes, but many spices from your tables, enjoying sudden theology as that one did poetry. Some, under the guise of virtue and modesty, extolling your matters and shamelessly attacking others, cooperated in another way in your endeavor. Some did this solely to please you and purchase some good hopes, others moved by hatred against them, otherwise envious of your progress.

14.Such were you to your friends; they enjoyed your honors and freedom of speech, thriving greatly in many ways, but as you might say yourself, they were preparing for this for a long time. And you fed the rabid with honors and much esteem against them; they loved and honored you, and they acted in ways to meet your approval, and though they had many reasons and justifications to stop your mouth many times, and to persuade everyone to trust others rather than you, judging you as highly ignorant and brazen, they praised you and granted you more of the truth, making everyone heed you with pleasure, neither considering that things would go well, if they used you as an instrument for their meditated plans, nor thinking you capable of

everything timely. So you might say you did not reach the conclusion of matters alone and place such a beautiful crown on the matter; but we know well who those were that collaborated with you. Some vain and insignificant men, having nothing and devoid of reason as well as wings, so that they admired whatever you said, hoping the union would provide them with honors, leadership, and much wealth; those who yesterday accused the praisers of the union (who praised it if it were to be done properly) and babbled about them in public, suddenly today became self-latins, proclaiming the union in attire, voices, and all manners, and as if they were the leaders of it, so they changed immediately. They acted not with reasoned leadership, but bought the favor and enmity of people, practicing immediately whichever they saw them delighting in. It was with these that you examined matters of faith; with these you considered what to accept; you judged them worthy as judges and advisors of what is true and just; with these you hoped to persuade others upon returning, and with these allies to wage war against the resistors. Those you previously ranked among teachers, whom alone you considered the most accurate scientists and wise, seeking solutions to perplexities, and from whom you benefited much and greatly in rhetoric and philosophy, declaring that only they were fit to judge such matters in words and writings, perhaps both flattering and truthfully affirming and adorning yourself with the testimony of truth (and this not from afar but nearby, where you could not even say that you became better, but you became much worse, exiling your dear leisure with your eagerness for honors and presidencies, and losing many truly valuable things); having these and able to use them, you did not wish to do so, though many endured dangers and toils (for expenses mattered little to them), not for your sake and your lovers, nor for the pope's or any other then present, but for the sake of truth and the common benefit of all. If they had succeeded, it would have been expected for all of you to prosper, and they to share in the success accordingly. But they knew that apart from being zealous, nothing would succeed due to others' envy and ignorance, or rather the common sin prevailing. If they had known (for the future was showing itself from there), they were compelled to strive always to defend and not neglect their duties. So, you are not justly free from all blame. Even if you knew those things and were led to give advice without clear knowledge, relying solely on yourself for the greatest matters, and wanting judges who would be persuaded by everything you said, you erred in another and worse way. And if you were conscious, speaking honestly and hiding nothing of what you thought, you did not realize that many others participate in such works and decisions and might find something better and more suitable than what you thought. But let it be said with God. Disregarding these things beforehand, seeing them departing without vexation, and not doing everything to keep those who belonged, which was necessary even when things were unstable for you and the Bishop of Ephesus was strong in everything, do you think it sufficient to withdraw and declare your advice free from all suspicion? Far from it. If they were not present at the decisions, they had left; but those who were present did not refute this speech, as the king commanded silence before anything concerning the union, and he judged their presumption greatly if they dared touch on the union before it pleased him, setting penalties for any transgression of his commands. So, it was not easy for them to oppose you without his knowledge, nor would he permit it if he knew; and without him, they did not speak at any time before or after him, except when he wanted to read this to all present; and receiving reproaches instead of applause, you were indignant; and again embracing those elegant points, you jested with the esteemed on such matters in agreement with the Bishop of Russia. You asked the co-bishops if they believed "through the Son" meant the same as "from the Son," and if they agreed to the "through" signifying causation, and if they wished to consider the Western teachers'

statements authoritative. They did not even imagine in dreams what causation is, what the name Son means, and what the teachers say, but they said what each was taught by you, receiving some reward for this instruction; just as we know unworthy teachers promise rewards to lazy students, collecting as many as possible this way, to buy a reputation of wisdom that is not true due to the crowd's opinion. How could they, hiding the matter, with fear preventing them from afar, contradict or correct and advise, if they wished to do so? But those men, both in what they wrote before and what they might write after, will define the exact and just agreement of the teachers and always show their consistent opinion on the matters, benefiting many who have the will and power for this. You, however, fearful of the cries and difficulties against you, and having disregarded our honors, even if all granted you what was possible, desired the greatest from the Latins, intending to reach them and obtain these. Then, having already received the fullness of the rewards for the union, you wish to please us from the remnants of your prosperity and arm our city with money and naval forces, mixing these with your counsel for the union, thinking thus to persuade us. But we see sensible people greatly fearing and trembling that the drama of the union, prepared from afar, may result in our greatest misfortunes, and that fortune, envying the remaining good things we have and wishing to take them entirely, found a way to achieve this with much irrationality. For what could be more absurd than to experience the opposite fate from what one hoped for success, with added misfortune?

15.If someone were to say all these things to the Bishop of Nicaea, I believe he would not be able to respond, but, respecting the truth of what is said, he would praise the zeal of the speaker, reproach himself openly, and undoubtedly feel some regret for everything. For if then, immediately swayed by human passion and the desire for human glory, he overlooked many things he should have cared for, now, with reason restored, judging the matters, he would be an impartial judge to himself. He would not concede in wisdom or prudence to anyone boasting of such things, but he has a good and just judgment and is free from all duplicity. Yet, I do not expect he will be able to help the present matters; for neither will he achieve anything by changing now, nor is it possible for him to change at all. Bound by all the promises of faith and honors received, which are not easily shaken off, he will sit, also blaming us openly, calling some bold and enemies of salvation, and siding with those angry against us, assisting in defense if possible. But inwardly, he will love and pray for good things, being just; and he will grieve, deprived of just men and friends, to whom he owed many thanks and always gave back generously when present. For if anyone among others, he was to benefit and honor our city and whole nation by judging, advising, teaching, and writing. Standing as an example of many good things to those wishing to live virtuously, recommending to rulers those needing some good, persuading them of what he wished, directing the Church, honoring wisdom, rewarding virtue, and yielding to none of the best, being prepared for all these things exceedingly. Not being able to provide these things, he will grieve. We needed these more than the many funds from Italy, even if he alone could send such amounts. For the virtue of a man cannot be honored as much as his wealth. Now, the pope must send the funds; but he, neither having nor being able to send, would not be persuaded even by angels in heaven; unwilling, much less by any human. Nicaea would love to persuade in what he needs for himself. If they do not read the decree, he says, and all accept the union, even the bodies of all must be sold, as the more spent for the glory of the Latins until now must be repaid. Therefore, in other matters, Nicaea will harm us by not being present, and there he will not help at all, except as much as the pope, being able, wishes.

AGAINST THE DISCOURSE OF BESSARION [EXCERPT]

16.But I grieve more than anything, deprived of a very wise friend. Who rejoices more in our matters than he? Who knows the man and his power in words, and admires him more than I? Who could have been with each other all the time and benefited so much from each other's company? He was more valuable to me than water, air, and life itself. Now, he adorns Italy, and we dwell among good citizens, but ignorant otherwise except for a few, devoid of the desire for words, unable to show them anything of what exists, nor attain any glory or favor for this. Another time would be more suitable for lamentation. Now, these matters must be addressed.

17.I believe I have sufficiently granted you what you sought. You now understand both the need for the discourse and the occasion, and our established opinion on it, not recently adopted but held for a long time. As God knows, we did not go through the document until now, compelled by you and your friendship. The judgment on it has been consistent for many years. Since we impartially examined the differences between Latins and Greeks and consulted the teachers of both sides, discerning their opinions, we concluded that the phrase "from the Son" added to the creed divided the Church. For this, the Greeks, having perceived some discordant and strange sound, far from the sacred, reasonably neither agreed themselves nor tolerated those who agreed, deeming it spurious and not proclaimed by any of their teachers, and for other reasons deemed it incorrect. Not only for these reasons but also believing that any innovation in the creed was forbidden to all, as the Fathers in Ephesus fixed the clauses of this creed as a boundary of the confession, desiring everyone to stand within them. It was easy to judge and discern these matters. But the desire for autonomy troubled both parties, leaving them unexplored until our times. Some have examined them independently, each seeking the truth according to their judgment, preparation, or divine grace. Observing, I found that the hindrances of the addition were not necessarily causing the schism, but it would have been better if nothing were added; but since it was made and prevailed, if the additions were true, they should be accepted. They said this should be judged by a common council, which we hoped would not be long in coming. Not adding anything myself nor communing with the Latins in any matter, I sought to see if the additions were true; thus one could cease rejecting them as heretics and wrong-believers, requiring the appropriate penalties for the breach. If they confessed truthfully, there would be no need to commune with them, as one raised by the mother Church and taught by it, innovating nothing but holding others accountable for acting as they believe. If the addition were shown entirely spurious and the beginning of falsehood, not only would there be no communion, but they would be treated as enemies of the truth.

18.I found that the Western teachers indeed frequently said this and that some of our teachers affirmed those sayings; since it was impossible for the Church's teachers to lie, and the Latins confessing the truth should not be rejected. Indeed, I did not believe the truth and the teaching proclaimed by so many teachers could be the beginning of any absurdity or falsehood; thus, I was reconciled in my soul with the Latins, and it was always a burden to slander them. Defending their confession in many ways, absolving them of many absurdities attributed to them more by those compiling long books against them than by the Church's teachers, for which I was called a "Latin-lover." The envious cleverly attacked me, lacking other means of slander. They said I should live dishonorably and suffer because I did not slander the Latins nor consider them impious for proclaiming a voice consistent with their teachers. Judging their ignorance, I may have once spoken something appropriate to a Latin, as happens in such discourses, appearing less moderate to the Latins than to those saying it. Then I was considered entirely to revere the Latins and despise ours, clearly an

enemy. Those who believed not slandering the Latins or saying both spoken and unspoken things against them was a sign of favor towards them made it the basis of madness against me. And a certain ambition stirred me in this, which is impossible for the young concerned with such matters to completely avoid, even if they possess moderate character. But those who neither understood the necessity of the words, nor the age, nor anything else like that …

LETTER TO DEMETRIUS

11. Letter to Demetrius Paleologus against the Union of Florence (1450).

† By George Scholarius at the urging of the holy assembly of those maintaining the ancestral and true doctrine [to Demetrius Paleologus].

1.Most High, Most Pious, Most Noble, Most Fortunate Lord, our Despot born in the purple, I received the decree of your holy reign, for which I am thankful, for you have not disdained to write to us, your own and those otherwise concerned with justice and truth in all matters. Therefore, with great dedication and, as one might say, with much feeling, I write to you nothing but the truth, as I believe, and I swear by what will be said.

2.The beginning, then, excellent and most prudent leader, was praised by nearly everyone, and justly so; for it was worthy of much praise. And I do not say you were praised only by our citizens; perhaps they, out of habit and owing something to your relatives, remembered your favor to them and were not impartial examiners and judges of your merits. But when you accompanied that king negotiating matters of religion with the Italians unsuccessfully, and had to go through many cities, encountering many communities, many rulers, and many esteemed private citizens, you appeared no lesser than your brother and king (for it is less burdensome to say so), even though he was admired by the best there and seemed to them worthy of much praise, and you were heard to be like a father by all. For once he too went to the West, needing help from there for this city of ours; and many, remembering him, associating with you presently, saw in you great similarity to him and kinship in all other respects, not just in nature. What particularly impressed them about you was your truthfulness, nobility, and not thinking higher of yourself because of royal blood, nor enduring any disgrace because of being in a foreign place, but rather opening yourself like a safe harbor to all who sailed with you, not distinguishing those following your brother from those following you, but extending goodwill equally to all, so that none who approached you for any reason returned disappointed or in pain. And those you perceived to be silently suffering from hunger out of shame, you showed sufficient compassion without them having to ask. This philanthropy did not arise from abundance, but from distributing all your treasures, leaving nearly nothing for yourself in the end, which earned you the respect of your own and the admiration of foreigners there, as the word of your philanthropy spread to everyone's ears. You held on to the ancestral piety so diligently that foreseeing, whether by necessity, ignorance of the truth, or weakness of will, he turned to commune with those previously deemed incurable, you left your brother and went to Venice, and we accompanied you, both Gemistos and I, though neither your brother nor Eugenius approved. But you prioritized piety over pleasing them, not seeing them examine doctrines lawfully. Having returned from there, you governed the coastal regions of Pontus so well that the inhabitants still remember your name and wish for no ruler other than you, if it were possible, just as they were governed by the current king, never considering themselves more fortunate.

3.But despite being praised by both your own and foreigners, judged the best ruler, the evil spirit did not let you enjoy it for long, and stirred up intolerable arrogance towards your brother and king, provoking you to resist him. You wished to leave the rule to him and drag him unwillingly into what you considered just. When he resisted angrily, it was necessary to fight each other as the worst enemies, and he shut himself inside the gates, while many who did no wrong were enslaved and killed, the land ravaged and burned. Those who

suffered and sympathized hated neither both equally nor the one most responsible, though the laws deem the one who does not prevent, being able, to be responsible, even in the worst contests. It is said that the victor is more wretched in such strife. Someone fighting stubbornly did not yield what he promised long ago, as we all know, nor what was just, perhaps, and should not deny such things, fearing the evils to come; but they only hated you, caring not for justice nor seeking the primary cause of events to find and blame it. That misfortune more than wrongdoing, like a cloud over your good deeds, still gives unjust judges confidence against you. Having no other accusations, they cling to that misfortune, and I will explain its cause to you.

4.Other rulers, or if you will, all people, have different things to accuse them of, and thus, satisfying their anger with their own shortcomings, for the ruled are all fond of blame, do not wish to examine the injustices done to the common good. Let them even call these misfortunes, although however one might term them, there is hardly anyone among the known rulers who has not faced worse things than those that happened to you. But having nothing like this to reproach you for, they strike from that point. If you were not otherwise praiseworthy, the envious would more likely strive to cut down your glory from there. For it is a far greater disgrace for a ruler if he poorly manages his rule in peace and lives otherwise unhealthily than if, attacking someone's property or his own, thinking he is wronged, he becomes burdensome to those he attacks or even harms his own. These follow the rulers, like the eclipses of the brightest celestial bodies over time, more our passions than their faults; but regarding brightness and other energy in these earthly matters and to us, no one would enjoy or admire the sun less because of them. So, having nothing from your own faults to seize upon, for you excel in justice among all people, in philanthropy, compassion, and kindness to the highest nature, in liberality and magnanimity, allowing none to come near you, and no less noble in true nobility, recognizing and praising virtue in those who possess it and rewarding it as much as possible, gentle in word and deed, and where necessary, lacking no sternness befitting a ruler; knowing you are adorned with all these and similar qualities, they turn from their own advantages to others' injustice, turning to your misfortune, making noise, though now they cannot make noise, prevented by the virtue shown after and the events that befell your brothers, unless someone is shameless against the most evident truths.

5.Let us consider the events that followed. The barbarian demanded you yield the country to your brother, offering in exchange another not lesser inland, promising to assist after the war. For hearing accurately that the Hungarians were approaching, he decided not to trouble the king but to treat you well, ready to use you for defense against the king if he detected any favor or help from him to the enemies. He also hoped you would contribute greatly to him in the war by joining his army, not by adding strength, but by the reputation of having the king's brother as an ally. And he thought thus he would be more formidable to those approaching and use all Christians in Europe more favorably in the present. But you cared more for the common good of all Christians than your own benefit, which one could not easily endure; for we see most people, in taking office, insisting on their chosen path and making the greatest errors and misfortunes out of shame of appearing defeated by their rivals if they pursue what they chose. But you, as a supplicant, defected to your brother and king, not allowing him to harbor any resentment against you. For he was bound by your virtue and acknowledged your most beneficial actions for all. He immediately loved and honored you, and I do not know how he refrained from doing what was proper for the longest time. It was fitting, then, not just to stop causing harm, but having shown the greatest wisdom and proved many virtues in one deed, to restore what existed with additions and use the rest as a most trusted. For thus God treats us when we, as His

supplicants, repent of any sin, not only pardoning but adding grace. You endured, though your entire household was in want, and held to your hopes in the divine.

6.Then Theodore, one of your brothers, openly sided with the king, while you remained, ready to ally with the king and justice. And thus, you prepared. But the king, knowing you were wronged, yet unwilling to redress the wrong, fearing you might retaliate and easily assist your brother in defense, kept you confined in the palace under guard. And the safety promised by oaths, alas, greatly retreated before fear, fearing more from your endurance of wrongs than from your anger. The overseer of justice and oaths rescued you, devising a most prudent plan to think through but hardest to accomplish without God and His guidance; and escaping dangers by God's help, you neither harbored resentment nor were provoked by anger to take revenge, though having the opportunity. For your brother asked you to ally with him, promising many things if he succeeded in his desires through you, able to repay you appropriately.

7.But then, more than before, showing yourself loyal and useful to the king, you demonstrated the accusations as slander and the intrigues as baseless, and the small-mindedness and cowardice of the believer. And the king thought it was necessary to do what was just belatedly, placating his brother's anger while being distressed by your success. He immediately gave the islands and reinstated the former rule. Though you obeyed and were on the islands, the younger brother did not cease sending letters and envoys, offering nothing definite but promising for the future. But you did not deem it worthy to respond to him. When summoned by the elder for his benefit, seeing many in the throes of rebellion, though the matter did not turn around for long, and your presence was needed, you complied, acting rightly. Even before your arrival, the conflict was resolved by death. Even so, he received you gladly, acting royally to demonstrate his favor. He was about to fulfill his promises and deliver the cities, as they were granted long ago by decree, but in this he was also snatched by death.

8.Up to this point, one could praise your endurance, justice, foresight, and prudence, though it would be long to recount or properly honor each instance. I believe none of those versed in philosophy could have managed the circumstances better, nor expressed in words what you did, not even Plato or Dion, or anyone else, as you handled everything in action. The subsequent events, surpassing wonder, could be declared as performed by a heroic and divine soul rather than merely human, if one speaks according to Aristotle. For the king departed; and nearly everyone advised you to take the greater title at hand, which even private individuals sometimes seized without regret. They said your father was king, your brother reigned recently, and it is fitting to succeed the dying and bear the burden of the affairs, no less a right than age precedence. They stirred your mind to openly pursue greater things. But you, using your nature, and if needing advice, turning to the most prudent, not the reckless, considered it fitting for the rule to be undertaken by the one choosing to save the ruled, and that the title would not help one seeking conflict and ruin from the overall safety and security, where it was fitting to gain the glory and honor. Thus, marvelously you managed all matters without touching public affairs, mediating for peace, bravely opposing enemies, caring for the defense of the walls, and conquering the kingdom alongside the elder brother, acting as a guardian of the overall safety and security of the city, appointed by God. Though the slanderers concocted many things, wishing to disturb your mind, you remained steadfast, knowing well from where these seeds of discord were sown and who nurtured them and for what purpose. I, by the sacred truth, often marveled more at your endurance than your other magnanimity and foresight. I know well that if the shouts and provocations of the slanderers had

not hindered you, being more vigorously engaged in the matters, you would have made agreements with the enemies and returned the healthy rule to your brother and king arriving from the Peloponnese. Neither would the surrounding areas be ravaged, nor would the islands face that dreadful fate that has since come upon us. Those fabrications were the beginning of subsequent misfortunes; but how, let those capable of sound judgment consider. Thus, renouncing the sweetest title of kingship, over which fathers and sons often perished disputing, foreseeing the impending conflict and confusion and the ruin of others, to choose the second place shows much philosophy, and how much gratitude we owe you. How miserable the slanderers must be, if knowing your counsel and mind accurately, they presented their fabrications contrary to this and showed what was unfitting. Those who willfully harmed you seem even more wretched justly. Those who, deceived by them, were misled are worse in ignorance, lesser in baseness.

9.Considering the events that followed, I find them much more admirable than those previously mentioned. What greater display of nobility and magnanimity is there than to not fight from abundance for your own interests, but seated among your brothers and subjected again to the slanderers' attacks, from whom you had suffered much, to contend for justice? A task no ruler we know would dare. Many advised you to demand your rights forcefully while in safety, but you considered the king's oaths the greatest security. Thus, you should think of him and himself, never undermining the foundation of oaths. The one demanding justice would never be blamed, even if something adverse befell him, holding the disgrace more to the sufferer than those pressing and God would defend them above all. Thus, you had confidence from conscience and example. Therefore, having set such matters in mind, you stayed, not deeming it worthy to gratify those wishing to see the brothers divided, believing they would better manage their own affairs—worse indeed if the truth be told, as they also harm the common good and their own. When it was necessary to convene and decide whether you should go to the Peloponnese or stay enjoying the former rule, you did not hesitate to propose what was truly beneficial, though knowing it would not be pleasing, ready to act in accordance with what was deemed best by others. Remaining in the homeland and receiving expenses from the Peloponnese, you would first ensure that those advising to abandon piety and seek help from the Latins would find the means for the city in action with piety, supporting over three hundred men with funds from the Peloponnese, capable of double those coming from outside, being locals. Then, should anything undesirable occur, though unexpected, there would be someone to take charge of the matters, and we would not face the hardships and reproaches we experienced under the former king, which were predicted and indeed happened, learning nothing from experience, with possibly stronger enemies and weaker own forces for many reasons, requiring action. Thus, being free from toils, yet these measures not being adopted by the council, but what was done was beneficial, you obeyed (for there would be no blame if something else resulted), and you eagerly prepared to go to the Peloponnese with all that was happening. This remained, and thus you were envied by the many.

10.The king, fully aware of justice and willing to act, knowing well, if not all, those who cared for justice, the manner in which you should be sent to the rule of the Peloponnese instead of the local rights, or, if you will, for the precedence of age, which has great power, as expected. However, submitting to the council what seemed just and promoting peace with the brother, he tried to persuade you of these, and you were persuaded by goodwill towards him, agreeing to what the younger wanted to have. Thus, oaths were made, filled with awe, embodying the most divine things honored by Christians in word, writing, and action, which

should not be violated even for the whole world, much less for such a small rule, to those who place their hope for happiness truly in them and care to honor what we revere with the tongue.

11.Alas, my insides are inflamed, stormy, I suffer much, but I do not wish to burst. I would rather pray to rebuke with the tongue as is fitting. For what is written will pass to the ears of many, and I spare goodwill; for we are kind to them, even if they grieve us by harming Christ, for whose love everything is dishonored. Yet, let this be said with Him: May He be gracious to them; and He will crown you for your piety towards Him, do not doubt.

12.But I return to the sequence of words. You knew well what has now occurred, many foresaw, but you went forth bearing your spirit. How many virtues does this hold for one wishing to judge well? By prudence, you foresaw the future, but not wishing to grieve those sending you, you gave a great sign of obedience and friendship towards them. In choosing to enter a preexisting war, you showed great bravery, and hoped to prevail due to your piety towards God.

13.You endured all these at first to avoid seeming to willfully act badly, and so that those wishing to find fault would have no cause to reproach you, but would be silenced, transferring the blame to others. Thus, you immediately went to the island, a bold act for few, with all strongholds nearly occupied and the barbarians there overrun, having familiarity with the opponents, which is very powerful. For nothing unexpected confronted you, so as to be struck and plan otherwise, but you anticipated what came, and what to endure and with whom to contend very prudently, encountering such, you did what was suitable for you, pleasant to the king, and beneficial to all of us. For you contended not only for your rights but for this unfortunate remnant of the Greeks, who would quickly perish by your disputes if one overreaching forced the other unable to defend. You contended no less for piety and all virtue. No one should yield to those overstepping justice, but rise and resist if possible, even if it brings no personal gain; else, how are we different from beasts, not honoring oaths nor resenting those breaking sworn agreements? No pretext would justify neglecting or appearing to neglect such matters.

14.Until now, everything you have planned and executed nobly, wisely, and piously. I have now briefly touched upon these in summary; but when we are relieved from opposing forces and your fortunes secure, we will recount your entire life's course, setting this as a significant task. Consider how what follows aligns with the previous, which we and others knowing the truth and speaking it have praised. This will be a seal on what you have demonstrated so far, and how you will use it for yourself and the affairs, and if similar deeds follow, no one will doubt declaring you the best among all, private and ruling alike. We do not doubt you will appear most similar to yourself. We foresee you will show yourself much wiser to friends and others, instilling and imparting in both the appropriate feelings by your success. For the divine will favor you for your piety, guiding you to what is best, as long as we have any counsel, and how we would benefit, seeing those choosing piety prosper significantly even in this life; if not, which I pray against, still do not cease being pious. For this is not our end, so as to abandon virtue if not visibly rewarded; but the rewards of the good are established elsewhere, infinitely delighting those adorned by them for virtue's sake; yet even here, the works of virtue have sufficient pleasure. If you will, both your habit of living accordingly, even if no one knew or rewarded, and we hope you will excel in this life, setting an example of piety to observers and godliness through it. Do not think you lead yourself, but that pure piety guides all your actions. Encountering difficulties is due to the nature of all things and the constraints of Greek affairs and others' crookedness, causing many things not

meeting your expectations; perhaps these are exercises for your virtue. For we would not enjoy your endurance, nobility, justice, and prudence without such trials. To be undisturbed by all, with virtue, and still advancing in glory and power, albeit slowly, with justice, what else but divine support preserving you for a good day, as it keeps adversaries for an adverse day, though they seem to fare better now. I know none more pious than you among the living; for I do not fear you will grow prideful. For moderation adorns all your other virtues, or rather I should say balance. I pass over your oath-keeping, sufficiently mentioned before; but what could be more pious than always repenting the past, ascribing everything to yourself, grieving without shame, often appeasing the divine daily, never thinking enough atoning for sins, as if always sinning and not long ceased? Who among the commoners has humbled themselves so? Who has been so crushed by grief for sins? Rather, truly speaking, none of those philosophizing in the deserts, having the leisure to always reproach themselves and lament even the smallest sins with great moderation, could do as much as you in the turmoil of affairs. Is this not pure piety? Utter understanding? Complete prudence? Who would not dare approach such a person? Who would not embrace being under such? Who, even distant, would not praise, even if not bound to grieve?

15.I come now to the matter of piety, and on this I will rest. Most who do not securely believe conceal one thing in their minds and pretend another, and what they claim to revere in word, they undermine by attempting to destroy in deed, miserable as if one, not wishing to kill the flock himself, were to release it to thieves and beasts to slaughter and plunder. But you are not like this. From the first inception of this innovation, present and seeing the human elements, if not to say worse, lacking anything sacred, you distanced yourself, not attending those votes, for you would not agree. And you had the worthy Gemistos and me accompanying you, though those preparing the dreadful events needed you to stay, and reluctantly allowed us to withdraw from those good works. They could not force us properly. From then until now, you have faithfully guarded the faith and religion inherited from your fathers, not deeming it worthy to mix with foreign practices and falsely compromise your confession to the fathers, showing your soul as a multi-formed beast. Many act this way, either thinking they gain nothing from such agility, deceived, or considering it indifferent. But you remain unstained and unaffected by such things, as those guiding our faith would wish, and as they lived, never mixing with those holding different views about the divine. Though you foresaw many difficulties from this steadfastness and piety, as indeed they occurred, you renounced hopes offered by those thinking otherwise, not dishonorable. Considering piety a greater good for yourself and those around you, and the sophistries misleading simpler minds from the truth, you did not heed nor should any sensible person. But relying on the judgment of those blessed, who were sufficient leaders of truth, disputing with the Latins for so long, you disregard those valuing anything else. Siding with the wiser on both sides, especially the more familiar, rightly so, and among others considering the present ones as trifling compared to the ancient, believing the truth. "We will be ridiculous," says Plato in Theaetetus, "thinking we say something as inferior, rejecting all the wise men." "See," he says, "Theodore, if it is profitable to approach such danger."

16.Therefore, you do not wish to reject ancient and all-wise men, nor those aligned with them in a golden chain even to our times. I mean Joseph, for we must start from the recent, your father and very wise king, Neilos of Thessaloniki, Neilos of Constantinople, Patriarch Philotheos, Theophanes of Nicaea, Patriarch Gregory, a man not lesser than any ancient, his holy synod of over seventy members, Gregory of Thessaloniki, Patriarch Germanos and his decrees. I pass over the testimony of enemies, setting aside

LETTER TO DEMETRIUS

Barlaam, Eustratios of Nicaea and his dialogues and actions, John of Russia rightly called Chrestos, Leo of Bulgaria, Theophylact of the same, Nicholas of Methone, Niketas called ecumenical teacher, Psellos the supreme philosopher, countless others up to the wisest of kings Leo and blessed Photius. All ranks and orders, all these men with many noble writings still preserved, refute those claiming the Son of God as the origin or cause of the Holy Spirit in the creed. They teach us to believe the Father alone is the cause and origin and source of both the Son and the Spirit, both proceeding from Him alone as cause and substance, both receiving their being from Him causally. The Spirit's procession from the Son's substance, so as to exist from a substance, just as from the Father distinguishing themselves as the Spirit's causes, even if Latins do not pretend, meaning the hypostases, each personally establishing the Spirit, not as God being two, lest worse results than the former. Thus, they dispel these dangerous and precipitous opinions, setting boundaries and warnings for those daring to overstep. They teach us otherwise to confess the Spirit proceeds from both, meaning from the Father through the Son, only in perfecting the creation, as to say, or rather, the creation receiving from Him its share in Himself by the gifts He bestows, in the common goodness of Father and Son and their united will, which the Spirit's goodness and good will move true believers to Him by spiritual support, thus proceeding, pouring, supplying, granting, and sending the Spirit from both hypostases and Himself. With this order, we praise the divine hypostases, meaning we receive from the Father through the Son in the Spirit the one grace of divinity given and infused from there, revealing to us by grace enlightening us His power and the whole divinity.

17.Indeed, considering this concept, they say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, attributing creation and the improvement of creatures to it along with the Father and the Son, according to their nature. They also teach that the eternal procession of the Spirit is to be praised through the Son, so that no one may think the Spirit is generated by the Father because it is said to exist from the Father, since the Father is referred to in relation to the Son. It would seem that what proceeds from the Father, as the paternal name implies, is begotten, but with the insertion of "through the Son," it immediately signifies the Spirit is uniquely advanced, not as generated but in another way, fittingly expressed. Thus, saying the Spirit is projected from the Father through the Son is the same as saying the Spirit proceeds from the Father, not as the Son is begotten, nor according to the specific significance of the Father, but in another manner, the addition "through the Son" tightly showing the power of those many words. Besides, if they coexist from the unutterable and most secret generative power in the Father for a specific manifestation, both the Son and the Spirit are essentially one and within each other, since the Son is immediately aligned with the Father according to the tradition of sacred scriptures. It is reasonable to believe the Spirit proceeds through the Son from the Father, that is, not outside the Son according to the holy Athanasius, but within Him no less than with Him. Thus, the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son as naturally as it is of the Father, not attached externally but residing within the nature and coming from the Father through the Son among other goods, if we must speak according to Cyril. Thus, it is united with the Son of God to its own substance, distinguished personally and manifested otherwise, remaining in and resting upon Him according to the saints who said this. The Son is distinguished by proceeding to His own substance from the Father by the power of the advancing cause, differentiated not only by the cause of the Father but also by the unique progression and manner of the co-proceeding Logos. By "through Him," meaning not outside Him, the same substance is perceived as proceeding and thus is united. It does not receive its being from the Son as from a personal origin and

sustaining principle, but rather the Son and what He is receive from the Father, not earlier or later, nor outside the Logos, but through the Logos, that is, within and with Him, like a ray proceeding with the beam from the sun to us, or the human spirit accompanying the reason and revealing its action. Just as these material analogies demonstrate, those applying to the highest and most immaterial realities must be used piously, leaving all that shadows. Similarly, the Son of God does not receive the Spirit's projection from the Father to personally sustain it, just as He does not create alone but with the unity of essence, but the Spirit receives Him, proceeding in Him and taking through Him the Spirit's progression, having its being, that is, being begotten, free of all bodily and temporal conception. The God and Father shares all His attributes with the persons proceeding from Him, except the personal property of being the source of all. Therefore, He shares with the Son and the Spirit and their relation to Him, not their personal property, but grants the Son a different distinction toward the Spirit, giving both their being and their own essence in a unique manner.

18.Just as the Son has received His being from the Father, who is simply the Father, from the Father, but is not the cause of His own being, so the Spirit has received its being but is not the cause of itself. Neither is it the cause of the Son, having the Son within itself. The Spirit of God is possessed by the Son of God through His own hypostasis, so to speak, and is naturally united, not foreignly, not intrusively, not externally added, nor by participation, but essentially and divinely, far from any corporeal conception of being and coexisting, just as we believe the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son, divinely, far from any lesser imagination, as the truth declares. Thus, having the Son of God, the Holy Spirit uses it divinely, being from the Father and existing through Him, as He uses Himself. For He is it, and both are in each other except for the hypostatic peculiarity, that He is wholly Son and only Son in hypostasis, and the Holy Spirit is wholly Spirit and only Spirit in hypostasis. Therefore, the Spirit breathes where it wills, and the Son of God breathes it as the Father does, and it is the Spirit of the Son as well as of the Father. Just as a certain natural quality of the holy and wise divinity, as conceived in the Father and the Son and also in the Spirit according to Cyril, sanctifying and deifying those deemed worthy to partake, has its hypostasis, just as the Son, and is from where He is, and is solely the projection and procession of the Father. Thus, the teachers also theologically say the Spirit proceeds from the Father, inserting "through the Son," not because they knew the Son of God to be the cause of the Spirit. For if they knew this, they would have said somewhere that He is also its projector and cause and origin; they would not attribute these solely to the Father, saying the Spirit proceeds from the Son and exists, and is His projection and procession. What they say of the Father, or rather say to the Father about it, they would also say that its being is from Him and proceeds through Him thus, just as they say the beings came to be through the Son thus, without adding the Father. On the contrary, they say everything otherwise; but they knew the being from the Father alone, that is, proceeding according to the Savior's voice, immediately and directly, as the Son is from the Father begotten immediately, and this they strive to show everywhere in their words, so that no one may grossly suppose the procession of the Son is entirely separate from the procession of the Spirit, and the person of the person, united only at the origin, not in themselves, as if one would conceive two branches springing from the same stem, or two rivers flowing from the same source, for they also use these examples.

19.Healing the misleading examples, though properly used for their purpose, and dispelling that suspicion, showing the substantial unity of those distinguished by their processions, they join "through the Son," so that the substantial connection in those thus proceeding and its exactness is presented by this

addition. They did not hope that the mediation of the Son and joining Him in the procession of the Spirit for the said reason would compel some to deny the Spirit's natural relation to the Father and direct connection to its own cause, as if making the divine Logos the proximate and direct cause of the Spirit, as it happened to others once believing it a third nature, being the Son placed next to the Father and this connected. They thought, on the contrary, that those using more pious reasoning would preserve the only-begottenness of the Logos, solely related to the generator, and the Spirit solely to the projector, as is fitting and as the divine words will, which is the same in each relation, generally called Father as the source, that is, specifically begetter and projector, as the source of such. Thus, we should refine our understanding from all sides, drawing the truth and proper things and preserving the steadfast positions of faith, not troubled by the Spirit being called of the Son, while the Son is never called of the Spirit, and the Spirit said to be through the Son, but the Son not through the Spirit. For as long as the Son and the Spirit are in each other according to Cyril, and through each other, and are of each other, as our fathers and the word wish to be understood, the significance of the Son does not foretell how the Spirit agrees with the Son, nor say the Son of the Spirit, so that the order of the divine persons is preserved, that is, the distinctness of their properties. Another order cannot be conceived, which the divine word has set in the tradition of the divine baptism. The teachers clearly explain the preposition, each setting the proper, signifying the identity of essence, and avoiding the foreign, that is, the reference of cause and the cause of existence one in the Spirit's procession.

20.But some, interpreting the sayings of the saints sophistically, as they do with the Scriptures, wish to extend the argument further. They claim that the preposition "through" signifies causality, saying that "through the Son" the Holy Spirit is said to proceed and consider the Son the source and cause of the Spirit as far as "through" implies. Similarly, when they hear that all things were made through the Son, they do not think less of the creative act being from the Son, and likewise in the Spirit, that is, from the Spirit. Or when they hear the Spirit is given and manifested from the Father through the Son, in which the Son is clearly believed and proclaimed to be the cause of both the existence of beings and their spiritual formation and improvement, accomplished by the whole divinity and being of the same kind. For the procession and exit of the Spirit into existence and form is a creation, giving in this rather than receiving the Spirit. The eternal procession is into the hypostasis of a divine person, neither seeing the risks involved, the cause-caused relationship, nor the unapproved hierarchy of hypostases, nor the non-divine implications, the heights and middles, first and second ranks and conditions in God, nor first and second actualities, and varied conceptual signs or as non-existent and empty sounds introducing no doctrine or matter. If they had truth and existence accompanying their words, they would be no different from those positions well rejected by the Church from afar. Moreover, dividing the source according to the personal power they claim or uniting the persons according to the unity of personal power, if it were such, or the inversion of the divine generation in the Father by sharing the essential power, or the lowering of the Spirit in its lack of this, the worse. Any of these necessarily encompasses their position, even if they do not want or believe it. They neither believe nor want to, but strengthened by the novelty of the doctrine, they look to evasions, in which they must be caught even unwillingly, because they refuse to make the Son of God the mediator of the dispute, whom the ecumenical councils have sufficient as a precise teacher of the Spirit's procession, and do not wish to unite the Church and faith in the clear and indisputable words of the Lord, as done by the wisest, most ancient, and holiest men previously. They would not believe the Son of a different essence from the Father, nor would any pious

person accept confessing Him less than the Father under a seemingly decent pretext, with the greater spoken of the Father.

21.Therefore, even if they deny all those absurdities, they will not persuade us to accept their position unless they can convince us, as indeed they cannot, that nothing faulty follows from it. What else did the ancient teachers of the Church among us fear, not setting it anywhere, and showing it with many words and proofs as faulty? If we could not see the consequences before us, we must reject it along with those things. Saying the preposition can only signify the procession and the cause only implies from the cause, or simply, as in "through the Son" all things were made, and "I have gotten a man through God," is ignorant of Greek language, which is worse for those raised among Greeks. But Chrysostom used the preposition instead of "with" in many places, and in Thessalonians, used "in" instead of "through," and "through" instead of "in" correctly, knowing these uses were familiar to Aristotle and Plato, not to mention other uses of the preposition among Greeks, not relevant here, like "between," "apart," and "through and through." If we always consider the efficient cause, we must also consider the cause of the angelic existence as the divine sanctification in them, whether efficient or creative, as Basil the Great says that the heavenly powers have sanctification from their communion with the naturally holy, as if the sanctification naturally accompanies and is united with them. We will miss the true understanding many times, following the rule of dissenters. But we must do the opposite, even if nowhere in Greek writings such a thing is found. Here we may innovate properly in understanding, believing the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, as not apart from the Son according to Athanasius, but passing from the Father in the Son according to Cyril, showing the unity and unchangeableness of essence according to Maximus, and believing it united with the Son by the doctrine of consubstantiality, even though it proceeds from the Father according to Cyril, not having its being from the Son. For the Father alone is the cause; the Son is not the cause of the Holy Spirit's procession but has everything of the Father except causality, as Damascene, Maximus, and Gregory the Great teach, understanding the indwelling and passing divinely, like other things spoken and believed about that blessed and simple unity. This is much better than confusing the properties of the persons and allowing those absurdities. This carries no evil, but the unity of the divine essence is well preserved through all persons, and their order, that is, the distinctness of properties, is maintained, and all teachers' intent and words are consistent, with nothing discordant happening.

22.But enough about these matters for now. Returning to the point, those who wrote, taught, and were proclaimed by their deeds (for many of them were also honored by the Church with the dignity of martyrs, for which they endured to confirm the doctrine, and are praised among the foremost martyrs of truth), you regard these as true shepherds and teachers, most excellent and noble one, doing very well, for we all heed their voices, for through the known door they enter and bring others, for they teach according to canonical words, the holy Gospels, the mouth of Christ Paul, those ecumenical councils, those distinguished teachers in them, whose common confession those who claim to heed them must hold, and not violently tear their sayings to fit their own views, as violent and spurious interpreters of laws do in courts. The blessed Mark, shepherd of Ephesus, walked the path of those holy fathers, a man most excellent among us all in words and life, knowing well to discern sophistry from true word, and remaining un-deceived by knowledge, not swayed by the desire for temporary things to allow any evil for them, and therefore best and fittingly showing the zeal of those fathers for the ancestral doctrine, and striving for it in words until it was possible.

23.We hold this glory, and we will not sever ourselves from the chorus of those fathers, nor will we ever think those now differing among us see the truth better than those, who hardly heed their voices, but out of some ambition or indifference prefer foreign and false things to their own and true, which is worse, joining the false opinions to the true and familiar, or tolerating their attachment because of the vote in Florence, which they uphold against their own fathers and the truth as if it came from the heavens. Therefore, we all know you stand nobly with the truth and the glory of the fathers, and hold nothing before the sincerity of faith, and by your example confirm and restore others. The blessed choir before us knows your gratitude, and the great leader and teacher of our glory, Jesus, and the overseer of truth and eternal rewards for those who heed him, will place you among the blessed in that life, just as now you join their good confession in tongue and soul and all outward displays, as befits the truly pious, so then you will share in the crowns for the truth. This should make you surpass all authority and visible happiness, whatever it may be. Hope that even here you will meet more prosperous outcomes through your unfeigned faith in Christ and sincere preservation of the ancestral doctrine; just as until now God has freed you from many difficulties for your piety, and leads and directs your thoughts to better plans, and just as He has bestowed upon you the highest queen as a companion in life, counsel, and rule, lacking in neither piety nor wisdom of those praised. Do not think this happened to you without divine favor.

24.May it be granted to you by God to counsel on the matters before you now in the safest and most pious manner; and counsel what is best for yourself, having planned what is beneficial for this unfortunate remnant of the race, in danger of being swept away by a small gust and thrown into the mouths of enemies. For when the common good is prioritized, your own will follow best. How? Thus. God is not unjust to leave unassisted and uncrowned the one who cares for the common salvation more than others, nor is it difficult for Him to honor virtue when He wills and it is just. If you steward all well, He will also steward your life and fortune. Care for all so that God may care for you. And just as you have often preferred the common good over what seemed advantageous to you personally, as recalled in these writings, so now may you wish this, pray for this, and set this as the common good, and you will not miss the best counsel from God, so that the affairs of Christians may be preserved and you may prosper in all.

LETTER TO THE GRAND DUKE

12. Letter to the Grand Duke against the Union of Florence (1451).*

† To the most magnificent, illustrious, and prominent ruler, the Grand Duke, the least Gennadius sends greetings with wishes for happiness and divine favor.

1.A few days ago, one of the more prominent Latins approached me. He praised me highly in every way, even exalting me beyond the heavens with his words, as is their custom with those they associate, even if they do not know them well. He reproached me, however, though I do not know how he came to this, for being an obstacle to the union (for I will use his term), stating that the excellent emperor, the great duke, and all the assembly are known to all Latins to be eagerly inclined towards union with them, but my opposition alone, stubbornly beyond justice, harms the entire city, depriving it of assistance from the pope, and injures the truth itself, hindering a sound doctrine with many proofs and declared in a common council. He addressed such things to me with considerable deference. I replied, "That council, everyone knows what it was like, and I would be burdensome not only to you but also to myself if I said anything against it, contending over evident matters. It is enough to say that nothing sacred existed from head to toe." Those who were precisely present at the beginning and end know it, though I call God as witness that if I were persuaded that those ecumenical councils were like that, I would consider them all to have been abandoned by the Spirit, far from the truth, and that the doctrines they condemned were the true ones. Although now we attribute to them the rank of sacred words, as you know, and call the condemned impious, publicly honoring the teachers who contended against them as common benefactors to whom we owe the greatest gratitude. But if we must esteem a council pronouncing on the procession of the Spirit, it is especially the second of those ecumenical councils, which unfolded the article concerning the Spirit, relating both to its essence and its cause. For Macedonius, wrongly believing about both, troubled the Church then, and by this unfolding, the subsequent councils rested well, with the third immediately declaring that no issue should be introduced into the creed for any reason, but votes against condemned heresies should be recorded in separate writings, and the lesson of piety should be entirely preserved as the most complete and needing no further elaboration. As expected, everything essential is comprehensively contained in the epitome of faith, which alone should be incorporated into the true foundations. Even the fearful curses raised against those daring to add anything else kept the law intact in its actions, having decreed many things against the impious Nestorius but never touched the creed. Thus, having acted so, and the four subsequent councils adhering to the law of not touching it, those are stronger to any rational mind than the council that broke that good law, conducted by the pope alone in Spain to the detriment of the world. The proclamation of the second council concerning the Spirit, confirmed by so many councils, is more valid than the new proclamation.

2.But even without those ecumenical councils, the pope made the addition alone in Spain and disrupted the peace of the churches; many councils also acted under the Comneni and Laskaris, those excellent emperors, and it seemed anathema for all to commune with the Latins while that pernicious addition was sung. Finally, under the second of the Palaeologus, a great and holy council convened, shining with virtue and the multitude of fathers, examining the matters of truth freely and without passion, found the doctrine of the Latins monstrous and far from sacred, and legislated that none should dare unite with the Latins or advise to do so until they renounce their addition, or those daring to do so will have nothing in common with

Christians. Who would not tremble to dare to break this law? This council convened to annul the unacceptable agreements of Metochites and Meliteniotis in Lyons, made by false ambassadors, and the nonsense of Beccus, who composed against the mother and her laws, showing it as the work of fire, and God witnessed to the vote by sending signs at the start of the evils.

3.Who then, leaving these free and prudent councils, when Greece still flourished in wisdom and everything better, not to mention those great and ecumenical canons of truth, will add to the violent and Sisyphean works of others? For it is clear what two men convinced the Greeks to turn to the Latins, with the earlier Palaeologus composing the drama, and those who made the bad union in Florence, and who they were. But if you wish, I will show you abundantly the great council after him, truly ecumenical, so that you may be convinced we stand not only by those first but especially firmly by this new one; and if I do not show you clearly thus, so that neither you nor all Latins can contradict if they were present, dismiss me. Therefore, stop bringing Florence and such myths upon us; we, on the contrary, proclaim from the rooftops that anyone considering the vote of that council against Beccus and his like then and now as lesser than our church's origin will endure the dreadful penalty of anathema from it and us obeying it. With that vote prevailing, which absolutely agrees with the earlier ecumenical councils, there is no place left for these human dealings. If Latins are ignorant of this council or do not fear this vote, it is nothing to us, just as we do not know many of their councils in Toledo, which become tedious in recounting. We will not compel them to obey it, but it is just for us to adhere to it rationally.

4.If a common council is needed to resolve the difference, the earlier one stands, clearer than any light to those not wanting to quarrel, showing what must be believed about the Spirit, and has all subsequent councils agreeing. Let the pope honor that well; let him obey it accurately with us; let him not claim to be wiser or more divine than it, and we will immediately obey. What is more ecumenical than that? What council could have gathered more importantly to consider the Spirit? It is absurd for the Latin Church to confess that creed and call it the Constantinopolitan creed (for the fathers of the ecumene expanded the article about the Spirit in that city), but with innovation, to spoil it again, thinking to purify and perfect it by adding foreign and irrelevant matters, or daring to correct the Spirit that spoke through the fathers; abandoning that council, agreed upon for nearly a thousand years, and trusting such matters to the councils of these times, seems sacrilegious to the rational. For everything now is driven by money, honors, biases, and ignorance, and generally, unbelief, as expected in the last times, in which even the elect are more easily led astray than necessary, suddenly turning to the worse habits and choices, as all scriptures seem to suggest.

5.If anyone is unclear about that council, but the actions of the third and those after it would move even a stone to perception, that Nestorius proclaimed in it that the divine Spirit is from the Son, but from the Father alone, through the creed, and shouting that it is God's gift according to Cyril, thinking as the Latins later did, the council did not blame them, gladly holding many, as from much abundance it would have shown them mistaken. Cyril barely managed to escape reproach, explaining the ambiguity of the phrase from which he was suspected, and often shouting with much fear that it is proper to say differently for the Son as consubstantial and for the Father as from the Father proceeding. Do you think it reasonable to compare the Florentine plays to such manifest works and doctrines of ecumenical councils, abandoning those and adhering to these plays to validate the idiosyncratic addition made up by those and the supposed good council in Spain, or did it divide the world?

6.Concerning the council, I say this. As for the many proofs of the doctrine, that is another matter. They would not have escaped our fathers' notice if they were such, nor can they escape us now, even if you bring us thousands of arguments from Thomas and Scotus and their like; you will only take back sophistic refutations. For what do they have in common with the foundations of faith, from which proofs must be woven for necessary theologizing? It was not permissible for the second council to unfold the article about the Spirit without plainly taking those words from the sacred Scriptures, yet you think you can unfold the creed with sophisms without showing the word where it lies in the sacred writings? Do you think we are so dense as not even to demand from you what we would seek from those councils and as they would have demanded to make their unfolding safely, if not to expose you as sophists with some skill and power among us, which is certainly possible with God's help? Or as in a card game, risking nothing terrible by neglecting it, will we allow you to unfold not from what is plainly written, which the fathers did not dare, and let you, sophists, blind the eyes of our souls and lead them astray? Just as none of you will bring proof that iron is crystal, so you will not show the Spirit proceeding also from the Son from where it must be proven. When you show us stones as humans, then also you may show the divine Spirit proceeding also from the Son, separating what was declared in the creed.

7.If Augustine says something like this somewhere, he himself legislates to us not to make a doctrine of his word if it appears contrary to canonical writings. Will we make the end of punishment a doctrine because of Gregory of Nyssa who thus spoke, leaving aside the council's attention, or will we follow this among Origen's other doctrines, which he also punished? Augustine himself says somewhere that the soul of the first man was created before the body, and Jerome was found considering the heavenly bodies animate; but we will not leave the common doctrines and heed these, preserving the honor of the fathers while avoiding their peculiar doctrines. Yet, we will find Augustine's word supporting us and the truth and show it when you wish, as those sayings are taken captive to Christ's obedience. Augustine stands with us, and he took care to present teachings in his writings consistent with the confession of faith. Thus, you will not prove the addition from any of the teachers, even if we allowed you to bring one or two supporting it. If that were enough, we would bring you a host of teachers, whose greater recognized authority clearly opposes your addition. But we do not need this at all, nor will we ever join such arguments with you, as long as we do not have our brains in our heels, but will demand proofs from the foundations of faith, not fearing it might have escaped us, even though we would have gladly come to just peace with you if we found it written somewhere. But since it is written nowhere, you do not wish to unite with us in justice and mutual safety in silence, nor suspect the Spirit will be said to proceed from the Son and such force upon us; the interpreters of the Scriptures will prevent this violence, far more persuasive than your wisdom, as they have done before, supporting my arguments against the addition in those public debates, showing the venerable bishop everything but proving the issue from those sacred writings. So do not think, man, that Latins can ever prove that addition, nor believe a doctrine with many proofs as you said stands on shaky hope, but once standing with you, confess the Holy Spirit as consubstantial with the Father and the Son, but proceeding only from the Father, as long as this word is understood in divine matters. If about the external procession, which you call temporal mission, and it proceeds from both, not tolerating the Son of God sharing anything of the Father, which he does not also share with the Spirit, nor thinking the Son of God separated from the Father's nature if it is not at all associated with Him in divine things, nor fear to believe the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, lest you think

you are separating the Son from both; for it is with the Father projecting and the Spirit projected from the Father, rather it is within; but it is neither co-projected with the Spirit nor co-projecting with the Father, as the Son said to be begotten from the Father alone does not exclude the Spirit from communion with both; for it is with both not as co-begetting the Son or co-begotten from the Father, but as existing in the entire nature, even if entirely separated in the peculiarity of persons. Nor should it trouble you that the Son mediates so as not to allow similarity in the Spirit, for He does not mediate so as to both separate and unite, as mediators do; hence some imagined firsts and seconds and first generative and second orders, introducing heresies of Valentinus, Ptolemy, and Eunomius, making the Son more cause of the Spirit, even unwillingly if He is truly middle as they wish. So abstain from such foolishness and believe the Spirit proceeds from the Father, from whom the Son also proceeded and the Spirit proceeds, as He says about both, and confess and think only the Father as the origin and cause in divine matters and of divine things, persuaded by God's word, not that the Father is first cause of the Spirit and the Son is second, but simply not only the first; for the Son is second; and again one cause both, the first and the second. For these are both blasphemous and childish and mythical, like being one of two, attributed to Alexander, who demanded to define one from division. It must be either from one God or two persons, showing each impossible. Not thus, but the divine Spirit, third in enumeration and after the Son in necessary sequence of names, is no less immediately from the Father. But it does not have existence from the Father through the Son or from the Father and the Son, the "through" signifying cause, as that vain patriarch said, saying it without concern and dying. He should not have lived so happily, having philosophized so shamelessly about preposition and cause, holding mastery of three sciences, grammar, philosophy, and this ultimate theology, about which he did not dare even in dreams to speak.

8.Who can enumerate for you the decisions of the teachers, who clearly say the Spirit is from the Father? Who can list those that say it does not have its existence from the Son, that is, from the Father through the Son, as you want to interpret this phrase? Who can recount those that deny the cause and origin from the Son? Who can mention those that attribute this exclusively to the Father? Who, saying "through the Son," can mean anything other than the cause and origin, not knowing the Greek language will be shown? Who, saying the Spirit is from the Father through the Son, would dare to suggest the Son is the cause of the Spirit or the origin, according to you (for it makes no difference)? Would not also falsely accuse the teachers who said this and fall into countless absurdities? But as I have already said, if you wish to be saved, when you say and understand the Son is begotten from the Father according to the transmitted order of those names to us, you will surely also say and understand the Spirit proceeds through the Son and after the Son; but this should not make you closely refer it to the Son as the cause and origin, as the Son is from the Father, thus also the Spirit proceeds from the Father, which those with a duller mind blaspheme, thinking the Son's mediation separates. But believe the Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, without adding anything, from where also the Son has received existence differently, by generation; for this reason, the teachers often say the Son is from the Father, and the Spirit is from the Father through the Son, or through the Son in the Father, not wishing to show the Son as the cause of the Spirit. On the contrary, that only the Father is the cause of the Spirit; for they say, without separating or placing the Son together with the Father as uniquely proceeded, the Spirit is from the Father directly. Neither by nature does it separate, being in the same unity of nature, as a finger is part of the hand, said one of the blessed, as he wished to describe that spiritual union bodily, nor by the personal property. For the only-begotten is preserved for the Son, and thus the Spirit proceeds differently directly from

the Father. If it were in the manner of generation, the Son would no longer be only-begotten, having another hypostasis directly from the same origin and in the same manner.

9.Thus, the Son does not mediate by the existence of the persons, as if the Spirit could not receive its hypostasis unless the Son first proceeded; but we know the existence of the persons through the Son's mediation, that He is the only-begotten Son of the Father, and the Spirit, known through Him and after Him, no less also uniquely from the Father, rising from the fertile divinity and receiving the same essence from there, equally in all else but differing in form. And know this as the only order in divine matters, the undivided distinction of personal properties, not first, second, and third and the descending subordinate ranks, which captured Eunomius and his followers, moving them from the orderly Platonic series of gods, from which they babbled the Son inferior to the Father, and the Spirit again worse than the Son, as he subjected the children of God, gods one after another, to the first and most sovereign by nature; you should not even pay attention to these. But as I said, think the Son and the Spirit proceed from God, rising and advancing together like a twin ray from the sun, or flowers from a branch, or branches from a root, or arms from the chest, or a river from the same source, and in other ways the divine persons proceed together and are closely connected to the origin as holy men have shown; but saying cause and cause-caused and such deep entanglements of properties and persons, combining and advancing generative and subordinate orders, is weaving ropes of sand and much worse, as the teachers clearly forbade these, differing almost nothing from Eunomius and Macedonius' propositions, from which they derived their falsehoods, even if the falsehood is overshadowed by some contrivances of low and slavish wisdom. You should not labor to deny the heresies, man, as long as you preserve a position akin to them; for the fathers punished most heretics not as directly impious, but as giving passage again to impious doctrines through what they established; and they refused to think or contrive the return of those doctrines. But when they persuaded to deny the position, from sound following, they saw those would fall away, and not wishing to be persuaded, they were expelled from the list of the pious. But as I said before quite well, we will never enter into such arguments with you, though very capable, but will always demand to show the doctrine plainly from the sacred texts, just as all the phrases about the Spirit in the creed were taken from the sacred books.

10.Concerning this Italian council and that there is no need for anything added to the doctrine, except as the beginning of many absurdities, let this be said; but about the others, not in order and separately, but as the need of the discourse arises, I will respond to you.

11.As for true union, I would never say that I am an opponent if it were possible and could happen. On the contrary, I would be a collaborator with every mechanism and power. But this destructive union, of which a weak seed and spark remains, I did not break it, so no one should dare to attribute any blame to me. If anything happens, it may be due to other causes, far be it. If it is broken because of this, I would never willingly accept such blame, knowing it does not belong to me at all. I was not present at its inception, and seeing it being formed, I withdrew before the drama was completed. Nor is it now that anyone should seem to cut it, for it has long been dissolved, God's and the few pious people's opposition breaking its unreasonable consent and the vote of those previously captivated by falsehood. Even if some wish to revive it, if God still cares for our salvation, they will not succeed despite much effort. If they ever manage, with everyone drawn to falsehood, they will justly suffer terrible punishment. "Because they did not love the truth to be saved, God will send them a strong delusion so that they will believe the lie." Where now is this union

that I am supposedly harming? Are not all the sons of this church everywhere holding to the ancestral doctrine, separated from these apostate patriarchs and their communion, even those who first condemned it changing their minds before leaving? Did not our excellent emperor, the great duke, and all but a few in the empire hold firmly to the ancestral doctrine and consider the addition in the creed anathema, as our fathers did, avoiding communion with the Latins? Do not all the inhabitants of this city piously adhere, except a few who are supported poorly by papal funds, worse in their error than those allowing them to suffer this? "He who delivered me to you has the greater sin," it is said. The renowned great duke openly fought for us and the ancestral doctrine at the outset. Everyone knows his piety, his zeal, and how he opposed the innovation of the doctrine and the false writings given there against the truth and the fathers. If now, despite such appearances and greater promises to those who approach, you expect something else about them, it would be an enigma, and time will reveal to whom the favor lies. How could anyone abolish what does not exist or cut what was uprooted long ago? Thus, it is not I who divided that from the truth, but God, and the blood of our ancestors, which cries out to God daily against the Latin innovation, shed here and elsewhere.

12.If some wish to revive and act upon it, even trying to conceal it, they know I, with God's help, will burn its heads and not allow the beast to gain strength to destroy human souls. They might be right in their prediction, but even then, I would not justly be called a divider of union, especially such as it is. For not alone, but with countless others, I will stand against the evil, and all will share the epithet except a few, who will again be seduced by temporal matters. For those with sense, reason, wisdom, and virtue, by God's help, able to judge such matters, will not join the base and those ready to love Christ by night, that dreadful sign of betrayal, for silver and honors, by which the wicked perish badly, as is clear to the prudent from events. Nor will those who forsake all for the truth, trust their salvation to those who believe everything happens by chance or revive Greek delusion with such matters. Rather, my fellow combatants in deeds and words, many daring to oppose, who are more capable than mere comparison, here and in Peloponnese, Athos, the islands, Macedonia, and everywhere, will uphold the words and writings of our most holy fathers, who showed the consequences of the addition with their glory, words, writings, and bloodshed. No one will be able to move those aligned with those fathers, who still speak through the books and convict the matricides. The blessed Mark, the only true archbishop in our time, and after him, we, urged by him, have stood as we should, knowing well the difference between it and foreign sophistries.

13.Therefore, no one will ever turn the true sons of the Church away from those most wise fathers, no matter what they do, nor will they be subject to the expectations from Rome, which the sick call remedies, coming from those who have suffered a similar illness, from an unknown uneducated and wicked phrase. Perhaps some petty people and usurers will be swept away and also the merchants and grain dealers and diggers and whose god is their belly, as it is written; but no one of sound mind and firm belief. For no one is unaware of what the pope is doing to piously and justly unite the whole world with piety, unless they pretend for the harm of their own soul. As long as he is estranged, those who truly believe in Christ and fear His laws will flee from him. For the true sheep of Christ do not know the voice of strangers, nor do they wish to pretend to know. Even if he transgresses this law, just and natural as it is, they are rather sheep of another fold. Therefore, in no way am I a divider of any union, nor would I wish to be called so, if by the division of union, which some wrongly attribute to the pious, they think to connect the cause of evils. Nor would I ever assist in recalling a bad union once banished; I will stand against it unto death, even if I must bear the Lord's

cross; I will speak to the Latins and demand speech from them. If they do not wish to do what is just (for they will not wish to), we reasonably remain in our own safety; they, responsible to God and men of reason for the schism, having initiated it and now showing it, it is not just for us to hesitate, nor will we hesitate.

14.Moreover, all must act with true shepherds and preserve the freedom and strength of our mother, and all together of those dwelling in this city, sons of our Church, openly take the common struggle for the truth, and none of the dissenters hold ecclesiastical power or shamelessly force the mother's grace, but change or sacrifice with the Latins. We know well the aid from the Latins in past times was no better than a shadow; even if the pope helps a little, just as he once bought our agreements with gold, then during our subsequent misfortunes slept a deep sleep, so now he shouts to us, wishing to sell us out, he will send something from the crumbs falling from his table only when very forced, and when he buys us a second time, there will be no benefit from that aid, arriving untimely, and he will again similarly neglect us; he will not wish to buy us a third time. But I do not wish to say what I pray against; and no one will dare then to write God just, who rightly believes and follows His laws, and thus judges our disbelief. The claim that all the assembly is ready to lean towards Latinism is a clear slander, common here, neglected by heavenly justice; yet one or two, perhaps a third such, familiar with the audacity, are likely. "It is difficult," says the proverb, "for a dog taught to eat leather to stop." But to me, this seems mostly improbable. For who would entrust their faith, as you said, when the great emperor and almost all the senate reject the Latin addition, as their fathers considered it anathema, sanctioned by the good council of Florence, and saying they would never Latinize, speaking and thinking best and most wisely; they will not suddenly change or ever wish to hide their change, seeking to deceive God and us nearby, as the popular proverb says.

15.The Latin, hearing this, seemed pleased, though being a Latin, such is the power of truth. "And indeed," he said, "your citizens should greatly thank you for what you say and do for the hope of salvation by faith prevailing among them, just as we would owe you thanks if you cooperated in our faith; for thus we regard our teachers, assigning them the rank of masters and saviors; peace is up to God, and He will see the causes of the schism; we, being private persons, follow our fathers, who somehow transmitted this addition to us to proclaim. Thus, it is likely you rest on a more secure anchor; but we, following our fathers, would obtain pardon from God the judge, risking the respect for our elders, while they would bear the blame for the scandal and the poor guidance of us their successors. Therefore, doing this, you and those with you, with justice evidently on your side and sharing our glory, considering it false and impossible, whether it is so or not, as it seems to you from afar; and not being able to share this glory, you well preserve the fellowship of our other communion; for this law also prevails in our Church. So doing, no one will blame you as not very careless." And having said this, he departed.

16.It seemed to me, therefore, to share these things with you, most magnificent lord, who presently needs no such words, knowing you can say even more to the Latins for the truth, if you wish, but so that you may know we are regarded among the Latins as among ourselves, as those who abolish union and who alone contend against all of Europe. We therefore rightly and advantageously chose to remain quietly, so that even if not for other reasons before, for this alone it was necessary to do so. From our side, the rumor spreads everywhere. This would not be so if we held to our traditions joyfully and not as if forced; they would not attribute the cause to a single person. I consider and call this the worst union and would never commune with the Latins, who wrong the creed and the truth, as long as I wish to commune with our fathers and depart this

life with those eminent for their piety. Even more so, as I cannot equate the other inclination to theirs with my indifference. To be known as the sole opponent of the evil while all of you share in this fight, I would never wish, even though I would greatly wish to be called so, whether our affairs succeed or all of you ready to forsake everything for piety or perceiving well whence it is likely to suffer misfortunes, should they ever occur, far be it.

17.In such confusion of opinions, it would be most beneficial to say the truth often and to keep silent thereafter, allowing others to do as they wish; for instead of being crowned, we would seem willingly the cause of misfortunes for the city, as most people think piety the cause of misfortunes, thinking very poorly; hence all foolish thoughts prevail among us, such as believing this or that based on what happens. And with ships and money expected from the pope, thinking the harsh addition nothing terrible and proclaiming him a teacher of truth whenever we show piety to God; but if he always seems to deceive with empty hopes, or fails to intimidate with letters and embassies, proposing another vote on it, we would run back to the piety of the fathers from the failure of vain hopes, and those sparing money at home and lacking true alliance seeking shadows, calling Venetians, Ligurians, and the pope, yet unwilling to intercede with God, who is sufficient in need and able to deliver and says, "Behold, I am present when you call." It is one thing to disdain him when reveling, another to seek him in desperate need of human aid and disregard heavenly assistance; how can anyone name this disease and expect proper results?

18.Perhaps some hope that daily sacrifices and cries from midnight to dawn, the melodious but monotonous second and heavy tones, unable to please the ears of the more reverent, but rather delighting idle souls, will call God to our defense. But I say the opposite, they may even provoke God, as true piety is neglected, for these should accompany it. Rather, it is not I who say this, but He who speaks daily about these matters, that I cry bitterly about these and resist the salvation of the circumstances; and they may attribute to me some motives, which perhaps befit them, wishing and believing or slandering, knowing they slander; how could such passions fit me? They would seem more likely to the reasonable to announce a revolt of Michael and Gabriel against divine glory, confirmed in blessedness for so long, than concoct those things about us.

19.But I have no concern for accusing or refuting them, having God as my witness and judge, who I am slandered against for His glory, I am ready to suffer anything for the sure hopes of crowns. I would even be grateful to them, for their disgust and wars provide me with a testimony of virtue; for who could be pleasing to such people without being entirely like them? You know all the wise and divine sayings about these matters, and what has been foretold and happened to those who wish to live piously from God. Alas, this worst famine of the divine word nourishes such beasts, making them impious towards God, useless to the public, venomous to their brothers, and truly worthy of a swift cut for their disobedience to the divine words, we are almost alone among all on earth. Therefore, I am bitter about these things, but everyone else is favorable to their country and its affairs, reaping the good reputation of pleasing ears. For demanding the ration and increasing the metropolis' wealth, attending the courts of intermediaries or advocating for those in distress, perhaps not even seeking justice, or in hope of some honor and empty title, what spiritual austerity will he show to those who sin against God? This is common to all humans and much happens to you great ones due to the license of your position. But I leave these things; now they will seem either laughable or bitter, since the writing will reach many hands; I return to add the conclusion.

20.Whether the schismatic patriarch ever appears alive, or you again put someone like him on the throne, hiding his opinion for a time, whether you ever have to speak to the Latins, or however you handle the affairs of this Church, let these things and many others and greater ones given in the past in common faith from what God granted us, written or spoken, serve you and your friends as the fruit of our piety, and we have prevailed, with God, against those who dared to oppose, many listening. If, disregarding the votes of our fathers and our guidance, they fall into the Latin noose, I pray they do not suffer this terrible fate; for they will sin worse after so many have spoken to them, and they will endure greater torments from their conscience than even the Latins. But for me, I do not care about your matters as long as God does not care about you.

21.But you, hold to the truth and be grateful to God for adorning you above all Greeks today, and never let this reward be to violate your faith nor bear such a burden for yourself, presenting again those vile economies under which the poison is hidden, and persuading those unable to oppose you. Look at what you have made the Church of Christians, giving the prizes of virtue and wisdom to the uneducated, envying those with sense and ability to help; I do not mean your exceptional wisdom, but those who managed the affairs of the unfortunate Greeks in our times; do not think persuading those unable to oppose you from ignorance and shameful flattery immediately follows divine justice. I charge you to keep this, as I will no longer discuss these matters with you, neither alone nor with many; if I could, I would not let such things proceed, just as before, urging, advising, and cutting the growing error with the word of truth, which is the sword of the Spirit. May God grant you, the best of all Greeks today, and all those handling public affairs, to prosper by seeking the common good from His heavenly and immutable doctrines, and to preserve this city to the utmost.

TO EMPEROR CONSTANTINE

13. To Emperor Constantine. Against the Union of Florence (Mar. 12, 1452).

† Sent by the same author to the emperor on the twelfth of March.

1.I boldly report to your mighty and holy kingdom, most divine master, holy emperor and our king, Gennadius the humble and least servant of God, first praying for the divine visitation upon your most divine power, and through you, upon us governed by you, in the turbulent storm of these times.

2.I am deeply pained, holy king, and with a sense of sorrow and great distress of my heart, I bring these matters to you, not out of abundance, to add sorrow to your sorrows. I share in the pain of your most divine power, knowing the great storm your mind now endures. For what each of us feels, considering both the common and individual aspect, you alone suffer for all. On one side, the affairs of the enemies are what they are; on the other, the noble embassy of Bryennius has entangled our ecclesiastical affairs of faith, as we hear. Instead of a council here by the wise legates of the pope, as it would be with free words and examination of our differences, a clear ecclesiastical and canonical investigation, as our ecclesiastical and most revered fathers asked, writing unwillingly and forced, as is evident, instead of these, an ambassador comes, as we hear, to add these two things: firstly, to bring a letter from the pope, that they anathematize dyarchy and Sabellianism, avoiding the refutations from the truth, and seeking to captivate the ears of the simpler ones; secondly, that if we do not wish to confess their addition in the creed as orthodox, fought against by our holy mother Church for so long, and the council of Florence and its decree, and if we do not reveal and fulfill these by accepting lord Gregory and commemorating the pope, or communing with those who do, which is the same as proclaiming him a teacher of the orthodox faith, he will excommunicate from Galata.

3.What stony heart would not be moved to tears by these? Who will give me springs of tears and mourning and lamentation, through which I may weep for my sins before my God, for which He allowed me to live and to see and hear such things happening and to come? For these reasons, our most noble and wise emperor, I opposed such an embassy and the foundations it stands on. Therefore, I did not wish to commune with it, nor have I communed. For these reasons, I have often reported in writing and orally, that by these methods, either those who will unite with the Latins will do so badly, or we will all separate from them badly, that is, with more hostility and more grudges given to them than before. The good thing, the separation from the heretics, as long as they are such, will happen, but not in a good way, as it could happen well. After the death of that king, everything was resolved. What need was there for such entanglements again, if we intended to restore our Church as you determined, and to reject those forced works of Florence, which God, men, and time have annulled? How were you to easily and unscandalously cut, or rather not cut at all, but use as already cut; for they were such; if indeed being free from all, you became enslaved, as Paul says, and may it be said also according to Paul? And now how will you cut the evil after being so entangled, or how will you unite badly, rather how will you wish, being godly?

4.But I am blameless in all these matters; and I have often said that I will cooperate with neither. And why did I not commune in the ecclesiastical letter? Because the fathers wrote badly? Not so. What evil did they write? What have they given or promised to the Latins? Nothing. If they had received anything, they would not threaten to excommunicate. But I knew they were attempting the impossible and aiding the entanglement through the letter, or they wrote kindly and simply; I wished, that being hindered from writing,

the other sequences that made this entanglement would be hindered, and all would return to the right mind and will free from all these. I knew well, that the Latins would never wish to recall; for their wiser ones' consciences know well the arrows of truth, but they do not wish or cannot abolish an innovation of five hundred years, already traditional to them and all the West, even if for no other reason, out of respect for their fathers, acting wisely in this regard. If only we imitated their reverence in our true doctrines. But even if a council was held here by legates and words were examined, as our fathers sought, the truth would only be shown openly, so that they would have no more to contradict, and those in this city would glorify God for the shining of the truth of our ancestral doctrine. For since the Latins have the tradition "And from the Son," from that time we have the tradition "Not from the Son" and all the truths that follow from it.

5.What cure could there ever be for what is wrongly believed and preached, except to cease believing and preaching it? But this would never happen from them, even if countless discussions compelled it. I did not even consider holding councils appropriate in these present times, where everything is dire with ignorance, confusion, disbelief, contempt of God, and preoccupation with temporal matters, and nothing healthy due to the increase of lawlessness and the cooling of love, as our Lord foretold. For who, having sense, would trust his salvation to such councils, leaving aside those holy and great ones, if they concluded anything contrary to those? Who, having sense, would add to our private opinions, saying different things, leaving aside our most holy and wise fathers and teachers? Who would dare to vote on anything different regarding faith now, and how many and who are they, compared to those holy patriarchs who voted before us individually and in councils, and lastly in the great and holy council against Beccus with its dreadful penalties, if anyone dared such a thing in the future? God permitting, I did not know this before going to Italy, nor did I hear anyone else mention it, but after returning from there, it was found in many carefully written books here and elsewhere.

6.Thirdly, they say, the pope's legate will say that after we accept such a union, made and decreed by the council of Florence, and proclaim the pope as a teacher of the word of truth, then there will be a council there through our legates; and when we concede and accept what is requested, what further inquiry will there be, and who will be the legates going, and who will send them? Or will they wish, the matter being resolved?

7.Is this the conclusion of the embassy? Does this agree well with what we said and wrote here? Yet, I, having a clear conscience, free from all these church evils, owing no account to anyone or anything, and having done much and spoken for the ancestral doctrine, especially after my agreements with that blessed teacher of truth and true archbishop, the one of Ephesus, with God enlightening my heart always to spurn all human honor and benefit, offered and promised from everywhere, and to regard all dangers, fears, harms, and slanders since then as nothing for the love of truth, which they used, whenever they could not shake me through benefits, I do not now again refuse, concerning myself, nor remain silent out of hatred or fear, but report to you more universally these things, in which I will not lie, as I was not shown deceived by the grace of Christ in other matters, as I often reported to you. As for the pope or his legate intending to anathematize the two origins and the Sabellian mixture and other things, which our fathers showed would be in their doctrine, let your divine power know that the Latins always do this, since they added the small addition in word, but great in power, "And from the Son." But our fathers did not care, acting piously and very knowledgeably; for these do nothing towards the matter at hand. I leave out many things, but I say one, concise and timely for most. The Monothelites, accused of making one nature because of one will,

anathematized those doing this, but this was not enough for the pious, but they demanded they rather deny the one will, and not wanting to, were rejected as heretics. Likewise, the Monophysites, accused of making the divinity suffer, anathematized the Theopaschites, but they were not accepted. For the pious said to them, "Therefore, deny the one nature," and not wanting to, they were expelled, and always all such denied the absurdities to which the Orthodox led their doctrine; for they had to lead them to manifest absurdities, agreed upon even by them as absurd; otherwise, the deduction would have no place. Because they did not deny their position, they were rejected.

8.Therefore, our fathers, following the canon of truth and those ancient fathers in the ecumenical councils and the science concerning these matters, rightly regarded such denials of the Latins as superfluous. For just as the Monophysites, even if they deny the theopatheia a thousand times, are Theopaschites, as long as they are Monophysites, and they call Christ true God and true man nevertheless; and just as the Monothelites, even if they anathematize monophysitism a thousand times, are Monophysites, as long as they are Monothelites, so it must be understood here, as long as "And from the Son" is confessed in the creed, even if they deny dyarchy and Sabellianism and other things a thousand times, which they would especially need to deny if their denial were to achieve anything. Do we then abandon the reductio ad absurdum, and none of us demands this from them, nor did our fathers make much account of them. But since our God threatens many times and in many ways in the Old Testament and through Paul in the New Testament, "If anyone preaches another gospel to you than what you received, let him be accursed," and such things, our fathers of the second council, fearing these, when they expanded the article about the Spirit against Macedonius, took all their expressions from the holy Scriptures; otherwise, the wise and true Christians would not have believed them expanding. Therefore, our fathers demanded this, fearing God's judgment, and not only do the Latins not have the words to show this from Scripture, but neither the sense, unless sophistically, their sophistry being refuted by the saints explaining Scripture and by the common foundations of faith. This is what happened to the venerable bishop of Coronea, who, compelled to show proof, was refuted, unable to show it.

9.This is what we demand, nothing else, that they either show this "And from the Son" from the divine and holy Scriptures or remove it from the creed. If they wish to show us any absurdities that follow, we are ready to show them ours with God's help. Anathemas contribute nothing to the matter at hand. As for the pope intending to excommunicate, even the stones can defend themselves, as long as they do not deny being stones, for it is in no way fearful to us; but if we fear this more, having disregarded the true and just anathemas that hold us back from doing what they desire, this is truly dreadful and terrible. And regarding the third point, that after we commune with the pope and submit to him as a teacher of the word of truth, with the worst addition preserved and the unheard and unproven additions of Florence confirmed by this peace and submission, we will then seek or hold a council, this will never be credible even in a children's market, let alone among rational and Christian men.

10.Therefore, these things in themselves have no difficulty or fear or reason, but only from the difficulty of the times and the not well-done entanglements do they have some resonance among those who lack the fear of God and heartfelt love, and cannot see anything deeper. As for the difficulty of the times, I say and attest to your most royal soul, excellent king, that these days I wished to come to the palace and speak, even though I was not summoned by your most divine power, although I was inaccessible at other times, not to

speak about fasting, almsgiving, or explaining any passage of the holy Gospel; for these are remedies for other ailments and other times; but about how to prepare the minds of all citizens for two things, first for God's remedy, what is truly necessary to do and what provocations of God against us to remove, which He cries out daily being provoked, and yet we hear but do not listen; second, for the help of their country and themselves and deliverance from suspected dangers, and that unless those who have empty their wallets and chests for the help of their country and themselves, and perhaps they will not, they will sin not only politically and against the political laws, which are kept and acted upon everywhere and in this nearby Latin polity, but they will also appear foolish in their bodily care, and will fall into many mortal sins against God, and will be worthy of eternal damnation for these, that for the sparing of money, they bring not only the destruction of money and themselves, God forbid, but each betrays his country, faith, religion, ancestral tombs, nearly the entire world to similar evils, and in this sin all mortal sins are contained. To which is added another truly diabolical thought and disease, afflicting many, alas, in all forms; this is, that sparing money at home, they betray piety, and spending money, they do not wish to save faith with others and before others, breaking faith, they think to preserve faith, and thinking to say something, saying this; and they hope that God will allow this conclusion to result in their joy and pleasure, but in His own dishonor and that of His eternal law.

11.These and such things I wished to say, and neither hesitation, nor desire for seclusion, nor anything else would have hindered me. But even prompted by your divine power to come and speak, I did not come. Knowing and foreknowing these recent news from Italy, I chose rather to keep silent, becoming of greater necessity; for I knew that there was no permission outside to speak about faith especially and first, without which in vain would I speak and listeners hear, and having spoken persuade, and then first seek help from God and lay this as the foundation. But if you wish, excellent king, to benefit yourself and others, from which I think to save this city continually from God, with my freedom in speaking and your acting immediately, I am always ready to do this daily, if possible. But I know well that this will not be.

12.In summary, I report to your most divine authority that both the eternal law of God—natural and written, which was a guide to the new—and the new, the law of grace, which is the fulfillment of the old law, being the ultimate and most perfect law of God for humanity, and alongside these, human law—I mean the right one—all agree on this: that the governance of us humans, all of ours, and the entire universe is from God, and our life and death, strength and weakness, peace and war, slavery and freedom, and everything simply depends on that almighty hand, even if in different ways. Given this, it follows that we must serve Him above all beings, fear Him above all, believe in Him alone and believe Him alone, love only Him, hope for everything else through Him, and care for the rest with piety and hope in Him, and thus align ourselves with God in deed and truth, not in word or appearance, and that the basis of all alignment with God is correct faith in the doctrines about Him, and the sure and unwavering faith and assurance about what He has promised and threatened, and threatens and promises daily, as both the old and new law of His sets forth, and as the outcomes of events testify. Hence, when faith was well-kept among the Jews of old, they retained from God their city, temple, freedom, and all good things, suffering only partial punishments for other sins for correction. When they despised faith and mingled with outsiders, they were deprived of all those things until they became sensible again in their afflictions and awareness. These things are revered because of human souls, for faith is not in these things but in human souls as their proper subjects. Temples, sacred vessels, religions, and such serve to manifest inner faith. When souls stray from God, He takes no account of

the rest; for brevity, I omit the passages of the Old Testament showing these, nor do I transition to the complete law of Christ to say much, but I only assert this: our Lord Jesus, though not promising any material good, came as a guide of heavenly and spiritual philosophy and the contempt of all worldly things, through which human souls rise from the animal and common life shared by all beings to the rational and intellectual, truly proper to humans, which He accomplished, raising countless souls to the heavenly citizenship through divine and awe-inspiring dispensation by asceticism and various martyrdoms. This could not happen otherwise, nor did it ever before; yet through faith and virtue, He also promises material things, saying, "In the future life and a hundredfold in the present, those who leave temporal things for faith and love in Him will receive," and "Seek the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things will be added to you," and such. He teaches to care for temporal things but not despair of divine help, hoping reasonably; "Your Father knows you need these things," and He does not want us to care with conceit, thinking that through our care alone we can achieve anything without Him. "Who can add a cubit to his stature?" Thus I say and conclude, whatever conclusion we make about our faith and Church, that will He make about all our other things. This is shown in action, since we went to Italy, all calamities befalling us from God, because we shamelessly neglected faith in and for Him, and the laws of our holy, wise, and many fathers, a few and nothing compared to them, we despised, and because our contempt was still unstable and incomplete, not very shameless to most, therefore, the sense of trials from God was not very painful and harsh to us, and as often as we thought more reverently about God, He treated us more kindly. Just as before we went to Italy, He sent double the labor for our proper restraint and benefit, moving enemies to give us much from our former possessions, but we did not want it, so now, when we were free from the guilt of the conclusions of Florence, if we wanted to restore our Church and piety to God's glory and favor, He gave the death of Hamira, seen by all as the beginning of great goods, and truly showed that many other things were to follow from God. But because through other embassies we wished again to be bound to the Latins, we withheld the source of goods, and God brings us hardships instead. But He will release us again, if we wish, and give greater things.

13.Do not think, most noble and wise king, that if we accepted the new doctrine of the Roman Church, even if it were true, without knowledge and conscience, but through some fear or need or hope, God would rejoice in us as becoming more pious. For while true piety is the first and foremost regarding the correct belief about God, the second piety is to hold and preserve any ancestral doctrine until something else is revealed by God, either by word or true persuasion. Hence, no conversion to the true faith from any heresy or unbelief was ever accomplished by God to a good end, except through true knowledge, whether inspired by God or handed down by men, moved by God, but done for some temporal reason. Therefore, it was not revealed to us by God through the Scriptures that the addition of the Latins is true; on the contrary, they neither wish to teach it by reason and persuasion, but seem to drag us by force and human fear, and some of us are dragged. How can we not doubly offend God and piety if we abandon the ancestral truth for something human? Let no one deceive themselves, thinking the difference is small; it is a contradiction for five hundred years since they added it, which cannot be resolved unless they deny their own doctrine and believe as we do, or we deny ours and believe as they do. But it is not about a small matter, but the most critical part of faith. Nor should anyone challenge the example of the Jews as irrelevant, saying they were punished for turning to Hellenism, while the Latins are simply Christians differing in some doctrine of faith;

for these differences are nothing to God Himself, but He considers the intention of men, whether we love and believe firmly and fear Him, or not. These are judged in both great and small differences. For "He who is faithful in little is faithful in much," and the reverse; "To him who has, more will be given, but from him who does not have, even what he seems to have will be taken," and "If you have not been faithful in unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?" Whether in greater or lesser matters one errs from the truth of faith, he is a heretic; and whether in greater or lesser matters one abandons or accepts, he sins by despising God, preferring human hopes, needs, or fears to the divine justice in conscience, and is judged an enemy of God.

14.I say no more but beseech you, king, prostrate in mind and physically before your royal feet, to counsel wisely, for in this matter the affairs of Christians stand by God. And already from now, and before it was demanded and the legate arrived, you have my opinion. I think and am firmly convinced that God will not wish us to abandon our ancestral stance for something human and temporal, nor to annul all reason, justice, and conscience, and if anyone attempts this, it will be shown impossible, if God wishes to save us and His true Church and its small remnant, as I said before, even though the end of the world is near but not yet here, or here but unknown to us, it will be tested and shown; but not by God's will, but by abandoning us, making us instruments for the fulfillment of what is to come. If the latter, my counsel will not avail except among a few of God's elect. If the former, it will avail, the divine power overcoming human trials, but it would not benefit those not rightly discerning the divine will and attempting the impossible. Therefore, assuming that God does not wish us to become Latins as they desire, we must try to save the city with God's help, doing all we can and hoping for the completion of our weakness from God. And hope with piety and diligence does not disappoint. Let us not wish to save ourselves temporarily by despising the divine; it is impossible, and for this, we will meet doubly worse.

15.I promise you, most divine king, that if, considering the difficulty of that unacceptable union of Florence and the accompanying fear of God, you respond to the legate as Christians, giving the ecclesiastics the freedom to apologize openly, and holding the mindset of our fathers and nothing else, the Latins will not be able to contradict any defense, and taking divine zeal, rebuild our faith and Church now immediately before he arrives, putting on the shield of divine hope, and with the Church established, and God first recognizing our faith in Him in deed and truth, assuming that all bodily fears will meet us; having the same mind as the martyrs who joyfully faced bodily dangers, preferring eternal and true good, looking intently to God (but God will not allow us to fall into bodily trials then); secondly, if some main provocations that anger God for a long time are determined never to occur again, with a firm promise to God and laws set for His glory; and thirdly, if there is human care as much as possible from ourselves with common, free, and impartial counsel; these three things being done in order, I promise you from God, most noble king, and from His laws of faith, that we will know that the Lord lives among us, and the nations of the earth will know that the power of the Lord is strong. "Be very strong to keep and do all that is written in the law of Moses, so that you do not turn to the right or the left, and be very careful to love the Lord your God, for He will do these good things for you; if you turn away, the Lord will no longer add," and so forth. And again, "Fear the Lord your God, and He will deliver you from all your enemies." And if following the typological covenant physically then helped so much against enemies, how will we not be delivered from misfortunes by firmly and hopefully standing by our true covenant received from our fathers? They will cry to God for us, calling for

divine mercy, otherwise, they will be silent. Did not Judah and Maccabee and Jesus, recalling the great Lord and world's ruler and wonder-worker God, draw divine pity on themselves and heavenly help? Will we not, doing this with all piety, be heard? Did they confidently say, "Not for ourselves, O God Almighty, but for the covenants with our fathers," and we condemn some impiety of our fathers for which their memory will not be active to turn God for our sharp help? Do we not also have, like those most pious leaders, to remind God of His great benefactions, old and new, by which this city was often saved from many and great dangers, and thus showing pious gratitude to Him by public thanksgiving for those, deliver ourselves to Him worthy of His favor, so that He may likewise help us now?

16.Who is so ungrateful or dull in mind as to ignore or forget the wonders both of old and in the times of the late and pious emperor, the father of your holy kingdom, from God? Is it not evident that in his times, in the absence of all human aid and power, this city was preserved from the enemies, although greatly afflicted by them, through unexpected punishment suddenly falling upon them to our freedom, because in the absence of human help, he was pious in deeds and truth concerning the ancestral and this city? And whenever we undertook something without conceit, but with piety and hope in God, we were successful, and whenever the opposite, our endeavors also ended contrary?

17.So, having counseled in this way, we will pass this age both spiritually safe and physically unharmed, otherwise, the apostle's words will come true: "Because they did not love the truth to be saved, God will send them a powerful delusion so that they will believe the lie." But far be it, divine and holy king.

18.This has been said about our piety and deliverance from impending calamities through piety first, and then its works. And as for what I previously wrote or spoke to you about the ancestral piety, I was not led to say or write or counsel out of rivalry or vainglory or any entirely human and temporary reasoning, nor now by the grace of God. Before, in the worldly garb, I daily roamed almost the whole city and aroused and kindled the zeal of the pious. But now, hindered by the garb and the purpose I set for life with God, not as some imagine or slander, who, unable to bear the reproofs, turn to slandering, I am neither ready to go out nor to discuss these matters with many, especially with your divine power. Nor does it benefit me to seem to those who judge wrongly that I oppose the common good, as they judge. But I did not think to keep silent entirely for conscience's sake, so that when the legate comes, as it is said, there be no concern about me, knowing my opinion and counsel from now on. Nor will I ever attend church from now on, persuaded by David, where a problem arises about whether to betray the ancestral stance shamefully and irreverently towards the divine for fear of the pope's excommunications, or the promises from there, even if true, or fear of enemies. I do not even believe that the Church of Rome proceeded to such an embassy from its own conscience, exceeding the law of holy medicine, as a Church, unless we ourselves convinced them that we would be healed this way and no other; I speak of those who convinced them. But if, maintaining my opinion, there is need to counsel on what to reply or what to do piously and for this city's true benefit to God's glory, or if there is need for dialogue and discussion about the doctrine to demonstrate and support our truth, I will not hesitate to give myself to pious thought and discussion, just as in the last arrival of the venerable Coronea, I was ready and advised discussions, and I will always be ready with God's help for the honor of truth and the benefit of souls, something otherwise difficult for me and especially enduring in the present.

TO EMPEROR CONSTANTINE

19.You, most noble and divine king, may you be guided by God to His most holy will. Grasping firmly the divine will, given to the one who piously seeks, you will govern your soul and ours and our bodies well. Know that I, so dispassionately thinking and bearing these things by God's grace, with many tears, unworthy as I am, beseech His majesty that if it be possible and entirely permissible to receive anything other than what we, with pious hope, interpret from His laws, He may reveal it to me, especially to you, king, and those with you, for the double salvation of this city. I mean that we be revealed, if there be anything better about whether those who say and believe that the Son of God with the Father is one principle of the Spirit, or those who believe as we do that only the Father is the principle and cause of the Spirit, and the Son not at all, are more pious. As long as our orthodoxy or ancestral stance remains, and the opposite, whatever is contrary to orthodoxy, is impossible, there is nothing better and nothing else for God to counsel us than what follows His immutable laws. These are the things already said.

NOV. 1 1452 MANIFESTO

14. Manifesto of November 1, 1452.

† After much, I spoke and testified both orally and in writing to the emperor, the senate, the polity, and the ecclesiastics, both individually and assembled, and advised for the mercy of God before the cardinal came, foreseeing the corruption of faith and God's chastisement for it; and especially when I went to the Monastery of the Pantocrator, I reread that sacred counsel and again, after much, I spoke and wrote after the cardinal came, for the Lord sees and all know that I neglected nothing. On the first of November, I attached this document to the door of my cell, and all who entered read it, until the twelfth of December, when the most unfortunate Latinism was concluded:

The document attached to the door of my cell, on November 1: +

† Poor citizens, you have lost everything; and now do you forsake piety too? Shamefully and unconsciously, instead of seeking refuge in God in this crisis, as God advised you through me, the unworthy Gennadius, you separate from God? I am innocent; I have God as my witness, and the saints and all of you, that I neglected nothing. And now, I testify to God, you make a bad union; you perish. You blaspheme against me and threaten? But even if you kill me, as you threaten, I am ready for death. What profit is there for me to live, to see your abandonment? Lord, do not let these people fall into this ruin; do not let the Orthodox faith be justified in the East, West, and islands by our destruction; for having rejected it, we perish, justify it rather without destroying us; give them ears to hear, that they may hear; for he who spoke and speaks your will is there. If not, Lord, take me from this present life soon, before I see the fruits of such shamelessness. I will not deny you, dear Orthodoxy; I will not lie to you, ancestral reverence, as long as my spirit remains in this body. Do not tempt me anymore, people; for I will never partake in such a union; for neither will you unite with the Latins this way, and you will be separated from God and His visitation, and you will suffer eternal disgrace: †

TO THE ECCLESIASTICS OPPOSING THE UNION

15. Note addressed to the ecclesiastics opposing the union (November 15, 1452).

† This was sent to the ecclesiastics, to the great ecclesiarch Sylvester and the great chartophylax Agallianos, on the day when the ecclesiastics were summoned to the palace of Xylalas; and this was the first time after everything was arranged privately by the cardinal and the three archbishops of this year: On the fifteenth of November.

1.Holy Fathers, I wanted to come, as I always do, but I do not know well the purpose of this assembly. Therefore, find out why you are being called. If it is the cardinal himself and he wishes to say something, or if the present council decides he should come another time and speak before all of you and you are to respond ecclesiastically, let some of you come to me with royal appointment, and I will come. And you should not undertake to hear or say anything without me. I already give you my opinion. If this assembly is because the union was made through the people, which is indeed a division from God, and they seek the consent of the ecclesiastics, leave me out of it, for our emperor, his counselors, and all of you know my opinion on this matter many times, and a few days ago, I sent him twelve chapters on this matter with the most honorable hieromonk lord Ignatius, which you have also seen. I will never say anything other than what I always say. Because I hold that council of Florence in the same regard as God, truth, and all genuine Christians, sons of the Eastern Church, following the opinion of the holy fathers and conscience humbly. To speak more clearly, I hold that council as the pseudo-ecumenical one under Constantius, which thought to abolish the homoousion, because I am of that opinion: whoever commemorates the pope, or communes with those who commemorate him, or advises or encourages it, I will consider him as the holy and great council in Constantinople that examined the Latin doctrine and deposed those who held it, Beccus and his like. I do not consider the commemoration of the pope or any bishop a small matter, but the spiritual communion of the orthodox and complete submission to true shepherds is through such commemoration; councils and others decide that we must avoid the communion of those whose opinion we reject, and all other similar things you know are decided. Above all, our Lord says, "They will by no means follow a stranger, but will flee from him, for they do not know the voice of strangers." May it never be for me to make my holy mother Church of the Orthodox heretical by accepting the pope's commemoration, as long as he confesses and believes those things for which our Church did not receive him. For if anyone confesses him now as rightly dividing the word of truth, he confesses his own ancestors to be heretics. Therefore, my opinion was and will always be such, and I will always be without communion with the pope and those who commune with him in any way, as our fathers, whose piety we should imitate, even if we do not have their holiness and wisdom.

2.As for the definitions and extensions, which I hear the fathers of Latinism whisper secretly, deceiving the common people and concealing Latinism, I consider these far from an ecclesiastical and Christian disposition, and they are against God and right reason. For who has ever heard of a faith and ecclesiastical union defined by extensions? If such a union is good, for it will not always be, but under extension; and if bad, even for one whole day? And what other definition could there be for the union of those who rightly believe and think, except that those united think and preach the same? If such a definition were made, that the pope delay the "and from the Son" from the creed, just as you have "from the Father alone" and "not from the Son," although it is an ancient doctrine of the Eastern Church, as even the teachers of the Latins

testify, yet we do not say this in the creed; and these contradictions would be sought, and the creed would be said by both us and the pope as from the beginning; this definition and such an extension would make sense. But what they say is not an ecclesiastical extension, meaning a temporary postponement of the discussion, but a temporary consent of yours to the addition and the poorly confirmed union of Florence, and a temporary Latinism, if it will be temporary and not eternal, as far as the actions go. Did not these same things arise in the time of the previous emperor by some corrupt individuals, and we proved them irrational and unconscionable and blameworthy to all men, both orthodox and heterodox? It is better either to unite with the Latins or not to unite, and then the other things follow on both sides as they do with union and separation.

3.Since my opinion is as you and everyone always know, and will be, whoever wishes to commune with me, let him commune with this; whoever does not wish, let him do as he will; he will see for himself.

4.Concerning the benefit to the city, I say that the salvation of the city lies in what I spoke at the Monastery of the Pantocrator if they were done, and if they will be done, nothing else. But they will not be done, and I knew they would not be done. But God and I, His unworthy servant, must be blameless. I also informed the Grand Duke, or rather I wrote in detail, as the most honorable great ecclesiarch and the most honorable dicaiophylax know, to inform the emperor that what they wish to do has all evil from God and men, both internal and external, both enemies and allies, and these things will neither be union nor not union, nor will the Church of Constantinople be in word with the orthodox from now on if these things conclude as you wish. But what I sought from the beginning when the cardinal arrived, but you did not wish, I say and counsel again: to come to the palace, and let the three classes of citizens be there, the senate, the church, and the polity; and let the cardinal come, and with as many Venetians and Genoese as he wishes; and I will show how what the cardinal urges is disadvantageous in all respects. The benefit is that the ecclesiastical matters remain as they are and nothing is stirred in any direction amidst such turmoil. But since they promise to help the city, whether they help or not, there will be peace in the city, one of two things must be done: either legates come here with permission, and we hold a council here, or we send the most distinguished ecclesiastics there, to consider the matters of union ecclesiastically and spiritually and freely. For with peace first established, we will have the counsel and opinion of the nearby orthodox, namely the Athonites and the most holy patriarchs; and if something happens either by us going there or here, by some coming from there, or even better, this will be acceptable to God, done with hope in Him freely and spiritually, and blameless to Christians; and our assembly will remain unbroken until then, and the emperor unshaken. Thus something good may happen, if God, in whom what is impossible for men is possible, shows mercy to the Christians and grants a way and manner of true union, in which the knowledgeable and wise of both sides, moved by God with right conscience, will agree. And if you wish this, I said, I will come and speak these things in detail, and I believe I will persuade them, showing the disadvantages and harms of their plan and the benefits of mine. And besides, since you hope for some help from there, this pious expectation will confirm those hopes, and you will not offend God. But if, from the moment you make the Latinism you shamefully desire, then to deceive the simple, you propose extensions and hopes of discussions, the conclusion of this evil plan will be as I have often said. But even if the whole East goes to the West, I will not go; even if the whole West comes to the East, I will remain silent, and from now on, I am silent. For when you all and your supposed assembly become Latins, with whom and for what purpose should humble Gennadius speak for the ancestral doctrine?

TO THE ECCLESIASTICS OPPOSING THE UNION

I wrote these things to the Grand Duke, as the mentioned honorable ones know, but in much more detail; now I have summarized the fruit. I have that letter too, and the Grand Duke replied to me somehow, "You labor in vain, Father, for the commemoration of the pope must be given, and it cannot be otherwise. Therefore, if you wish to come and converse, let us do so." And I replied to him, that I said as long as you do not become Latins, but if you have confirmed to become, and have already become, all is too late, and in this, I am blameless. Therefore, holy fathers, I have not neglected this benefit, and I have neglected nothing concerning faith and benefit, which is mainly from God and our pious reverence towards Him. May the Lord open the eyes of all; if not, may He at least preserve some of you or the best of you firm in the ancestral faith, so that through you there may be hope from God. By your prayers, may He have mercy on me, the sinner. But I am greatly distressed.

† Repentance. Let this be read publicly to all:

MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

16. Manifesto addressed to the inhabitants of Constantinople (November 27, 1452).

† On this day, the present was distributed throughout the city in many copies, six months before the conquest, which happened in May.

† November 27th, last. Gennadius, the sinful servant of God and least among all to the most noble citizens of Constantinople, both clergy and laity.

1.You all know well the course of my entire life with you, neither harmful to our city in any matter nor to any of you, unless someone unjustly accuses me, slandering and misleading. If I have benefited or honored this city and some individuals through God's gift to me, and as long as this city is saved by God, it will have some memory of me for many good things, the Lord knows, and He will reward. And now, for the Lord's law and the love for you citizens, even if some blaspheme against us because we do not want to separate from the paternal tradition and share their shamelessness against God, but we pray for them; they threaten, but we do not bear grudges; they fear, but we look to God; they slander what happens to each, but we love them. For what else should a person who has tasted philosophy, a true Christian by God's grace, and a monk indifferent to worldly matters both now and in the future by God's help, do? But since it is likely that the wickedness of some and something destined for the city because of my sin will lead to the murder of innocent people, because they have violated the law given to us by the Lord in the twentieth chapter of Matthew, so that now the kingdom of God is taken by force and the violent take it by force, and since those mainly threaten against me, therefore, first, that no one may later accuse me of silence out of cowardice at the time of this violence; second, that no one may blame recklessness for danger; third, that no one may slander to some simpler ones about me to the destruction of the truth, whether I live or die, I say these things to all of you and testify that from now on, I intend to be silent; "For the prudent shall keep silent in that time, for it is an evil time." And as for the third, to start from the last, I say that if I ever drew this ecclesiastical matter for personal gain and not if what I spoke or wrote was according to conscience, may I be accursed by God. If I became a monk either in opposition to the current Latinism or for some desire for temporary honor perishing with this life and not for the promises to the Lord from many years and true repentance with God, and fleeing all human honor and rest, may my soul be eternally punished. If it was not and is not my intention to live and continue living the rest of my life on the holy Mount Athos, and if I did not seek this many times truly, testing God if the Lord would permit me, may I not see the face of the Lord. If any other thought kept me in the city except that it should never seem to me and all the orthodox Christians that by leaving the city, the matters of faith were endangered, may I be erased from the book of the living. If I neglected anything aiming at establishing the faith and the Church, foreseeing and foretelling these trials from God, in this, I would not bring a curse upon myself, having all as witnesses, the most high emperor and the ecclesiastics and almost the whole world, that my counsels and such were disseminated everywhere. If I do not desire the peace of the Churches and the concord of all Christians, but the true and spiritual and ecclesiastical and just and saving peace, may my life have no peace. If my conscience does not assure me that it is right and sincere towards the emperor, the homeland, and all of you and individually each one in sincere love, may the Lord not forgive my sins. If I ever deceived my neighbor in any matter throughout my life or used any material of God for

personal benefit, to sum it all up, although joined with countless other sins, may the Lord set my iniquity before my face in the coming judgment. These things are clearer than the sun to those who see dispassionately and conscientiously.

2.Concerning the previous chapter, I say and testify that I have always held and hold this holy mother Church, with the other three most holy patriarchs, as the true mother of orthodox Christians, in which the trial of faith is enacted from all kinds of attacks of apostasy, according to the Lord's prophecy from the beginning of the preaching, and I embrace all the doctrines of this Church as divine and most true and saving. Among them is that the Holy Spirit proceeds from God the Father, meaning He exists, as the creed of all the ecumenical councils says, and not from the Father and the Son, as the Latin creed says, and as the Florentine decree unfolds this with unheard expansions. I adhere to the holy and great council against the Latin-minded Beccus and consider it ecumenical indeed, for the absence of the schismatic does not take away the ecumenical nature, and I tremble at its dreadful decision with excommunications and anathemas as a holy and divine decision defining the Latin doctrines and the pope's commemoration appropriately. I remain in the promise I made to the blessed bishop of Ephesus before God and angels and men; in the dialogues I had with the bishop of Cortona demonstrating our truth, and in the many and various writings I published about the ancestral faith as a gift from God; in the confession of my faith, or rather the Catholic Church's, which I published elaborately three years ago, and in the signatures we signed with the then agreeing ecclesiastics at the time of the legate, and later after the embassy of lord Bryennius, as I did not commune with it, about never accepting the pope's commemoration as long as we are divided and disagreeing with him about the crucial doctrines of faith according to the decision of the said council and all our holy fathers and leaders.

3.As for the second point, namely the danger from recklessness, I say this: that for me, there is nothing more pleasing or desirable than to die for the truth; yet, not providing any just cause for this, fighting lawfully and not wishing to involve you in judgment because of me, if some secretly or openly plot against me or harm another innocent person defending the ancestral doctrines and laws, since many think beneficial what I have often and in many ways said and shown to be harmful, from this day, I will be silent, and you do as you wish. Faith is free and unforced; neither should you hinder me, nor I you, and therefore I will no longer hinder, since hindering in every way I did not succeed, nor will I ever commune with such a union, and I have not given any opinion on it, nor will I ever. I will therefore be united with our holy fathers, whose spirits fill the heavenly realm, and whose books and teachings fill this world for those who rightly think and believe, and with those united with them, whoever and wherever they may be, who piously and wisely keep our orthodox and ancestral doctrine; and let there be no more discussion about me, for you have confirmed the evil. I have done this out of love for you, taking care even of your sinlessness towards me and through me to the guardian of justice. But if because I do not commune with such a union, and keep my ancestral faith uncontaminated by the heterodox and those who commune with them, and do not exchange ancestral standing for necessity, and because I keep silent, whatever you wish to say and do, I am not only justified for what I have said and written and counseled, but also for your injustice against me, as you threaten, I am justified before God and will joyfully endure the trial or even death for the testimony of the ancestral and pious doctrine, to God's glory.

TO DESPOT DEMETRIUS PALAIOLOGOS

17. To Despot Demetrius Palaiologos. Against the union (December 25, 1452).

† Gennadius, in the Monastery of Charsianitis. December of the 14th indiction. A letter to Despot Demetrius, in the Peloponnese.

1.† The Jews once narrated that Joseph, having foreseen the famine by God's revelation, nourished Egypt with many and great granaries. Similarly, now the noble despot, under the eyes of all, nourishes the common homeland with whole shiploads, leaving the difficulties involved to the care of the higher power, extending the force of his will as much as possible, covering those historians, and filling the king's storehouses, so that from there, the hungry might be abundantly filled and the mouths of those crying out from long hunger might be stopped, and many individuals' households, previously in worse condition, have been made prosperous; now many define wealth as not being hungry; considering the time for other needs of life as different, in which they will both care and suffer, unable to remedy, or will rejoice when remedied. May every good from God come to the despot, being such as he is, unless he too must suffer our evils and partake in our sins against the divine, for which we hoped in men with impudence towards God, adding many evils upon us; may it not be so, though it be very just. But you, most noble and in other respects the best despot, adorned as always the best leaders are honored by those around them, resembling them in mind, greatly contributing to the praises sent to him from all, showing yourself as a common provider. For you could not show the despot's mind better, naturally inclined to good as it is, but advising and showing this magnanimity at the right time and willingly taking on the service when everyone else shrinks back and finding ways to succeed, not lacking anything in care and effort and extending the care wisely even to our granaries, these are the advantages of your nature; whose praises I would turn back to the despot as an addition to his own virtues, for he knows you well as such and confidently sets you to the greatest tasks, as if knowing well that your hand will suffice for his will. How much, then, do you think we rejoice, when, from any of your good actions, the slanderers, stricken silent, shout instead of making noise, and those who love you with truth greatly admire with boldness, no one being able to contradict the obvious, even if they wish. I do not think you doubt at all, that we make our joy from these things an antidote to our sadness over other evils.

2.It has not escaped the notice of anyone else about my affection for you, nor have I tried to hide this noble passion, and you have borne witness to it through your deeds, so much so that the goodwill combined with virtue and with God's support has established the beginning and grows daily; for just as God allows other good works of men to shine, so He also allows this to shine, not letting it be hidden under a bushel. I speak of the virtue of the most fortunate leaders, and yours, for which you are loved by me, who marvels at the extraordinary beauty of the virtue within you, just as the thirsty run to the springs, and you love in return with great excess, as if seeing a reflection of your true virtue in the soul of one who desires you. For this reason, we say we rejoice, for even if we remain silent, the stones will cry out.

3.Beyond all evil are the events happening, to speak comprehensively, and no long previous time among the nations brought such shamelessness against the divine; I, as you know, foresaw the calamity from afar and shouted that such neglect of God and the divine would bring us a disaster of evils, and fleeing these again we would run into apostasy from the divine like madmen running to a noose, as if openly committing absurdities and deserving the punishment required, so that the divine and the pious faith of our fathers about Him

would be blameless before all creation, as we would not have suffered these calamities unless God and faith had been outrageously blasphemed by us; there are many forms of these evils; and what they wish to see as beneficial will crush their necks much worse, becoming as they do; nor is there any true hope of good for those who provoke God in this way, unless someone madly believes in empty hopes; and first disbelieving in God, who governs all things and each person's life and nation's and individual's toward such an end, fitting very well with each one's worth, and then trusting in some expectations from those who can do nothing without God, vainly delights. But let judgment turn to the guilty, not those who sin out of ignorance or remain sensible.

4.Therefore, shouting these things from afar, as everyone knows, and making every effort to those present about these matters, knowing each one far removed from all blame, my conscience does not reproach me for any neglect of the word we uphold or silence about what truly benefits this city and with vehement reproofs. The matters sent to the serene emperor around the twelfth of March and known to the island by you and many other orthodox places, stating that a legate from the pope would arrive, as Bryennius arranged, and what he would say, and what we justly should respond, and that anticipating the necessity then, I make this speech before the time; for it would not be bearable for me to assemble with those then advising if it required betraying something of the praised stance of the fathers and moving boundaries set long ago. "I have not sat with vain persons, nor will I go in with hypocrites," says David, which those wishing to be pious should emulate. I said these things then, foreseeing exactly what would happen; and what I sent afterward, I send you now, together with the previous sent ones at their appropriate times, and the copies remaining with me, shown to those visiting us, so that the consistency of my opinion about these matters would be evident to all; for I did not think to neglect anything after that speech; the legate had not yet arrived, and where the disaster would later occur and be confirmed, there I spoke a speech almost from noon until evening about how those acting sacredly and serving God and those provoking Him would be ready to receive immediate reliefs from heaven; adding some human care, not neglecting this as the divine laws command, although I knew well those working the disaster; and in the assembling distress to God, "We remembered you in our distress," says David, leading to His greater provocation, and singing to the ears not hearing. But as I hastened to say, I wished to owe no word to my fellow citizens, so that they would not think I privately managed and remained silent, unaware of what was necessary.

5.Since my entire duty was done, and the impending disaster prepared would soon burst forth, the sacred counsels being neglected as having no power for salvation, the legate avoiding discussions with us and other sensible ones as if they could block, resorting to the votes of the people, whom he found long disturbed by fear and shaken by the instigations of the Latin-minded, shaking them with speeches of great hopes, as most accept without examination, they only shout what anyone makes echo like jars, hence threats and shouts against us arose unspeakably, as if all other things were ready for them, only ours to be opposed, I attached to the door of my room a document threatening them from God and reproaching them; and it was necessary daily for those entering to read first the document. I also plan something else suited to the evil of the time, as did that most divine father and teacher, I mean the one of Ephesus, and many others before him in similar times; to openly resist would be to kick against the pricks and futile, like trying to extinguish a fire that has engulfed the whole forest; to be completely silent in the midst of trials, I did not judge, and therefore I write a brief counsel to the whole city in the form of a testimony and apology for the silence holding the opinions

of the most pious, and on the twenty-seventh of November, that document was scattered many times in the palaces, the markets, and all the monasteries in the city, almost as many as the days of the month; and the form of the document, an apology for the alleged silence, although where was I silent before? I shouted about the injustice of the faith, and they sharpened their tongues for anything. That document silenced the threats, so even the brothers' support accompanying it bore it, not handling me who ran, as they threatened; so if some seemed to resist briefly, it was the work of that document. But the subsequent violence, passing through without skill, knocked out the miserable ones' conscience.

6.Hence, we sit seeing no one, associating with no one except a few whom we know to think purely and keep the former, having received the gift of remaining firmly and not being swept away in the purity of life; for the rest, although they lament what they suffered by violence, the law of our fathers prevents us from mingling with them, until they cease to say they hate, enduring to act. Such are the divine games of this time; thus sin, carrying necessities, forced such compelled faiths and unions, which I testified against from afar. If these physically benefit as they hope, I pray, even if it seems impossible to me. God is powerful from compassion to fulfill their hopes rather than our fears. Others mock the actions and the ways they were done; we, not wishing to grieve their authors by speaking truth, nor should we now concern ourselves with such matters (our concern I reveal only to you) of any, unless entirely unjust, angering and for that reason. Know well about us, that our thrones were formerly established in heaven if we wished to agree and serve; no form of fear, threat, and reproach was lacking afterward, to seize some consent from us. But God's grace preserved us from all, and we neither failed in anything we hoped to deter their evils, nor were we seen as timid in the testimony for the truth, which seeing, they entirely refrained from us. If by some trick they could drive us from this present life, I do not think they are very eager; this would not be possible without divine permission, either bringing some reward to us from God, or adding misfortunes to them, worthy to suffer everywhere and have nothing healthy to do or have; if permitted, we would also receive it with thanksgiving.

LIST OF ANTI-UNIONIST WRITINGS

18. List of Anti-Unionist Writings.

† Time has not allowed us to send other necessary writings, which have been written by us, and we have them ready. They will be sent with God's help at another time.

1.That is to say, the advisory speech, which I read in the Pantocrator Monastery, before the emperor and the entire city, concerning appeasing the divine and domestic preparation; on the 15th of October.
2.Also, the new chrysobull, which I drafted to be issued by the emperor, abolishing the god-hating violations of ecclesiastical and divine laws, by which we have been oppressed by God for so many years.
3.Also, the ecclesiastical novella, which was to be made by the ecclesiastics for the renewal of the ecclesiastical and divine laws grievously and multifariously trampled upon; which was also drafted, containing the violations and corrections in detail.
4.Also, two homilies, drafted to be read in the churches every Sunday in rotation after the oral homilies given by us to the people, after the meal, gathering the parishioners in each church; containing almost everything necessary.
5.Also, the speech I wrote to the emperor on the 12th of March, and some others after it.
6.Also, the twelve chapters, which I reported to him through the priest lord Ignatius; on the 1st of November.
7.Also, what I wrote to the Grand Duke, as previously mentioned.
8.Also, what I wrote to the assembly in various ways.
9.Also, what I wrote to the assembly of the Athonites, before the cardinal came, and sent it there with the Athonites, lord Athanasios and lord Simon.
10.All these will be sent with God's help soon, being copied.
11.Also, will be sent the signatures of the metropolitans, which they signed four times after the signatures of Italy about never approving the council of Florence or accepting the commemoration, as long as the causes of the schism remain with the Latins, of which one signature was made immediately after the council, to be accepted by the orthodox; the second was made at the time of that legate, which the legate received as their apology to the Church of Rome; the third, when they joined with him, having separated because they wrote to the pope with Bryennios; and the fourth, when master Constantine the Englishman came.

LAMENTATION ON THE PROCLAMATION OF UNION

19. Lamentation on the proclamation of the union in Constantinople (January 1453).

† Gennadius, the least of Scholarius, on the vain, unreasonable, and unconscientious innovation of the faith by the abandonment of God: These were found in Gallipoli after the conquest, and were brought to us from there.

1.† Who will give me wings like a dove, so I can fly and rest with the Orthodox around the world, the true sons of the true mother, which the Lord established and those who think like the Lord, unshaken and undivided by the weak reasoning of men, and I will lament with the brothers the long-foreseen and foretold corruption of the faith that has come upon the metropolis, the chief of Christian calamities, the harvest of God's wrath against us? Who will give my heart a sigh, my chest a mourning, my eyes a fountain of tears, dust on my head and an unheard-of lamentation from my mouth: O councils of fathers, how in vain you built those bulwarks, how in vain you fortified us with threats. Where is the fear of excommunications you pronounced? Where is the word of anathemas? You should have, imitating Jesus, closed the paths of apology to the parricides, as now we have no excuse for our sin, having heard you many times and spoken to you. O writings of the fathers, composed with the power of wisdom and counsel of the Spirit, now grievously trampled. O grain of doctrines and ancestral laws, outraged by our chaff. O timidity and lack of faith and hesitation and indifference about the most sacred things, by which we planned far from the evangelical and Christian morals and laws, deeply making a plan, and not for the Lord; even if it will be reckoned as the potter's clay, by the Lord's will. O most dreadful irrationality and ignorance, by which we will join those who speak the most absurd things, unable to distinguish holy from profane, nor destruction from savior. O most dreadful famine, born of our far-reaching famine of the divine word, producing for us spiritual death. And it will be, as you hunger, you will be distressed, and you will speak ill of the ruler God and the ancestors. O walls of our eternal salvation cast down. O incurable slavery of souls. O leading astray of spirits. O unexpected boldness for most, who called me a false prophet and slanderer. How could I doubt about the fruits, knowing the trees completely? Or, knowing the habits, dispute about the actions? Or, seeing the building, not foresee the house? Or, from what we offer to God, not foresee well how He will deal with us, although these things are shouted everywhere by the divine laws; "Because we did not love the knowledge of the truth to be saved, God sent us a powerful delusion to believe the lie, and because we did not approve having God in knowledge, He gave us over to a debased mind, to do what is not fitting." These things Paul shouted about us before, warning if he could, and now with the calamity accomplished, he shouts in gathering. "Fire has fallen upon us," says David, of the unlawful desires for temporal things, and for this, we did not see the sun, so as to plan well, being illuminated by it, those who devour the Lord's people as bread eaters, and agents grievously exploiting them, we did not call upon the Lord, but feared where there was no fear, and where we should have feared, we did not fear, nor did we consider the works of the Lord and the works of His hands, which we heard with our ears and our fathers told us, finding the solution to trials often as a reward of pious reverence to God and genuine refuge in Him; shepherds and plowmen and vineyard keepers, I spare the names, as God imposes upon us, we do not fulfill the order, but blessing the Lord's people, we lead them astray and disturb the path of their ways; afflictions and necessities have found us, and

our hearts turned backward, needing in distress at least, to be stirred to remember the one who can save. We did not say, "See our humiliation, Lord, and deliver us, because we have not forgotten your law."

2.But what? Let us go and provoke the words of the Lord and the counsel of the Most High, and exchange His glory for the image of an ox eating grass; for such are our deeds now, showing equal irreverence towards the divine and equally blameworthy in a different matter. We have provoked God with foreign, new, and recent things unknown to our fathers, those fathers who loved peace more than we do, and the saving sword which God came to cast upon the earth, instead of the peace that separates His followers, wisely dealing with it, those noble examiners of the unhappy addition, those investigators of divine progressions with the cooperation of the Spirit, who revealed to us the good doctrine, testified to by all true words, teachers, and all Scripture, instead of the addition, I hesitate to say the greater, the unsupported and universally opposed; I mean the hypostatic procession of the Spirit from God and the Father alone with the natural connection to the Son, instead of the impossible innovation and utterly impossible victor; those who refute the irrational denials of the poor and the even more irrational persuasions, and the situations which they again deny, and the sacrilegious interpretations of the Scriptures and their other schemes, with the sound of the Spirit's reproofs; and armed our soul and tongue, so that we could also refute publicly many times all sophistry against the truth; those knowing with whom and how to commune, following the laws of the ancients; even if one of them came from the heavens, they say, if he does not conform to the healthy word of faith, we cannot regard him as a companion of the saints, and from those whose mindset we reject, we must flee their communion; for you will flee, he says, from strangers and those whose voice you do not recognize; who also showed us the ways of pious peace, for they did not leave us, their children, without help in this part either, whoever deviates from the ways, they choose for themselves a pit and precipice and noose, thinking they are making peace. Those were our fathers; but of us, their children, perhaps not even infants, but some abortions compared to their excellence and perfection, our mouths speak vanity, and our right hand, alas, has become a right hand of iniquity; sitting we slander our brothers, and we set traps for the sons of our mother until yesterday; the child stumbles against the elder, and the dishonorable against the honorable; we hated understanding and became liable to reprimands. Therefore, God has made us a reproach to our neighbors, a byword among the nations, and a shaking of the head among the peoples, and our shame is before us, and will cover us from the voice of the scorner and the slanderer, because what we wisely destroyed, rebuilt poorly by us, we established ourselves as transgressors, because we hated wisdom and did not choose the word of the Lord. What did you find in us, our fathers will say, as a fault, that you departed from us, and the laws we set for you from God, and who are you? And God will judge us and them, and the part of truth, and Himself; for He is the truth. These are the divine games of our present time; I share in the dishonor and misfortune of the brothers out of love, having not shared in their fault, neither at its beginning nor now in its renewal. These are the timely Latinisms and their irreverent wavering before them and our grievous ignorance of what is necessary; Belial preferred over Christ; and darkness over light; and temporal things over eternal; and falsehood over manifest truth, and instead of so many fathers the long-time enemy; and the exchange of wisdom for ignorance, and piety for counterfeit; of which we did not even retain the form, far less the power; and instead of pious hopes in God, cursed hopes in men, and those expelled from the tent, driven out by sacred votes, and fierce persecution of the pious, and searching the hidden places of the earth, lest anyone secretly worships the divine according to the ancestral way and is free from the

communion of the excommunicated. For it seems the holy contest must return to the Orthodox, and the trial of faith at the end of ages must be worked in us, and the kingdom of Christ must again be taken by force, and those who seem chosen must perish with the mob's heresies; and Beccus must revive and his followers; or rather, after so many years, their error and the punishments from the church reveal those who inherited it, not following sophistries as they did, but adding fear, hopes, violence, and the voice of the mob, irrational opinion, and contempt for God, and conscience's corruption and such things to their plan, being much worse than those and more deserving to be avoided.

3.Who is wise and will understand these things? O, the wicked exchange, now God the King, let there not be another who drinks down faith to those who scare or serve, or compels to drink down by our example. For these things, we need wings and everything mentioned, so that the brothers wherever they are on earth, those bearing the genuine seal of the mother, may lament the sufferings of the mother; or to speak more truthfully, she is impassive and will remain so until the end, but those who choose the abyss instead of her bosom are to be mourned, those playing with the divine, alas, and seemingly due to unbelief, anything, if possible, first having entered badly into human life; and it stops with us, and often not even for a day, thinking no disaster will happen. As for us specifically, I mean myself and my defenders and allies and as many of them as time will show more steadfast and remaining with the truth until the cross and grave due to its kinship and virgin and pure disposition in all things, or at least most, it is not for us to be mourned and pitied by those who will examine our matters wisely, but rather a mixed feeling such as; sorrow for the brothers, joy for us and those united with us thus far, pity for the fallen, but joy for those standing securely, tears for the persecutors, joy for the persecuted, whom the Lord calls blessed and greatly encourages them to rejoice. "I saw the foolish and was grieved," he says, "because they kept not the words of the Lord; but I did not turn aside with those turned away from His testimonies; false witnesses rose against me, they asked me what I did not know, and they returned evil for good to me. Instead of loving me, they defamed me; they spread a net by cords for my feet; they almost ended me on earth, but I, looking to God, did not forsake His commands." I wanted to gather them to the only one who can save, and with what I had I tried, and I owed nothing more to do for the Lord's vineyard, which I did not do with Him both by writings and words, both public and private, without any break, but spending whole nights and days in continual care of such matters. Yet I set a guard at my mouth when the wicked stood against me and when they made the Lord's vineyard thorns, alas, instead of making grapes, which I expected with God. For it was not possible to extinguish a fire that had engulfed the whole forest; and then there was nothing but to be consumed further or to separate myself from further contention, keeping the sacred counsels which should not be trampled, being commanded to guard, and yielding a little like John, enlightening those needing light, and enduring trials for the truth, or whatever else may seem good to the better.

4.So having shouted much about the injustice of faith until there was still hope of persuading, then I was deafened and humbled and silenced to those who will not believe me if I speak, nor will they answer if I ask, nor will they testify if I speak falsely, which may it never be, and to those who will give blows to one speaking rightly. For what was the need to speak, once the vote was cast about the need to crucify my Jesus, and those who would not abide by the vote becoming the work of the executioner's hands? Although even in silence, they did not want to be entreated. They, therefore, not following any of those counsels and reproofs, which they pretended to be sensible and healthy, did their own things and what was likely permitted to do by God,

being such and caring so. As for me, I did not sit with a council of vanity, having said this to them before, but my foot stood in uprightness. For what is straighter than the guidance of the fathers, the right hand of the Lord holding me and leading me in His counsel and those of His children and receiving me with glory, as is fitting for the one taking refuge in Him and humbly asking for the release of the inherent blindness of the eyes of the soul? And now my tongue meditates on His righteousness, all the day His praise, free from senseless noises and accepting none but those sincerely pious in ancestral ways. For what is there for me in heaven, and from Him what I desired on earth; better is little with righteousness than much wealth of the wicked, which enlightened from there I have shaken off. One thing I asked from the Lord, this will I seek, to dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, as long as I am illuminated from His humanity and to visit His holy temple, in which genuinely seeking, one will find the Master dwelling and walking, placing a single pious soul above the whole world, or, greater, even suffering with a wandering one. Sitting quietly, I will declare what He taught me from my youth and until now, and as long as I breathe, as if speaking to all present men.

5.But You, Lord, who restore my inheritance to me, let the wickedness of sinners be ended by You, and establish the righteous, and do not drag me away with sinners nor destroy me with those who work iniquity. The worm Jacob cries out to You. The few of Israel, those written in life, the scattered sheep of Your Church and those in pain due to the fall of ancestral laws, some hiding like Nicodemus, others with much boldness. You are the true Shepherd, laying down Your life for the sheep, not dealing primarily with the salvation of their flesh and mortal nature, but delivering the immortal to the demons, the robbers of souls, who attack and kill them forever from their stability in faith; this is the doctrine and work of the hirelings, whose sheep are not their own, accustomed to limp on both feet both then and now; but rather caring for their souls, and their bodies and the matters concerning the body either guarding as an added grace, as You promised, or leaving to the arena of patience for the increase of crowns for those choosing and able to this well under You as their commander.

6.You, therefore, the good Shepherd, laying down Your life for the souls of the sheep, advising them not to fear those who kill the body, and thus commanding to seek first Your kingdom and righteousness, leaving the other things to Your care, take up the staff Yourself out of love for mankind, guiding, not punishing. For no one, as You see, among us knows or chooses or can the laws of heavenly shepherding. Take it up, then, not remembering our insolence, both past and recent; for if You shepherd us, we will lack nothing. You care for our souls, leading some back to the reverence of ancestral ordinances, who also justified humanity collectively out of love and freely, delighting us with the return of brothers, and saving our bodies from enemies. For it is impossible for those justified freely not to return to Your fear, or to lack any good when fearing You. No one has seen or will see one justified from within or receiving it as a gift ever left in trials; and if the reason is stronger to leave us to bear all these adversities, for the righteous and non-workers who believe, but the repentant of the fault; but You know to discern by winnowing not only the sinful and righteous, but also those led astray from the right path by wickedness and those simply persuaded by the perverters, and Your law lies in Your love, forgiving those who do not know what they do. And I have declared the greater, condemning those leading others into sin. If these things prevail over us, You have endured like a woman in labor and been silent; declare, then, and astound those who fight against us in souls or bodies, and from brokenness let them howl in spirit for the salvation of those wisely adhering to propriety

and those simply swept away. If You permit more by justice than pity, we are already in peril in all from our shepherds, and we have perished, we are nothing more.

7.Thus, guard my soul, O great King, long, rather the whole time, dedicated to the laws of the fathers and Yours, at least in terms of piety, even though encumbered with countless other evils, and to unite all men if possible to truth coming to us, not us partaking in their novelties, knowing the desire and what we continually entreat about this, You Yourself will reward. For me, these final and mourning words, having confessed and prayed about the rest; for it was necessary, and I could not hold myself back; I will need to be silent for a long time, waiting for Your judgment over all. No remains at all, but my mind, tongue, and hand, aiming at Your laws, Your will, have wearied in foretelling outward calamities from four years, while we feasted and still hoped to feast more, grievously neglecting You, foretelling the noose we must run into, dragged by the weight of incorrigible disbelief, not choosing and acting themselves, but the dwelling corruption working it, as Your Paul says; for actions must conform to habits and from the abundance of the heart everything is spoken and done; in the very peak of evils, where the poison was being compounded, there the saving medicine was mixed, present to the king and all the best ranks and promising much more than threats from You. Those things I did, You moving and placing me above my worth, that Your compassion be blameless, and I owe only for my sins, being blameless for the brothers' salvation, whose souls and bodies needed saving, obeying You and devoting themselves and binding with Your hand, and now, as I hastened to say, I remain silently according to Your law, awaiting any judgment You pass, looking only to You, enduring and marveling as truly wise and justly done, having no common life with these recent events and their authors, out of fear of You, great and common Father and King, and reverence for kin fathers, whom someone mad and unbelieving, daring to oppose the laws, not knowing anything.

REPORT OF THE ANTI-UNIONISTS

20. Report of the anti-unionists to the emperor against the Council of Florence (November 1452).

† When the legate arrived in Constantinople and was there, and the necessity of the union was imposed on the emperor, the undersigned gathered by royal decree several times in the palace called Xylalas and gave this response to the emperor; among whom were many who previously agreed in Florence and then repented; the others had either died or were in their churches. He himself was present in all those assemblies by royal decree and at the request of these most reverend fathers.

† Report to the Emperor by the Archbishops and Others.

1.† We boldly report to your mighty and holy kingdom, our holy master. Yesterday we gave our responses to the most illustrious leaders in an impromptu writing, so that they might report to your divine authority. Since your divine authority ordered our signatures to be added to the responses, we gathered with more mature counsel and ample time and composed this present report, to which we affix our names, not knowing the purpose of your holy kingdom, but nevertheless doing as commanded obediently, with a simple and unadorned heart. For what we respond and report, we do not hesitate to confirm with signatures, since both with and without signatures, they are confessedly our thoughts.

2.We report, then, that having been asked many times and having responded, we should no longer be troubled with the same and concerning the same questions; we too needed rest, and henceforth let silence advocate for the truth, providing a sufficient response through our actions. Since we know our silence to be dangerous to the simpler ones, who are likely to be scandalized by the turmoil in the church, and since we owe a reason for the faith in us according to that apostolic voice, and above all we must satisfy your divine authority in all fitting things, for these reasons we toil gladly and respond to what is asked of us.

3.Therefore, we value the peace of the church above all and so desire to see our church at peace again, that we endure many hardships for the sake of that peace, not doing anything great, but ready to lay down our lives whenever the time or need calls. What we do in works, we also boldly proclaim in words by the grace of Christ; for it is not hidden from us how great a good peace is in all things; and knowing how much greater and more precious the peace in spiritual goods is, we burn with much more desire for it. And if we seem to some to oppose the good of peace, rather the contrary, all our resistance is for the sake of true peace, hoping that He who governs peace will not overlook His church being so grievously troubled and torn apart, but will gather all into one true mind; and for such peace to come, we flee from the peace to which we are now called.

4.But concerning our resistance, that it is not for the division of the churches of Christ, but rather for the hope of true and genuine peace and the establishment of truth, and that we love the peace of the church, having many reasons and works, we refrain; for God above bears witness to our consciences. Since your divine authority seeks from us what are the things that scandalize us and make us depart from the decree of the Council of Florence and the peace made by it, there will be another time for these to be counted and examined, which we will say afterwards; but now we briefly say, leaving aside for now our other differences with the Latins, which are also not small.

5.In that decree, it is written that it is lawful and reasonable to add "and from the Son" in the creed. This is not true; and even if we were carried away and signed, as many did, we could not make lawful what is

unlawful, as long as we mean to keep the existing laws; we came together there, judging according to the existing laws.

6.Furthermore, it is written that in the phrase "through the Son," the preposition "through" means that the Son is considered by the Greeks to be the cause of the procession of the Holy Spirit. This is not true, because according to the Greeks, the Son is not the cause of the Holy Spirit, and the preposition "through" does not imply this. None of the Greek teachers say that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, or that "through the Son" implies causation; rather, they say that the Son is not the cause, and that the Father alone is the cause. It was not permissible for us to say, nor is it permissible to say, what our teachers do not say, nor should we obey anyone else if we say something other than what our teachers say.

7.Furthermore, the Latins say that the Son is the origin of the Holy Spirit. We do not accept this; we believe that the Father alone is the origin of both the Son and the Spirit, including no other divine hypostasis in this predicate of origin in this proposition.

8.Furthermore, they say that the Spirit subsists or has its existence from the Son. We hear our teachers saying that the Spirit subsists from the Father, and does not have its existence from the Son, but proceeds from the Father through the Son due to the unity of the divine essence, and that "through Christ," that is, through the Son of God, it is granted to creation naturally and essentially, but does not exist inherently in Him by participation.

9.And for these reasons we say that as long as that decree remains, which condemns our being carried away and makes us accountable to God's judgment and binds the Eastern Church to a foreign and unknown doctrine of faith, we will have no union with the Latins; and if anyone wishes to hold our confession made under duress as valid and supports it, we neither say nor will ever say that he belongs to our church, as he holds foreign and unaccustomed doctrines; and we all say this together, both those who signed and those who did not sign.

10.Since your divine authority also requires from us how true and firm peace may be established, and how the scandals among us may be resolved to the glory of God, we report that if a council is held here again with freedom, the deficiency of that previous council would be rectified; for this has often happened in the church before; and also, if a partial council that made the addition worked to fill the deficiency, as the Latins say, of the unalterable creed, what prevents an ecumenical council now from properly correcting the deficiency and disturbance of the previous council? But it is easy to convene a council if the Latins only wish, and not hold on to the confession made under duress as if grasping Hermes' gift; we will show this if we enter into the discussion on this matter; and it is evident to all that the matter is straightforward; there will be only one difficulty, the unwillingness to do it. Who does not know that this is necessary? It is clear what the most holy patriarchs think and write about the union made, and all the Eastern Church; if we intend to resolve the scandals without such a council, no one will heed us anymore, nor will the good of peace shine on all our affairs. Therefore, those concerned with the peace of the church should convene a canonical council; which can be held here through a legate; and that council will either annul or confirm the previous actions and will fully provide for the ecclesiastical peace with God's help; rather, it is necessary to hold a council, and otherwise it is impossible to correct the church; no one can justly hold us accountable before the council if it has no ecumenical authority or our consent; and moreover, we do not reject the conclusion made by others,

but we deny what we concluded badly ourselves, and those who did not make that conclusion, we justly reject it even more, as those who made it now deny it.

11.Since the matter of economy has also been discussed, we report on it as well, that the administration of the church is when it is in agreement and not at odds with itself and has its authority and freedom, not for one or two or four, nor for any ordinary persons, but for the archbishops, as the holy Eulogius of Alexandria said; for if some of us accept the administration without the church returning to its freedom, those will not be administering, but will be transferred to the Latin church and doctrine; for then the correct administration is used, when the doctrine of piety is not harmed at all, as the aforementioned Eulogius said. Therefore, if the holy patriarch assures us that he holds the same opinion with us and our conscience, then we will gather together and consider the administration; and if we agree on anything together with God, we will write to the most holy patriarchs; and if they agree with our revealed opinion, it will be done, since we cannot differ from those most holy patriarchs in anything nor act without their opinion. We boldly report these things to your holy kingdom; and for its order, we sign.

† The original document bore the following signatures:

† Makarios of Nicomedia.
† Ignatios of Tarnovo.
† Damianos of Moldovlachia.
† Theognostos of Perge and Attaleia.
† The humble metropolitan Akakios of Derkoi.
† The great chartophylax and archdeacon Balsamon.
† The great ecclesiarch deacon Sylvester Syropoulos.
† The hegumen of the Studium Theodotos hieromonk.
† Joseph hieromonk and hegumen of Kosmidion.
† Isidore the least hieromonk and spiritual father.
† The hegumen of the Pantocrator Gerontios hieromonk.
† The hegumen of the Peribleptos Kyrillos hieromonk.
† The least of hieromonks and spiritual fathers Neophytos.
† Germanos hieromonk of Saint Basil.
† The hieromnemon deacon Theodoros Agallianos.

NOTE ON THE GREEK SIGNATORIES

21. Note on the Greek signatories of the decree of union of Florence.

† Those present at this Florentine council, both those of the priestly order and others, whether they signed or not, are these who are listed here.

1.Patriarch Joseph: He died before the union and the drafting of the decree, having only given an opinion when the question of the statements of the Europeans was raised, whether they should be accepted as genuine, as proposed by the Latins, or not; and his opinion is preserved, though not entirely free of wrongdoing; but as most say, it was later altered: ……. he did not sign.

2.Antonios of Herakleia …… repented. { caretakers of Alexandria

3.The great protosynkellos Gregory: This great protosynkellos became patriarch after Metrophanes, and he persecuted the church; Mark of Ephesus, being our exarch …… did not sign: {caretakers of Antioch.

4.Isidore of Russia: He was honored by the Latins with the rank of cardinal later: The caretaker of Sardis, the caretaker of Jerusalem, died before the union, having appointed in his place the caretaker of Monemvasia; ……. he did not sign.

5.The one from Trebizond; …… repented.

6.Metrophanes of Cyzicus; …… he became patriarch out of simplicity; and towards the end of his life, wanting to correct his ways, was not allowed to openly show his repentance by those Latins around him.

7.Bessarion of Nicaea;……he was honored as a cardinal among the Latins, and entirely adopted their customs, offering unleavened bread and eating meat.

8.Makarios of Nicomedia; …… repented.

9.Ignatios of Tarnovo; …… repented.

10.The one from Amasia; ……. repented.

11.The one from Stavroupolis; …… did not sign.

12.The one from Moldovlachia; …… repented.

13.The one from Mytilene; …… died violently in heresy.

14.The one from Lacedaemonia; …… repented.

15.The one from Melnik; …… repented.

16.The one from Drama; …… repented.

17.The one from Rhodes; ……. repented.

18.The one from Ganos; ……. repented.

19.The one from Drista; ……. repented.

20.The one from Anchialos; …… repented.

NOTE ON THE GREEK SIGNATORIES

21.The great sakellarios; ……. repented.

22.The great skeuophylax; …… was suddenly taken by death, having begun to repent.

23.The great chartophylax; ……. repented.

24.The great ecclesiarch; ……. repented.

25.The protekdikos; …… repented.

26.The bishop of Russia; …… repented.

27.The hegumen of Pantocrator; ……

28.The hegumen of Kale; ……. repented.

29.The hegumen of Saint Basil; ……

30.The hegumen of Saint Paul, Pachomios; …… repented.

31.The caretakers of the Athonites, Moses and Dorotheos, hieromonks; ……. repented.

EXCERPT FROM THE THIRD THEOLOGICAL DISSERTATION

22. Excerpt from the Third Theological Dissertation.

† The same author. From the third theological work: before the fall.

1.Under this title, in the two autographs: Parisinus 1292, f. 246-246", and Pantocratorinus 127, f. 114-115" (cf. Migne, P.G., 160, 694 B-696 A), there is an excerpt from no. 6: Examination of some passages of the Latin Fathers on the procession of the Holy Spirit, printed above, on p. 49-63. This excerpt comprises page 53, line 20, to page 55, line 27, and corresponds to the already printed text: Beginning: 0ὐ γὰρ (instead of οὐδὲ) ἀνάγκη, διότι ὁ ἅγιος Αὐγουστίνος οὕτως εἶπε, καὶ οὕτως ἔχειν. The end differs slightly, with some patristic citations given in a different order. We reproduce this final part based on these two manuscripts, which show no variants between them:

2.Gregory of Nyssa also seems clearly to hold the view of restoration and the end of punishment, even if Maximus the Confessor, doing well, attempts to modify the harshness of his expression by some means for the pious mind; he did this caring for the simpler ones, so that they would not be led astray by the prevailing opinion of his holiness, and serve falsehood, having no way to honor him in other matters while appearing disobedient in this part, paying attention rather to the holy scriptures, the multitude of teachers, and common sense, than to Gregory alone. Augustine himself, writing to Jerome, says: "I have learned to give this honor only to the canonical books of scripture, so that none of those who wrote them are believed without error; but the others I read in such a way that, although they excel in holiness or teaching, I do not consider them true because they wrote so or thought so, but I am persuaded more by those who can prove the truth either by other writers, or by canonical scriptures and demonstrative arguments; for in this catalog we bishops do not refuse to say that apostolic saying; And if in anything you think otherwise, God will reveal even this to you." The same in his letter to the Victor of the victorious: "Do not want, he says, brother, against so many divine testimonies, so bright, so undeniable, and against those commonly given by the foremost examiners of anything, to raise objections and calumnies from our writings, or from any of the bishops, like Hilary or Cyprian; for the reverence of the canonical scriptures and those commonly examined is one thing, but if any of the bishops has thought otherwise than the truth requires (for it happens even to the most approved), it is permitted to think otherwise than him, but to prefer the canonical scriptures and the opinion of the more numerous and more esteemed."

ON THE HOLY ENTRANCES

23. On the Holy Entrances. Against the Azymes.

† Concerning the sacred entrances. From the writings before the fall.

1.Since you inquire from us, dearest, about the difference concerning the holy entrances made from the sacred prothesis to the holy altar, we will explain to you what the teachers of the church think; we will neither narrate their accounts now, nor expound their sayings, being very mindful of brevity. If any of the older or newer ones, not paying attention to the others, chose a personal opinion about these matters, which happens to some in various ways and about many issues, he should not be blamed, but the more precise and careful ones should be added to. This is the wise and divine law of the church.

2.The holy Church of Christ ordered the priests to use three entrances from the prothesis to the altar with sacred propriety; one in the evening hymn, and two in the holy liturgy, of which the evening one represents the prophetic proclamation of the divine economy made through the inspired prophets, preparing us for the greater reception to come the next day; for the time of those prophets was a type and shadow, night, whereas the day and light belong to grace. Therefore, the priests make this entrance with the censer remaining, in one way, as incense was then the most sacred of the offerings and sacrifices to God, and in another way, as the Holy Spirit both signifies breath and fragrance, which then inspired the prophets, foreseeing and proclaiming God's providence.

3.Of the entrances in the holy mystagogy during the day, the first signifies the proclamation of John; for this was during the time of light and grace; therefore, the priest makes the entrance with the holy gospel, representing the first evangelization and the first proclamation of the divine economy, which the forerunner of Christ made then by divine will. I say first evangelization, as it was then made openly and publicly; for the former were done privately and for the sake of individual goods, which would also be revealed in time for the glory of truth. The second entrance represents the coming of the Lord into the world, or rather His manifestation in the world. For He came being conceived in the most pure virgin, then His birth, upbringing, and life were works of His coming into this world; He was not yet visible, but hidden from many, thus agreeing with the divine purpose of the economy; He was manifested, allowing John's testimony and proclamation to be the beginning, along with other divine testimonies and manifestations; this first manifestation of our Lord became the beginning of the other unveilings; those unveilings provided the cause for His passion, death, and burial, which He greatly willed, and for this reason, He came in the flesh, rather for the sake of human salvation, which was the ultimate end of all those economies.

4.The three entrances are also made from the holy prothesis to the holy altar, as the prothesis represents heaven, from which the other prophets were inspired in the time of the type, and from where the command came through them concerning the future divine economy; from there also was inspired the forerunner and precursor of the Savior who was to appear, the crown of the prophets, even if our Savior came from heaven, as was said, by conception, birth, and subsequent life, before He willed to be manifested; and the holy altar represents the world, in which and for which these things were done.

5.Therefore, as the second entrance signifies the coming or manifestation of the Lord, we attribute great honor to it with much reverence. Hence, when the doors of the prothesis are opened, those who understand well pray thus: "You descended from on high, O compassionate One; You accepted burial for three days, to

free us from passions, our life and resurrection, glory to You." Then they add: "We worship You, our Lord Jesus Christ, and glorify the economy which You established through great goodness, sent from God the Father, and having come into the world for the betterment and salvation of human nature." The things done at the holy table after the second entrance signify those that happened at the time of the Passion, so that the divine altar does not only represent the type of the world through the said things but more specifically that most sacred table, on which the divine body and blood were distributed to the disciples by our Lord, covered under the accidents of bread and wine, and besides these, also the holy tomb, which covered the divine body for three days. Therefore, as all these things are represented by the second entrance to the holy table, we render devout and humble veneration, and through it to Christ, the cause of all good things; and other considerations, though lesser, also add to this honor; for we honor that blessed matter, as consecrated to God and as the preparation and occasion for the supernatural and heavenly food, since a living body will become instead of bread, and blood instead of wine, transformed solely by the power of Christ, and we also honor the one ministering the mystery, who, coming out of the prothesis with the fitting propriety for holy things, is the guide of God's presence in the world through the entrance, and the assistant of the wonderworking in the holy table to the wonderworking one who is to be present. Therefore, we beseech to attain his prayers, and after giving the mentioned thanksgiving to our Lord, we thus address him serving close by: "Remember me also, holy master, in the holy sacrifice which you offer and minister, for the whole world and me, the sinner." And he immediately responds: "May the Lord remember you in His kingdom and all of you." With so many causes combined, we render this devout reverence with uncovered heads, of which the first and foremost cause is that this entrance signifies the coming of the divine Word into the world from heaven through the flesh and the manifestation of His works. But in the manifestation of the mystery and the heavenly gift to us, we render due honor to the outward signs; and we increase the inward reverence with the greatest addition, as is fitting, and we inflame the soul with the heat of divine fear and faith, with the sacrificer proclaiming: "With the fear of God and faith draw near," and we magnify the manifestation of God with hymns and confessions, seeing the Master Himself present; for He is indeed our master in His true body and blood, though covered under the accidents of bread and wine, with the words of economy fitting this wondrous miracle. Therefore, we honor the entrance for the said reasons, and we render due honor with the necessary addition in the manifestation of the mystery; nor is the reverent honor fitting for the manifestation of the mystery diminished by what is done in reverence to the entrance. To this manifestation also the honor of the entrance contributes, as it is done for its sake, and the end of the whole liturgy is the descent of heavenly grace upon the table, through which the supernatural and exceedingly wondrous mystery is accomplished paradoxically, and being accomplished, it is revealed for veneration or even participation to those present for its sake, just as then first, the beginning was the coming from heaven into the world through the flesh and the manifestation of the Son of God; the end is the transfer of believers to eternal life; and everyone who eats the Lord's flesh and drinks His blood receives eternal life, as it must be eaten and drunk; our Master Himself has said this. Therefore, the learned and those knowing the divine things, as they reasonably attribute honor to the entrances, so they honor the manifestation of the mystery of the greatest and last entrance with the posture of bodies and the disposition of souls; but if some simpler ones, not knowing to distinguish these things, attend reverently and faithfully to all the sacred things done there, through them they dedicate their faith to

our master Christ, for whose sake they are present and come, they are not to be blamed for this, especially if Christ would not reject those who believed thus.

6.Let this suffice concerning the holy entrances. But we will add something necessary and graceful. Some Latins, coming to our churches to see and learn our customs, paying more attention to the multitude rather than the few and learned, report when they leave that the Greeks honor the gifts offered to God by the priest, the blessed bread and wine, equally or even more than the heavenly gift, the body and blood of Christ, and saying these things scandalize many; they also question some of our people. But instead of wisely resolving the confusion and silencing those who slander our church, they rather increase and confirm the trouble by their responses; they use the example of those voted into some office or authority, saying that they are honored even before performing their duties; but this example has no relevance to the matter in question; for the one voted was not ordinary but honorable even before being voted, hence he was rightly judged to be advanced to a greater office, and he is of the same essence both before being voted and after being voted; the order is an external accident. But bread and wine, even if blessed, have no relation to the Lord's body and blood, into which they are supernaturally and paradoxically transformed.

7.Others say to them that the bread and wine are types of the body and blood of Christ when they are brought to the holy table, and as types, they are honored with the honor of the prototypes; but they are neither types of what has not yet been transformed from the heavenly transubstantiation, nor, when they are transubstantiated, are they types; but they are the very true body and blood. Then they speak of some completion, as if they were incomplete before, and that it is no different to honor them while incomplete and before being completed. But this is not appropriate; for the completion from incompleteness happens in the same form; we say that a man, being incomplete in body at first, later becomes complete as he grows in age, and also becomes complete in soul, acquiring the natural and proper beauty through experience and learning, increasing gradually over time; and he is a man, whether incomplete, being completed, or completed; therefore, completion in these things is according to nature; but bread, as long as it is bread, is not an incomplete body; otherwise, the body would still be perfect bread afterward.

8.I, in response to many Latins inquiring about these things, first laid down the above said about the second entrance and the heavenly and supernatural manifestations with greater diligence, so that they, being sufficiently calmed in mind through these explanations, would reproach themselves, both for not paying attention to the few and learned instead of the multitude in examining sacred matters, and for not coming later to those who could properly resolve and end the confusion, and for promising thereafter not to blame us. And this was sufficient for me; but making an excuse to add a more splendid explanation about the matters at hand, to justly refute them concerning what they improperly do in the sacred mysteries, I said: "O people, it does not escape us, as has been shown to you now, the order of the blessed bread and wine compared to the incomparable excellence of the Master's body and blood, nor are we ignorant of the work of the earthly minister, compared to our Lord Jesus, the heavenly wonderworker, nor that the things then done at the divine table were the beginning and evidence of the things now done at the sacred tables. For then, the disciples first gave the bread and wine; but the Master, taking and blessing both, by His blessing transubstantiated them, and gave not bread to eat but His most holy body, nor wine to drink but gave His blood in the cup. And now, the preparation for the expected heavenly gift is done by the priest who prepares and offers; but the one who changes the substance of the bread into the substance of the body and the wine

into the substance of the blood is our Lord Himself from heaven, present everywhere and filling all things as the Word of God and God and Creator of all that exists. O the most supernatural beneficence! O philanthropy surpassing all understanding, and wonderworking surpassing the old and new wonders, not only in the paradox of the transubstantiation and its supernaturality but also in its continual presence in countless altars."

9.These things also about baptism, in his catechetical discourses, the divine Chrysostom shows. He says thus: "It is not only the priest who touches the head, but also the hand of Christ, and this is shown by the very words of the one baptizing; for he does not say, 'I baptize so-and-so,' but 'so-and-so is baptized,' showing that he is only a minister of grace and offers his hand because he is appointed by the Spirit for this; but the one who provides the grace from above is God, filling all things, the indivisible Trinity." Thus, the divine Chrysostom speaks about the divine baptism and confirms the ancient custom of the church, even if you have changed this and say not 'so-and-so is baptized,' but 'I baptize so-and-so'; what the teacher says about divine baptism also extends to the mystery of the Eucharist with much greater prominence; for in this mystery much more clearly and eminently everything belongs to the grace of our Lord alone. And it is evident from the very words of the one ministering the mystery; first, he recalls with great reverence the Lord who knows all things, His words then spoken to the disciples, and then he adds a prayer for the present request to be fulfilled and says: "Make this bread Your body, and make this wine Your blood," as if saying: "I have prepared the bread on this holy table and similarly the blessed wine, appointed by You and Your goodwill only for this; but You alone can supernaturally transubstantiate them and transform them into Your most holy body and blood, for which transubstantiation this preparation has been offered by me, by Your command for us to do what is ours, but to undoubtedly expect the supernatural and most wonderful gift from Your promise."

10.But you have not only altered the ancient order of baptism to something both personal and proper but also similarly changed the great mystery of the Eucharist, using the abolished azymes for the sacrifice. Listen, then, to what the great Chrysostom himself says in his sermon for Great Thursday: "Where do you want us to prepare for You to eat the Passover? It was evening then." Then he adds, "Which Passover? Not ours, but the Jewish one for now; for the disciples prepared that one, but this one, ours, He prepared Himself; not only did He prepare it, but He also became the Passover for us." And further, he says, "Therefore, at the same table, both Passovers are made, the typical one and the true one; and Christ first approved the typical Passover and then added the true one. The Jewish Passover was first, but with the coming of the sun, let the lamp no longer appear; with the arrival of truth, let the shadow now cease." And after a bit, he says, "Do you see how unclean the azymes are now? How unlawfully celebrated is the feast? How it is not the Jewish Passover anymore? It was the Jewish Passover then, but now it has ceased, and the spiritual Passover has come, which He delivered then." Then he adds, "For what reason did He complete the Passover? To show through all things, even until the last day, that He is not contrary to the law. How then, if they were reclining, did they eat the Passover? For it was not necessary to eat while reclining; what, then, can we say? That after eating that, they reclined for the rest of the meal, and He not only ate the new Passover but also said, 'With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you,' meaning the mysterious one, the foretoken of His own death and the life of the world." These things the divine Chrysostom says explicitly; the same is said by all the teachers. Therefore, friends, following the teachers and adhering to the ancient canon of the church, we

believe that the supernatural mystery of the Eucharist happens only at the table, with our Lord from heaven transubstantiating the bread into His own flesh and the wine into His blood, and this being the end of the liturgy; all the prior preparations are for this. Hence, when the priest reveals, we attend to it as if to our very Lord shown with all reverence, fear, and faith; and before the great entrance, we offer devout veneration for the mentioned reasons.

11.We do not use the abolished and ceased azymes for the sacrifice, but we offer bread, just as the disciples first offered at the new and first Passover; and the difference between azymes and bread is clear, like the type and the truth. The Master not only observed the azyma before making the true sacrifice but also was circumcised and baptized with John's baptism. He did these things on Himself, wanting to fulfill the law justly, which He had given from heaven to Moses and the others, fittingly for those times; but for us, His children, He ceased these things, wisely and divinely transforming them to suit the time of truth; and He showed us to offer bread instead of azyma, and to be marked by baptism instead of circumcision. Therefore, we attend to baptism in this way, as the Lord Himself with His own hand releasing us from ancestral sin through baptism, as if we are baptized into His death; therefore, we immerse thrice in the waters, as our Master was physically in the grave for three days, nor do we pour water on us thrice; for this does not belong to the legal baptism of the Lord, which was a type of this new baptism (for He went up from the water, showing that He had first gone down into it), nor does it belong to the three-day burial, nor is it appropriate at all to the term of baptism." Having said this and dismissing them with honor, they departed with a devout mind and demeanor. To God, the giver of all good things, be glory forever. Amen.

Additional notes.

1.In his homily on John 1:25, concerning baptism, the divine Chrysostom says: "There are indeed other mysterious words; but for now, from many, I will tell you one. What is this? Divine symbols are accomplished in it. A tomb and death, resurrection and life, all happen simultaneously. Just as in a tomb, we immerse our heads in the water, burying the old man below and submerging all to the end, then, raising our heads, the new man rises again; just as it is easy to be baptized and to raise, so it is easy for God to bury the old man and to reveal the new."

2.Blessed Peter of Antioch, in his letter to the president of Venice: "To partake of azymes is to partake of the old sacrifice, not of the new covenant; for Christ did not take azyma, but bread, and blessed it and said: 'Take, eat'; and the great Paul said: 'I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus Christ, on the night He was betrayed, took bread and gave thanks, broke it, and said: take, eat.' Those who wish to eat azymes because Christ did, let them also be circumcised, for Christ was as well."

3.From the letters of Leo, Archbishop of the second Justinian: "Those who observe the Sabbaths with azymes and call themselves Christians are neither pure Jews nor Christians."

II. Anti-Barlaamite Polemic.

1. Against the Partisans of Acindynus. Regarding a Passage of Theodore Graptos (1445).

† From the most wise and learned and teacher of sacred theology, Kyrios Georgios Scholarius, to Kyrios Ioannis the Royal, who asked about the saying of the blessed Theodore Graptos, from which the vain-minded Acindynists are making a disturbance; and also concerning what the same say about the Holy Spirit.

1.Much thanks to you for your favor towards us, dearest of friends, which you reveal with many true evidences, especially by trusting us with the greatest matters; such are those concerning the sacred faith, about which you have constantly studied and labored, even if you have not been able to present yourself as one of those knowing, since among us there are not many who are learned, as I would say, our common misfortune having taken this from us along with other things, but you have seemed and are one of those sufficiently educated. Many among us, having this habit to show, have also taken up the appropriate zeal and boldly stand against the rashness of the opposers; the ability to judge accurately about what those men innovate comes from being well educated, as Aristotle indeed believes; not yielding and enduring everything for the ancestral glory, driven by sincere love towards God; also being firmly persuaded that the opposers neither think nor do anything sound, not only from what they themselves rightly accomplish but also from where those men err. For they know all those on this new theology, from whom they say they were persuaded and whom to discard what they previously held, understanding neither, nor being able to judge them; what those men boast of discovering is no better than poetic myths, not to say worse, like the tales spun by old women while spinning wool; what they dare against their own ancestors and their faith, erring far from pardon; considering doctrines and faith as secondary to human honor, all together, those who choose thus and those who agree with them, surpassing every impiety as they might say. The educated among us and the noble descendants of our excellent ancestors know and proclaim these things, and they suffer for them, enduring the resentment of and defending against those of the other side; they know that it is a kind of honor for those who are with the truth, chosen straight from Christ, to be tested in such persecutions; which would not be, if not for the power to harm resting with those preferring the worse. And for this reason, they use the malice and power of others to show themselves blessed, adopting the courage befitting men and Christians. Those who hope to change human opinions by force are indeed impious, trying to enslave with oppressive necessities and certain scarecrows what God has left free among men; and besides this, they show their own inconsistency, being among those who are neither free nor able to endure coercion, giving up the belief in their soul due to fear or some hope.

2.Although I have long been far from the study of such matters, diverted by my inclination towards certain pursuits, especially since the need for speaking is no longer present; and moreover, I am aware that I have no advantage over you educated ones, which I know the opposers also judge about me; for both reasons I would have passed over your question in silence, except that I thought none of these excuses had any weight with you, for you are evident in the foremost matters. Therefore, you will not think to blame, if it happens that I speak less than you hoped concerning the subject and your expectations, and to take some risk to offer you what is necessary, as you might demand as duty.

3.Since there is no escape for me, willingly or unwillingly, I undertake this task for you. Hence, for those who do not care for either the discourse or everything in it, if they care to pursue and harm us for these matte rs, it does not concern us what they do or intend to do, but it concerns us to do everything necessary, even if some danger follows. We must proclaim in the light and on the housetops what we have been taught quietly a nd mystically; fearing nothing from those who can harm the body but have no power over the soul, as our Ma ster teaches and Paul exemplifies by his own example, when the Spirit testified to him, saying that bonds and afflictions awaited him in every city; yet all these seemed light to him, "for I count not my life of any value," h e says. Let nothing of our enemies seem burdensome to our Master and the chief of His disciples, nor to us w ho wish to obey; but as I said, little care for them, I grant you what you desire for the reasons mentioned. I wi ll not say much; for they say a few words are sufficient for the wise, and those who present the truth can deal with few words and saying simple and just things are dismissed; but those who teach otherwise think they can hide their falsehood in the multitude of words, like some criminal fugitive hidden under layers and heaps of cl othing and filth, hoping thus to escape the seekers.

4.You have asked two things, if I remember correctly; one is, how we should respond to these proclaimed Acindynites, rather Acindynists, when they cite the saying of the blessed Theodore Graptos, in which he see ms to reject the distinction between essence and energy in God as heretical, as if he himself believed these to be the same; and the other is, that you say the same people are puzzled about the Holy Spirit, wondering why, if it is the same Spirit of the Father and the Son, as Scripture teaches, we confess it proceeds from the Father but deny it has its cause from the Son; for it seems, if it is the same in both and in the same way, it should pro ceed from or subsist from both. Concerning the second, we will first say a few things briefly and then turn m ore fully to the other, which is more urgent.

5.It is sufficient for resolving this question for a pious soul that Scripture proclaims the Spirit proceeds fr om the Father, but never from the Son, calling it the Spirit of the Son and the Spirit of Christ, not dividing th e Spirit, teaching it to be no less in the Son, but rather in the Father; but showing the procession from the Fat her together with the unity of essence, and only indicating the natural kinship with the Son by calling it the Sp irit of the Son. For what reason does it call the Holy Spirit the Spirit of God, the Spirit from God, and the Spi rit from the Father, but nowhere the Spirit from the Son, only the Spirit of the Son? Not for nothing does it d istinguish thus.

6.Therefore, since the Scripture distinguishes so, it is bold of us to think there is no difference between saying "the Spirit of the Son" and "the Spirit from the Son." Rather, we must adhere to the scriptural terms and follow this path of faith until the perfect understanding is revealed to us. We are neither more pious than Pope Agatho nor more capable of interpreting Scripture, who, in his letter to the kings, wished and strove always to hold what was established by the fathers of the Sixth Council, that nothing decreed canonically be lessened or changed, but that these be kept unaltered in both words and meanings. The great Basil says, "It is of pious mind to revere the things unspoken in the Scriptures and to attribute them to the Holy Spirit." And again, he says, "For that man (he means Eunomius) would not say that it is lawful for him to invent certain innovations and distortions of names in the matters concerning such great things; for if we must give account for every idle word in the day of judgment, how much more for innovating in matters of such great importance? For we are taught by the divine Word to speak of God and the Father as fitting, but this is not suitable for the Only-Begotten; through what the Holy Spirit has kept silent, He has shown." The great

Athanasius before them says, "We exhort you, as we also exhort ourselves, to keep the handed-down faith and to turn away from profane novelties of speech; for the one seeking things above himself is at risk, but the one holding to the handed-down things is safe." These three witnesses suffice to show that even without a teacher expounding this scriptural distinction to us, we ought to preach what the Scripture says and remain silent on what it has kept silent; and to keep to what it has defined, that is, to confess the Holy Spirit of the Father and from the Father, but not to say from the Son, only of the Son, for thus it has distinguished.

7.But now, the greater one is the great Basil, who is indeed the chief of our good witnesses. In his letter to his brother, he follows this particular text closely, as a good and grateful disciple, and even foreseeing the boldness of some and removing it from afar. For he says thus: "And he who spoke only of the Spirit included also in his confession the one who is not Spirit (for it is of Christ) and the one from whom it is (for it is from God, as the Apostle says)." And the divine Chrysostom: "The Spirit of God and the Spirit, he says, is the one from God, and lest we, having heard the Spirit of God, think that it is called Spirit of God by appropriateness, Scripture introduces the Holy Spirit and adds to 'of God' the 'from God'. One thing is 'of God' and another 'from God'. Accordingly, the holy John of Damascus: 'We do not say the Spirit is from the Son, he says, but we call it the Spirit of the Son.'"

8.Therefore, if they simply and everywhere exhort us to adhere to the words of Scripture, avoiding profane novelties, and they themselves claim to do so, and indeed do so; in the present matter, they more clearly observe the law they have established and distinguish for us 'from God' and 'of God', both of which are said concerning the Spirit, so that the Spirit of the Son and the Spirit from the Son are different, one of which is said, the other is not, because it does not exist. For if such a title were appropriate for it, Basil says, it would not have been kept silent by the Spirit. Therefore, who, desiring to be pious, will bring in human thoughts to unite and improperly connect what divine Scripture has most rightly distinguished, and the teachers following its laws so clearly distinguish, and blame those who do not wish to heed it? Or who, stirring such doubts, where the authority of Scripture stands firm for those wishing to be pious, will not seem to despise it?

9.By God and from where do we have it, that the Spirit is from the Father and of the Father? Is it from human reasonings? From where have we believed that it is also from the Son? Was it from trusting natural arguments? By no means; but the teaching of the Spirit, being more persuasive than all, preaches to us these doctrines every day. This, then, would not have spared us even this, if it were true; but since it clearly defines thus, and says the Spirit is of the Son, but does not say from the Son, we ought not to meddle further nor, aiming at something beyond reason, think we are doing something pious and just. For if here we trust the guidance of the Word, why should we not trust it in other matters, as by this we would endanger the entire faith? It is necessary for those who trust natural reason exceedingly to suffer everything; likewise, the Spirit being from the Father, and God being Father and Son and Spirit, and all these things will become frivolous and vanish before human reasonings like dust before the wind; for nothing of what faith presents to us is common with those things.

10.We, therefore, neither believe nor say that the Spirit is from the Son; for Scripture does not teach us this; but we say the Spirit of the Son, as naturally pertaining to Him, because both Scripture and Basil hold this, and we consider it sufficient to counter the opposers with the response from Scripture and the aforementioned teachers. So that they do not appear to say something dignified through which they are

perplexed, observe the absurdity of their reasoning. Since, they say, the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of the Father and the Son and is one and the same in both, since it is substantively, why then is the Son not also a cause of it as the Father is? They seem to intertwine such a sequence: The Holy Spirit is one and the same of the Father and the Son and is substantively in them; therefore, both establish it, or both are its causes. What then prevents one from demanding this in many other cases, which are said to be the same in both, such as divinity is one and the same in both and likewise. Therefore, the Father and the Son will both be the cause of this, since it is the same in both. And the same reasoning will apply to all common things. This, however, is not true in any of them, but the opposite is true, that though the same things are in both without variation, still the Father alone is the cause of all these to the Son, and the Son is not the cause of any of these to Himself. Accordingly, the Son is not the cause of His own Spirit.

11.For this reason, then, the Father alone is said to be the source of the super-essential divinity by Dionysius, as from that Hypostasis the other divine Hypostases and all that pertains to them originate, and each of them is known to exist as from a cause, and all the same things pertain to the Father, one by generation, the other in another way, which He has causelessly and originally. Consider also this. The same Spirit is of the Father and the Son, and is in both. They say the Son is the cause of it. Thus, the Son is, according to them, the cause of the paternal Spirit, if it is one, as was said before, and no more of what is in Him than of what is in the Father. But what is a cause of something inherent in one of the simples is also a cause of that in which this exists. Such a thing is the Father; for He is simple and absolutely simple. Thus, the Son will be the cause of the Father in this respect, being the cause of the Spirit in Him. This should not be feared concerning the Father. It is necessary, therefore, to believe that He is the cause of the Spirit in the Son, and of the Son Himself. Do you see the precipices that reasoning brings those who are not cautious about it? Do you see how dangerous it is to claim that the Holy Spirit is also from the Son because it is said to be of the Son?

12.Thus, as it seems, the teachers of the church, being cautious, say that the Spirit is of the Son, but do not say from the Son; and before them, the divine Scripture, as we have previously said, says that the Spirit is of the Son just as of the Father, but does not say from the Son, though it says from God and from the Father; hence, it is everything but true that the Holy Spirit is what it is from the Son as from a cause and through the Son, not only because of the aforementioned reasons, but also because it does not agree with any of the divine concepts or the assumptions of faith. It contradicts all and agrees with some newer hypotheses which human reason provided to those who first conceived this doctrine; for those men had to practice the premises of novelty. But we do not recognize those assumptions as being part of the ancient and notable theology, and we have many reasons to criticize them, even if some of our own out of extreme ignorance and simplicity readily accepted them; and what they interpret against the words of the blessed Damascene and some words of the European fathers and our Cyril, they misinterpret, falsely accusing those holy teachers, which is not difficult to resolve and refute; this indeed has been sufficiently labored upon in two books. Those matters, however, do not serve the current need; but as much as was fitting, it has been said, that for the reason the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son, it is not necessary to say it is from the Son, because being of the Father, it is from the Father, which they themselves acknowledge; and how absurdly their opinion is connected, besides not necessarily following.

13.Hear also about the saying of the blessed Theodore successively, about which you particularly inquire eagerly; we must first present the saying to you. Thus, he says: "Not by prophetic foreknowledge and grace, heaven forbid, did the Lord act and predict to His disciples, as if seeing the future; but being God and present to all, nor by mere action according to some who have foolishly theorized in the past, did He empty the heavens of His own Hypostasis during the times of divine incarnation, being substantially among us, and by action and worth alone towards God and the Father, since they placed a different substance and another action, just as they would in things perceived bodily, thus indeed they also placed upon the divine Word, which is forbidden to the pious. For in the simple and incorporeal there is no difference, for these must not be distinguished from each other, lest the over-simple be thought of as composite; nor would the divine substance ever be inactive, nor the action unsubstantial. For my Father, He says, works until now, and I work. For the former signifies His super-essential being and always the same being and unwaveringly standing in His own permanence and stability; the latter signifies the provident progressions in things existing and the unspeakable economies, by which proceeding unalterably from His own simplicity, He works the providence of all things. But if He truly conducted Himself among men as a real man, He did not leave the paternal bosoms, and the Father was in Him, and He was in the Father."

14.Such then is the statement. But how this and other statements of the teachers should be interpreted (this must precede the others), the great Athanasius excellently lays down in his first discourse against the Arians. For he says: "As in all divine Scripture, it is necessary and proper, so here, as the Apostle said at the appropriate time, to faithfully understand both the person and the example for which it was written, so that the reader may not, out of ignorance, fall outside the true understanding of it. For when one rightly possesses the knowledge of such matters, he holds the right and sound understanding of faith; but if he takes it otherwise, he immediately falls into heresy." And Cyril likewise in the Thesauri: "It is necessary, he says, for one entering the investigation of divine Scriptures to consider the time when the statement is made, and the person, from whom, about whom, or through whom it is said; for thus the mind will be guarded free from error for those who wish to think rightly. All the teachers commonly hold the same."

15.Adhering to this principle, the Church of Christ takes the statements of some teachers appropriately in their times and other circumstances then present, even if the sound of the words seems to give some support to the contentious and innovators, but from the common assumptions of faith and the collective and unanimous opinion of all teachers, it teaches us to understand that the divine essence and its energies are truly distinguished by the nature of the matter, and not by mere conception alone. As for those who distinguish them by conception alone, they are to be regarded as parricides and ignorant on this matter, and neither to be heeded nor opposed.

16.Following this doctrine and the teaching of our holy mother the Church, the blessed Mark, the leader of the Ephesians, in his writing against Calecas, interprets the aforementioned saying of the blessed Theodore very justly and wisely, as if he himself who made the beginning had wished, and it almost needs no addition to the determinations of that marvelous father. But so that you may now marvel at that interpretation more than before, as being ecclesiastically and anciently spoken, this can be achieved by setting forth and discerning the opinion of our church and the nonsense of those lawless ones, knowing and distinguishing them well beforehand, and then applying the teacher's statement to the truth.

17.Those around Barlaam and Akindynos distinguished the divine essence from its energies or perfections by reason alone, that is, by conception, claiming that it was impossible to distinguish them truly; for they believed that thus there would be more things in God and that He would be in danger of being composite, as containing more things united in Himself. Fleeing thus from thinking the divine to be composite, they believed these were distinguished only by conception. But they were ignorant, as it seems, of what the true distinction by conception is, that it is of definitions in the soul, made or imagined by it, and that the true distinction is when the things distinguished are real, as subsisting and entire and individual, or else when one thing is thus, and another is of the thing and in the thing, or both are of the thing. Hence they feared the composition concerning themselves, not being true, that what is attributed to God, is attributed truly, and not by our conception; hence there is a composition of these and from these in God. They were ignorant, as it seems, besides other things, that where the things necessary for composition are absent, the composition is also necessarily absent, and present where the things are present; for each composing thing must be finite; but we all believe the divine essence to be infinite. Again, each must be able to be a part of something; but the divine is altogether indivisible and can be part of nothing, which is our belief. Many other things are sought by those skilled in these matters concerning composition; but these are sufficient for example's sake, showing that each composing thing must be properly suited; in God, the essence and energy are something of the thing and in the thing; I mean the energy, whether internal or external. There are truly things in God, the three Hypostases of that blessed unity, believed in beyond reason and intellect.

18.Thus, those who avoided the truth denied what was true, but they could have avoided these things and stood with the truth. For it is not necessary that the divine is composite because of the three hypostases, nor because of the things truly existing and perceived in it, as long as the other conditions required for composition are absent. But those who erred by relying on the distinction of conception alone were unaware of this due to their great self-conceit. Because of their position and their wise stance, we would otherwise risk formulating many propositions about God, if none of the things said about God responded in the thing itself but were only definitions created by our mind. But God would then be a substance without action because there is neither action in it nor action existing with the substance before our conception, nor can this be added from our conception. But this is obviously false and impossible. The disgrace then turns back to the holy Scripture, which first presents us with these propositions, stating that God is good, that He is true, and that He is righteous and loves justice, and all such things, not aiming at our conceptions and guided by them, but teaching us to believe that righteousness is in God, as well as goodness and truth and similarly the others. It would have happened first in the holy Scripture, if their position had prevailed.

19.The distinction by reasoning is mainly a distinction of the subject and predicate, or such things; this is only in the soul and not at all in the thing itself, for a category and hypothesis is the work of the soul. For Peter is not in Peter as a thing in a thing; for Peter is an individual and indivisible. However, we can form such a proposition that Peter is Peter, in which the subject and its predicate are somehow distinguished. Consider then, if God is true or just, as Peter is Peter. To claim this is madness; for in those definitions, in which the distinction of reasoning revolves, our soul spends time forming such definitions, as well as their distinctions; but the essence of God and the energy and their difference will exist even if all souls and intellects are removed. For it is not opposed to divine energy, whether internal or external, to be or to exist or to proceed, even if all intellects are removed, which attributes these to divine energy. Nor is it because of such attribution

that divine goodness exists in God, or that it independently exists there, birth and procession being relationally and fatherhood and sonship. But these, even if not understood, are no less and will be so in the nature of the thing; Peter will be subject to himself and will be predicated of himself and distinguished in this way, in no way being freed from the soul that naturally acts in this manner.

20.Thus, neither according to the divine Scripture nor to reasoning did those around Barlaam and Akindynos deem it proper, and they fought against all the teachers, whose statements we do not now expound, focusing on brevity; but anyone willing can find them in the writing of the blessed Gregory of Thessalonica, in which he proposes some modes of distinction of the essence of God and His energy, confirming these statements of the teachers most appropriately. Now what has been said suffices to show you the mindset of the Akindynians and how it was absurd; but the Church of Christ, having set forth the holy Gregory of Thessalonica as its defender of its doctrines, rightly defends these things on many grounds, determining that it is far from a pious opinion to honor God with human conceptions, as if there is no inherent dignity in Him, but that there is a true and real distinction of the divine essence and His energy, as both are truly and actually existent in their respective proper ways, as they proclaimed clearly, not saying that the divine essence and energy are things as each subsisting and individual, which many supposed, and for this reason they imputed compositions and polytheism to them, but believing and proclaiming that these are something of the thing and in the thing, and altogether truly distinguished by the nature of the thing. Who does not know this distinction much superior to that which Barlaam and Akindynos attended to, namely, that which revolves in definitions created by the mind, which we properly know as a distinction of reasoning, while the true distinction again is that by which the divine persons are distinguished. Those parricides not knowing this, that the divine energy cannot be distinguished from the divine essence as the hypostases are from each other, seeing this well, immediately fell into the distinction of reasoning, escaping one precipice, they fell into another equally destructive; nor did they understand that statement of the holy Basil in the letter to Eustathius: "Therefore, the denomination shows either some overseeing or active power, meaning of the divinity; but the divine nature remains undistinguished in all the names conceived, as our reasoning; for learning benefactor and judge, good and just and all such things, we learn distinctions of energies; but we cannot know any more the nature of the one acting through understanding the energies; for when one gives an account of each of these names and of the nature about which the names are, he will not give the same account of both; where the account is different, the nature is also different. Thus, the essence is one thing, whose account has not yet been found, but the meaning of the names about it, which are named from some energy or worth, is another."

21.Behold, the teacher clearly shows them, if they were willing to see, how the essence of God and the energy are distinctly, even more specifically, distinguished by the nature of the matter. For, he says, the account of the essence is one, and the account of the energy is another; and where the account is different, the nature of these is also different. Therefore, the nature of the divine essence and the divine energy is not the same; he speaks of nature as naturally signified by the account which says to be, the characteristic of the defined thing, through which it exists or acts, or has as it naturally is. The way this teacher and others distinguish between nature and conception in their writings against Eunomius and others. It is sufficient to expand the name of nature for the present need; to delve into it with higher methods is very complex.

22.If, according to the great Basil, the essence of God and His energy are distinguished by the nature of the matter and the accounts that signify existence, how is it not evident that those who distinguish these by our conception alone err? Moreover, releasing themselves from the fear of composition, they would have found this teacher himself, if they wished, and the holy Maximus. For in the second book against Eunomius, he rebukes him for composition, not placing it in the divine essence but around it the unbegotten. "For the ways indicating its characteristic," he says, "do not violate the account of simplicity." Maximus, in the thirteenth chapter of the dialogue with Pyrrhus, says: "You see, he says, that you are led astray because of complete ignorance, that the compositions are of those existing in hypostasis and not of those considered in another; and this is a common opinion of all philosophers and the church's wise mystagogues. Those existing in hypostasis altogether rise up under their names, as the first substances and their parts, or the subject and the common attribute and such things." The holy Gregory of Thessalonica did not say that the goodness of God and wisdom and righteousness and truth exist in hypostasis, as one would say of Peter and Paul, or soul and body, or hand and head, but as intellect and will in a man; these cannot be separated and yet neither is a definition of the other, nor a part of the definition, and they naturally exist in man as some of his perfections, without which he would not be human; similarly, they exist in him as something of the thing more completely signified.

23.Such is the difference between the two doctrines; let us leave aside the other differences of those arrogant ones, which they discovered for themselves against the holy church, as if intending to everywhere proclaim them against this mother and never pay her the due respect, such as when they said that the light that shone around our Lord on Mount Tabor was a creation, either taken from solar light, or created at that moment for the need and then ceasing to exist. Both views are unworthy of Christ and His true miracle, and both unnecessary and impossible; what need was there to create a transient light rather than reveal His own? Creating something new other than human souls is never reasonable, especially since even this is disputed by many, who say that even souls are brought into being through generation and proceed, and those who claim this are not esteemed. But those said that such a light was a creation; some said it was inferior to the human soul, while superior and higher in nature than all bodily things; others said it was inferior even to these; some said it was visible only to the apostles, though how could it be visible only to them, being perceptible in itself and similar to bodily perceptions; others said it was visible to irrational animals, claiming this more impiously but more reasonably than the others. These spoke nonsense and still speak nonsense among their followers and in their words, to the harm of those who heed them; it is not surprising that they do not agree among themselves; for it is more likely that those who have turned away from the truth are in conflict with themselves, while the truth remains one and simple in all things.

24.What is the truth proclaimed by the church? That the miracle was a revelation of divinity, marvelously performed at the appropriate need and time; and the light was neither foreign nor incidental, but belonged to the divinity personally united with Christ. It was hidden at other times, shrouded by the body, so to speak, though always infinite and naturally invisible to bodily eyes; but then it passed through the Master's body and shone, emitting its own inner radiance. Whether only the holy flesh experienced some improvement appropriate to such a miracle, just as one might say an iron vessel becomes transparent by some mechanism and emits the inner glow of the fire to those who could not see it before, or whether such things were granted to His flesh since He was the one who would later glorify it and transform it into impassibility,

lightness, and subtlety, or whether the apostles' vision was somehow immediately restored. For it was not unreasonable for this to occur with the need of the miracle and fittingly so.

25.Who are the leaders of this doctrine? Gregory the Theologian, who said, "They needed to go up the mountain to reveal His form, to show His divinity, and to uncover the one hidden in the flesh," and in another place saying, "The light and the revealed divinity on the mountain to the disciples, only slightly more visible and perceptible," and elsewhere, "But He will come with the body, as I said, appearing to the disciples on the mountain as He did, with the divinity surpassing the flesh."

26.The great Basil says in his Anti-Eunomian writings: "God, He says, dwells in unapproachable light; for the unapproachable is necessarily true, and the true unapproachable, when the apostles fell at the glory of the Son's light, unable to gaze upon it because it is an unapproachable light." And in his commentary on Psalm 44, he says: "By your beauty and your charm, meaning the visible and intelligible divinity; that is the truly beautiful, surpassing all human grasp and power. Peter and the sons of thunder saw His beauty, surpassing the brightness of the sun, and they were deemed worthy to see the preludes of His glorious presence."

27.The golden-tongued John Chrysostom says: "Here the Lord showed His disciples the glory of His invisible kingdom and did not fully reveal it, that is, He slightly opened the divinity and not completely, revealing some but sparing more; revealing enough to show them the divine glory of the invisible kingdom, not as much as it is, but as much as those with bodily eyes could bear," and continues elsewhere saying, "Wishing to fully enlighten their vision and show them what that glory is with which He will come, He shows and reveals it to them as much as they could comprehend in their present life." And again: "What does it mean that He was transfigured? He slightly opened the divinity and showed them the indwelling God, and His face shone like the sun. Like the sun, you say? Yes, because I have no other star as bright and white. But He did not shine exactly like the sun, as shown by the subsequent. And the disciples fell to the ground, it says, because if He had shone like the sun, they would not have fallen; for they saw the sun every day and did not fall, but because He shone beyond the sun, they fell unable to bear the brightness."

28.The blessed John of Damascus says thus: "Today the abyss of unapproachable light; today an unlimited outpouring of divine radiance shines on Mount Tabor to the apostles; and now the invisible things to human eyes are seen; a mortal body emits divine radiance, and a mortal body overflows with the glory of divinity." And shortly after: "Oh, the wonder! The glory was not added to the body from outside, but from within, from the ineffably united divinity of the Word of God, united personally to it." And shortly after again: "He is transfigured, not assuming what He was not nor changing into what He was not, but showing what He was to His disciples, opening their eyes and making them see from being blind." And shortly after again: "What do you say, O evangelist? What are you comparing the truly incomparable? The unbearable and unapproachable light shone like this sun seen by all? I do not compare, he would say, nor liken the only-begotten and incomparable radiance of divine glory, but speaking to those bound by flesh, I bring an example from the bodies of what is most beautiful and brightest, though not entirely similar; it is impossible for the uncreated to be perfectly imaged in the creation."

29.All the teachers say the same things. However, the blessed Maximus, in his theological chapters, says thus: "The Lord does not always appear in glory to those who stand by Him, but appears to those entering in the form of a servant, and to those able to follow Him as He ascends to the high mountain of His transfiguration, He appears in the form of God, in which He existed before the world was." Therefore, the

holy church teaches these things and uses such counselors of doctrine. Those who are the subject of the discourse turned to the contrary and supposed that the light was worldly, and what else but solar, which the teachers, as clearly shown, do not accept; or that it was miraculously created then immediately and ceased, which the teachers call uncreated and unapproachable and more intimate light of Christ, and they praise it with such superlatives.

30.How could one not marvel at the men who think that brightness and glory differed not at all from the miracle concerning Moses, when he brought the law to the Jews, and his face shone so that they could not look at him without a veil. It was fitting for him as a mere man, beloved of God and endowed with such grace, to shine with such light, which could not come from within his flesh; but what would our Lord have more than Moses if the same things happened to Him, or how would the heretics' slanders against Christ not arise from this? And the holy gospels proclaim the kingdom of God and the glory of that brightness, not as a type of that kingdom being prefigured, but as it itself being revealed in some manner, since the King of glory Himself was there essentially, personally united with the flesh of Christ, through which it was not difficult for Him to moderately reveal the glory previously unseen.

31.These men do not shudder at such base and lowered opinions and terms, contradicting themselves, dimming the glory and kingdom of our Lord as much as they can. Thus, they seem to think that the kingdom and glory, which those written in the book of life will enjoy and do enjoy, will need some worldly light and have some created dignity, which the words of the saints rightfully extol as eternal and above all ages, or even giving it greater things, yet will confine men to see and partake of it as permitted; even though the holy faith promises and teaches that those worthy will be even more so after the resurrection of the bodies, and this is the main reward of faith and virtue for us.

32.Then, if that glory will ever be known to men, when they have received a better condition, the apostles needed some assurance about what they would one day enjoy, at the height of their difficulties, which could reasonably shake their conviction, even though the one intending to accomplish these things later for men was present. For that better condition and blessedness comes from God, not from ourselves, and the same power of doing so belonged to Him and was no less than that of the future. Why would He not also accompany Himself and elevate the humility of the apostles, to show the preludes of that glory? There would be nothing unreasonable in prefacing His own glory with the same power, so to speak, because of the necessity of the economy and later fully granting it to the future participants according to His own decrees. This would be more appropriate to one having such power than showing one thing and indicating another, and wanting to bear witness to His own divinity and ineffable and unapproachable glory with an incidental and worldly, temporary, and perceptible light, and convincing His disciples of greater and divine things through other means, like the old types working again, with the truth and grace already present. If it is believed that He could not show and demonstrate what was, and would indicate other things through perceptible and lesser means, to make the disciples believe greater and divine things about Him, this would be another argument; this would be a display of weakness rather than power. Perhaps they themselves, holding this opinion about our Lord and the miracles He performed and the promises He made to those who believe in Him, incline towards natural reasons and seek a sequence of events in the supernaturally performed miracles. But we, by the grace of Christ, concerning His power and the miracles He performed and the hoped-for life, which He wills us to possess in glory as is fitting, do not say that Christ indicated other things

through other means, as He did in the parables and other miracles; for the parables were acknowledged as such, and each of His miracles was a sign of divinity, but not the direct demonstration of divinity itself; but the events on the mountain were the direct demonstration of divinity, and for this purpose they were performed. "There are some standing here," He says, "who will not taste death until they see the kingdom of God coming in power." And another says, "Until they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom." The kingdom coming with power means the divinity revealed then, surpassing the flesh, as the great Gregory said, and enlightening the apostles' vision, as John of Damascus says. Otherwise, it could not appear, the natural weakness prevailing in the flesh of Christ and the eyes of the apostles. Therefore, expecting to see this kingdom in the future life, He promised and showed it to some of the disciples before their death because of the necessity of the economy.

33.Thus we believe that our Lord revealed the kingdom He promised to His disciples then specially and as never before in this life. We think that He did not economically indicate other things through other means, but showed in power the things that were and those He wished to show, albeit supernaturally, as was fitting for God. And while condescending, which He does not even do for the angels without such condescension, as Chrysostom and all the teachers of faith think, yet elevating the apostles, even though they still weakened under the excess of what they beheld in condescension. These things, though both supernatural, anyone with reason would say, fall within the infinite power of God, not far from what is expected in the future. If one sought natural coherence in the miracles of Christ, they would fail to understand or preserve the nature of miracles well, and those that God immediately performed by Himself and upon Himself, which require more wonder and astonishment than other miracles performed through others. Such a person would also ignore the order and purpose of Christ's miracles. Hence, they would unsettle the very foundation of our Lord's miracles, for what natural sequence preserves the notion of God becoming man and all that accompanied this birth?

34.But concerning those who shamelessly deal with the divine economy, thinking themselves to act properly, as they suppose, and who boldly and completely degrade that high and greatest miracle and all that ever took place, this brief mention suffices for now; I return to the matter at hand. The examination of that saying was whether it might seem to provide support to those presumptuous ones. For this reason, I have divided those opinions for you, the church's true one and those of the heretical proclaimers.

35.First, I marvel at their rudeness or ignorance; for those seizing upon Theodore's words, in which he seems to say that it is forbidden for the pious to consider the essence and energy as different, why do they not also scrutinize the great Basil before Theodore, who stands more prominently in the church's view and very clearly accepts that the essence and energy of God are different, so much so that he shows the Eunomians admitting this, proving that they have no further grounds for dispute, as they have already admitted it and can no longer conclude as they wished? See Basil's statement: In his discourse to Bishop Amphilochius, he adds: "For if they say this, let them not ask if we know the essence of God, but inquire if we know that God is terrible, or if He is just or philanthropic. These we confess to know. But if they say that the essence is different, let them not deceive us with simplicity; for they have admitted that the essence is one thing and each of the enumerated things another. The energies are various, but the essence is simple; we say that we know God from His energies, but we do not claim to approach His essence; for His energies descend to us, but His essence remains unapproachable." See how the great Basil believes that the essence and energy

of God are different and says the Eunomians have admitted this, so they cannot rightly accuse the orthodox of knowing God's essence because they know His energies. This would be clearer if one reviewed the entire discourse. But for the present need, this is sufficient and clear, showing that these rash ones have erred sharply and have not understood what is required, so they must retreat covered.

36.For if they think it is significant against us that Theodore Graptus says this, it is much greater for our defense that the great Basil is seen as the leader of our belief, who, even if nothing else, far surpasses the blessed Theodore in antiquity. Theodore's statements must be judged against those of the great Basil, not the reverse, and Basil must be held above all, adding the later fathers to him. Yet the great Basil also clearly embraces the belief of our church, and for our need, the presentation of some of his many pronouncements suffices. But even if we did not have this great canon of orthodoxy, the great Basil, it would not be difficult to interpret the blessed Theodore consistently with himself and the other teachers. Hence, let us set aside Basil's statements for now and consider Theodore's words on their own. We only need Maximus to guide us in the method of interpretation. He says in his contemplation on the lampstand: "Not always and in every case will everything with the same expression be understood in the same way, but each saying must be understood according to the context of the holy Scripture if we are to rightly grasp the meaning of what is said." Thus, the statements of the teachers, like those of the holy Scripture, must be interpreted with the same skill, even if greater reverence is due to the scriptural ones.

37.So, according to Saint Maximus, the statement that something is one thing and another thing, and yet again the same thing is this to that, has the same expression. We do not consider every identity in the same things, nor every difference in other things, but each has its own, and there are many ways of differences and distinctions in things, some of which apply analogically to divine things. Similarly, the same thing is said to be this to that in many ways. Therefore, if our purpose were to discuss every distinction and union, we should have to divide everything precisely; but now, this is not our primary objective, and the detailed discussion of these matters far exceeds the measure needed for the present concern. We deem it sufficient to show that the Akindynians interpret Saint Maximus poorly; for he does not simply dismiss the distinction of the essence and energy of God as being different, as they claim, as if eliminating all ways of otherness, thinking that everything is entirely and always the same. Perhaps they would not even agree with this themselves, if they admit some distinction of these, whatever it may be. He indeed dismisses a certain way of difference, but does not yet establish every way of identity for them, if not even the opposite.

38.But first, we must remove what he considers a bad kind of difference. What other kind, if not one introduced as from the heretics? For he does not formally propose how they are the same and not the same, but enters the discussion incidentally and reproves some heretics who separated the essence and energy of the divine Word, as he explicitly explains there, that is, they confined the essence of the Word within human nature assumed by the Word, but claimed He was everywhere only by energy. He considers that the reproof was directed at them, almost as if the heretical opinions of both had the same foundation.

39.Therefore, since they distinguished the divine essence and energy substantially, as what is separated is substantially distinguished, the blessed Theodore says that the essence and energy of God are not different to the pious in the way they distinguished them, that is, substantially, just as if someone proposed that Peter and Paul are different by nature, and I would object that they are not different, meaning in the way he implies, and one could not accuse me before sane judges of wanting to say they are not even numerically different.

Similarly, this teacher believes that the essence and energy of God are not different as those heretics claimed, whose opinions he sets forth, not in an absolute sense; they claimed substantial difference. That he reproves them for bringing in composition is clear; for what is substantially different, distinguished in various ways and by the method of separation itself, when together, causes composition, as the soul and body of a man, substantially distinguished from each other, form a composition in man as long as they are together.

40.So he rightly rejects that the essence and energy of the Word of God are separated this way, saying it is impossible for the divine to be free of composition, if the essence and energy are so distinguished that the essence could be separate from the energy or the energy from the essence. They did not only separate by essence but also by existence and places. Yet he does not entirely equate them, as if not differing in definitions nor distinguished by the nature of the matter, but only separated in our conceptions; for it is not necessary to infer this, but it is likely that he dismisses that kind of difference or distinction, and perhaps sets another, though not explicitly stated, but prefers to dismiss the non-existent one, while showing his own clear opinion; for he divides and distinguishes them by the accounts indicating existence, assigning each its own account; where the account is different, the nature is also different, as the great Basil said, that is, these from the nature of the matter, not from our position and being conceived only by us as somehow distinguished. Thus, this divine man aligns with the great teacher who clearly accepted that the essence and energy of God are different; neither did he distinguish as the ancient heretics whom Theodore rightly refuted, nor did Theodore seek to unite as the heretics suggest, uniting in all ways, as if he suffered the same disease as those heretics, saying either that God is only energy without essence, or that essence is without energy, which follows from the distinction by account.

41.That Theodore's statement that the essence and energy of God are not different, and Basil's statement that they are different, can be reconciled well, and that not everything with the same expression must be understood in the same way, but each according to the context of the statement, Basil himself demonstrates to us in his words, which confound the opposers, who do not see this well. For he says in the aforementioned words that when one gives an account of each of the attributes of God and His nature to which they belong, he does not give the same account; so he said that the account of the essence and energy of God are not the same. Elsewhere he says that in the simple and incorporeal nature, the energy admits the same account as the essence. If the identity of the account is understood in the same way in each statement, the other statement will be plainly false; for it is impossible for the account of the essence and energy of God to be both the same and not the same, if the same account is understood in the same way, unless everything is to become confused. But since it is impossible for the great teacher to lie or contradict himself so disgracefully, we must understand each according to the context of the statement and its meaning, as Maximus says.

42.In one place, he asserts that the account of the essence of God is different from that of His energy, meaning the definition or the nature of the matter; in another place, he says that the energy of God admits the same account as the essence, meaning the mode of existence, that the same account is for both, since all the dignity belonging to the essence also pertains to the energy. As the nature is, so also is the energy of God, infinite, uncreated, and eternal; thus, the energy must correspond to the nature, not like in all other things, where each thing is a substance, and its energy, though substantial, stands in the genus of accidents. This is evident from this: the essence of God is specifically infinite; but His energy is not specifically infinite; for there cannot be many infinites; but since it has one existence with the essence, which is infinite, it is infinite.

Thus, the divine essence and the divine energy, the former itself, differ by infinity and not infinity; for the infinity in God's goodness is not from the account of the energy but from the essence. This fits the essence of God by itself and through itself; having the same mode of existence, due to the divine simplicity, both are one infinite and one God, without the specific distinction causing division or composition of things there, since it is founded on the one and simplest divine nature.

43.Thus, in saying that the energy of God admits the same account as the essence, meaning that all the dignities of that supernatural essence also pertain to its energy, the teacher did not ignore himself saying elsewhere that the account of the essence is different from that of the energy, nor should we, adhering to one statement, dismiss the other, or make everything confused. Who with reason will say that the infinite and the finite are distinguished by conception, things not made by the soul but existing without it and distinguished by it, and even more so, contradictorily? Thus, neither the divine essence and the divine energy, as essence and energy, will be distinguished by account, where infinity pertains to one and finiteness to the other, but will be distinguished by nature and the nature of the matter; yet otherwise, they will be simplest in existence, if there is no example of this in beings.

44.This should be said more simply and justly to these Akindynians and Latin-minded ones (for they both suffer the same disease); for if I must speak the truth, we have provided you with a power of solutions proportionate to the need and the capacity of many who will encounter them. Even if what is ours is far inferior to this hypothesis, it was possible to rise above the present discourse. This would not have been otherwise beneficial; for my Jesus, withdrawing a little from the land, taught the crowds, showing us by deed that where the need for benefit and simplicity arises, there is no time for depth and display.

45.Do not hate these men so much for their departure from the truth as for their fickleness of purpose and the harshness of their conscience, for as if exacting penalties for great evils, they hate and reject the church and our ancestors, and the doctrines that have prevailed among us until now; but they delight in all foreign innovations, so that if they had the power, they would have altered all that is ours, as easily as moving the landmarks of the fathers, and at times when it is enough for us to have and to follow their patterns for piety. What they do, anyone with discernment would say, shows either indifference or great conceit, yet failing to change these things, they pretend to hold the traditions. But they deceive none of the discerning by pretending; for they are the ones who publicly called us Nestorians, because we believe that the Son of God is not the cause of the Holy Spirit; a doctrine true in every necessity, vindicated by the words and blood of our fathers and teachers, against those who once opposed it and subjected them to eternal punishments. This doctrine, contrary to Arianism because of the dual principle, and to Eunomianism because of the inferiority of the Spirit, and to Apollinarianism because of the grades of the divine persons, as they form disorder rather than order, and confusion, not distinction, and seem to fall into many other absurdities.

46.They are the ones who called their own mother Nestorian, causing many pious people many human trials, who have written against every orthodox writing and try to persuade Christians everywhere to this innovation. How then will they fail, trying to deceive the simpler ones with these forced and opportune pretenses? If they wish to be believed, let them cease to act against the laws of the church. Therefore, hate them all as long as they are such, and rightly imprecate their leaders, those proclaimers whose sophistries they followed from inability to discern, as the cause of such great evil, with the imprecations our mother, the church of Christ, also pronounces; for we must agree with our mother, unless we wish to deny our

relationship with her. Pray that those who extol their impieties, as long as they still exist, may become better and show some repentance in a canonical manner; but hold firmly to what our mother, the catholic church of Christians, has always believed, and all her sons believed until the recent disturbance; hold these firmly, convinced that neither the Latins, nor all men, nor even the angels, if one may speak with Paul, can find anything better and truer than these.

47.This book was completed by the hand of the great ecclesiarch of the most holy great church of God, Deacon Silvester Syropoulos, in the year 5 of August, indiction 8.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE DIVINE ESSENCE AND OPERATIONS

2. The Distinction Between the Divine Essence and Its Operations [Energies]

† On how the divine operations [energies] are distinguished both from one another and from the divine essence, of which they are the operations [energy], and in which they exist.

1.Regarding the distinction between the divine operations among themselves and the divine essence, the blessed Gregory of Thessalonica, having examined it more precisely under the guidance of the church teachers, considered this to be a real distinction. However, those around Barlaam and Akindynos, claiming it to be only a conceptual distinction, erred from the truth; thus, they were rightly rejected by the church as contentious claimants of such a doctrine. Therefore, agreeing with the blessed Gregory and the common decision of our church, we also here make our judgment on this matter, as a side activity of our current peace and the various lamentations within it, prompted by someone close to us.

2.Every distinction is either real or conceptual, both ultimately leading to two main ways of any distinction. Each is manifold and not simple, and especially the stronger one, which we call real; for what is distinguished in reality has great breadth, with many degrees of such distinction in beings, and in each degree, multiple ways of distinction. Taking the greatest distinction between God and creation, one may understand substance and accident are distinguished above all else; for they are distinguished in their entire subject, as everything under substance is distinct from anything under the nine genera of accidents; for white is distinguished from two cubits, one belonging to the genus of quantity, the other to quality; but neither their being nor their distinction could exist without substance. Hence, much more so, both are distinguished by substance, and what they share with each other, they are separated by the substance, as they could not exist without it. Created and composite substance, even if it could not exist without accident or some incidental aspect, is not necessarily subject to this or that accident; another substance is associated with other accidents and is not always the same. Less than these, those under the same genus are distinguished, like man and horse under the genus of animal, and odd and even under the determined quantity; less so, the individuals under the same species are distinguished by accidents alone, which individuate them, but they are the same by species entirely and distinguished only by number, not by substance. Thus, man and horse never come together into one individual, nor man and horse into one species; but composite substance with accident always comes together, as neither such substance nor accident could ever exist or appear without something proper to the genus or species, nor could accident exist at all without substance. All these are said to be distinguished in reality; to go through all would require many discourses by genus. Including opposites, whose distinction is greater, even as they stand entirely in opposition to each other, some with stronger, some with weaker opposition. Thus, what is distinguished in reality has, as said, great breadth, the distinction of anything passing through everything differently, as also the unity and community opposed to it; with all kinds of distinctions and unities, this whole remains, as long as it exists. Therefore, we also did not divide these things orderly and by genera; for this requires many discourses, but in brief examples, we have only indicated the practical distinction in beings, through which all are distinguished, before being distinguished by our mind and reason, which we do not conceive in them but find as truly and actually existing.

3.The distinction called conceptual exists only in those things that are of conception and are called secondarily intelligible. It is so called because it arises from the abundance of the mind and exists only in the

mind. For the human mind, from the great wealth given to it by God, abstracts simple and universal concepts from particular and composite things, progressing in knowledge; it then applies these in return and particularizes them, having first divided them. Such works of the mind are called secondarily intelligible and conceptions, being of the intellect but not strictly of the thing, and rational methodology deals with these. For genus is a universal and conception, as is species, but they are not in the thing in such a way. They arise from the abstraction of things and exist in the mind alone. Sometimes they are considered in the thing, and for this reason, they are useful in helping the mind gain accurate knowledge of things, not as universals, but rather as essential parts of things, holding the opposite order. Thus, species contain and genus is contained by species, and the containment and being contained are not attributed to secondarily intelligible but to things, from which they were abstracted by the mind's power, and viewed as universals, and applied to things. Hence, we call a man an animal essentially, but no longer call animal essentially a genus. For if we reasoned from here that man is a genus, it is entirely false. However, animal is real, what it is according to its proper being, that is, a living, sentient substance. It is called a genus conceptually in its relation to those under it and partakes of it essentially. From such abundance, the mind also sometimes forms propositions, taking the same thing in two ways; it understands that Peter is Peter, or man is man, and predicates the definition of the defined, dividing them, and reciprocates them as capable and reversible to each other, and uses two capable of being in one. If there is more distinction here than in predicating something of itself, for here it is a name and a definition, and one is single, the other composed of many, but still they are one thing, the defined and its definition, hence they reciprocate.

4.In these intelligibles from abstraction by the mind's power, or in those called conceptual and secondarily intelligible, the conceptual distinction exists; for they were conceived with the primary intelligibles outside the mind, being in themselves, and existing thus in the mind, their distinction and union occurs in it, as in the case of saying Peter is Peter. For Peter is not divided as subject and predicate in reality, but the mind does this, dividing into terms and uniting in the proposition; such division or union places nothing in Peter.

5.Hence it is clear that everything distinguished is distinguished in two ways in our consideration: either as distinguished in reality and work or only by reason and our conception. Each distinction is manifold and varied, more so the real, less so the conceptual; hence it happens that some things really distinguished, having a subordinate place in the genus, due to not being strongly distinguished, seem to be distinguished by reason alone to those less understanding and capable.

6.With these general premises, let us proceed to the subject, and clarify what has been said. Since our inquiry is about divine names now, whether they signify something real in God and a real distinction, or are only conceptions of our mind, their significance and distinction, having briefly discussed the difference of names in beings, especially in man, we will proceed to the inquiry.

7.Names are attributed to things differently; some are predicated of their essence, and others by the account of accident. For we say that Peter is essentially a man; with the name man, everything from the essence down to him is appropriately and sequentially considered. We also say he is wise, just, or good, and then that he is white, healthy, or tall. Being healthy or white and such are primarily called accidents, as they pertain to the body and are common to many, not only to humans but also to other animals, and even to plants and some inanimate things. Wisdom, goodness, and justice pertain to the soul, predicated by the account of habit or as the principle of action in those progressing, as in those beginning to progress, the

habit's principle is action. Wisdom is the virtue of the soul's contemplative part, goodness, morally understood, more universally signifies the whole virtue. Justice is particularly a social virtue, either in fewer, as in household management, or in more, as in civil affairs; above these, judicial and fitting for rulers. These are all spoken of femininely signifying habit; those having the habit are named adjectively from them in three ways: wise by having wisdom, as white by having whiteness, and similarly for the others. Generally, these are called qualities, from which each is appropriately named; but some are essential qualities, like rationality and such; others are accidental. Greater are those pertaining to the soul, as they are not entirely incidental, but in some way congenitally. Lesser are those of the body. Bodily ones are attributed to their underlying creatures, not all nor the same to all, but different ones to different. Psychic ones are attributed only to humans, though some are sometimes improperly and not strictly attributed to others; goodness is thus predicated of animals and plants and beings in general, God's works, in the complete sense of goodness, or relative to simple being; wisdom of the bee and ant, and prudence of the serpent. But now we should consider only humans and the names attributed to them by the manner of psychic activities or habits.

8.When we predicate wisdom of a man when he is wise, we attribute to him something real as a habit verifying itself, which is the principle of action fitting such a habit; likewise, we predicate justice of him. The work of justice is one thing, and of wisdom another; thus, to say wise and to say just are different. Hence, these are found differently in humans; one may be wiser than just, another the opposite; and in some, both are well present, as far as possible in a human. As the work of justice is different, and of wisdom another, so their principles, considered as habits, differ from each other; justice in a man is one thing, wisdom another, and they truly differ in him, not only from each other but also from the man in whom they are really distinguished and in a stronger way of distinction. Hence, all men naturally tend towards such habits and virtues by the reason of their species, but not all who acquire them have them, nor do they possess them immediately upon becoming, but acquire them with time and effort, having an innate disposition towards them alone, like a spark capable of being kindled over time and effort; those who do not strive for them, do not acquire them, as if they are entirely deprived of them. Such habits and the activities according to them are perfections of man according to the soul, as they specifically belong to the human soul; they are neither entirely incidental nor entirely congenital, the soul having an innate power towards them. So much for man is sufficient for the present need.

9.No accident can be predicated of God, who is entirely incorporeal, most simple, and by nature most perfect and eternal. However, it is reasonable to attribute to Him the names of the perfections of the human soul, which is also incorporeal and separate, for the divine sayings call man the image of God. The excellences of the human soul, by which it is called the image of God in divine sayings, must much more be present in the exemplar and cause, for the sake of the good order and beauty in the caused. We came to know these primarily from the works of God and the creatures by His giving, who willed to make humans investigators and discoverers of the manifold truth in creations through their effort and His grace. Yet, these are not attributed to Him by us in the same way as to creatures but with the fitting preeminence to the cause of all, without comparing them to the inferiority in creatures, nor could we compare them. This alone is reckoned to each of these names, that the communion of these names is attributed to God's works with incomparable preeminence, as they properly and primarily belong to Him and secondarily to creatures, as by participation and as a trace, so to speak. Although we do not attribute them to God in the same manner of

signification as to us, we attribute them with their true signification, and they are much more truly present in Him, as incomparably more actual, sincere, and perfect. And why should we consider wisdom, goodness, and power and such? God is a unity, and supremely, but also most truly and actually, and the more supremely, the more truly; for this reason, He is one, existing and named above all one, or rather, He alone is truly and properly one, as most simple in nature and infinite. But He is also truly a Trinity, a principle above and apart from all other trinities in beings. Therefore, if these were said about God by our conception alone, they would not be in Him in reality and truth, but He would be a Trinity and Unity only by conception, which are the offspring of the madness of Arius and Sabellius. But as we place union and distinction in God in reality and truth, we recognize in Him by the names of unity and trinity the Trinity and Unity known to us in His works, applying the mode of their signification and existence, attributing their signification and existence to Him with the understanding that the truth of these names, fittingly and supremely for the Creator, exists in Him and must be attributed by us in thought and word. Thus, we praise Him with the names of other perfections, recognizing Him as full of all perfection in Himself eternally, fitting for God, and the source of these for others created by Him, as they could participate in the Creator's goods. Therefore, with such preeminent distinction, we attribute the proper truth in these names, different in each, to God. We call Him wise, good, powerful, and so on, not as having these incidentally but being Wisdom itself, Goodness itself, and Power itself. Sometimes we reveal with additions, as much as possible, such preeminence; for each creature has power to exist and do anything appropriately to its nature, and is called powerful in this respect; but there is no absolute power, nor is it called so; for it is not powerful for everything, nor does it have invincible and operative power for what it is made for; but knowing God alone as truly and properly powerful, willing to express the reality and truth of the name by the word, we call Him almighty and infinitely powerful, and likewise not only good but all-good and super-good. As He is truly powerful and good, and we attribute the reality of these names understood by us practically to Him, for this reason, by such additions, we conceive and confess with the mind and tongue the preeminence and excellence of His goodness and power, not diminishing the reality and truth signified by these names, but rather trying to magnify it as much as possible. Should we consider the other names we attribute to Him by the account of perfection or operation? His very essence, which these names must be attributed to, being infinitely beyond every essence, we do not call anything separate from the truth known to us in beings by this name, but only call it superessential, indicating by this addition only the preeminence of the truth in reality, which is presented to us by this name.

10.Since it is not sufficient for us in precise and effective theology to praise God with affirmative names alone, as there are few such names that are derived from the perfections of beings, rightly attributed by us to their cause with supreme preeminence, we rather praise Him also with negative, or more precisely, apophatic names, thus weaving the breadth of true theology as much as possible. We call Him eternal, distinguishing Him from those bound by time, and infinite, distinguishing Him from the finite, and incomprehensible similarly, and so forth. These names seem to be privations, but rather they are negations of what cannot be conceived or said about God. For we call Him infinite as having no limit, and incomprehensible, as not being grasped by the created mind. These are reasonably transferred to the names of perfections; for if He is entirely simple, then He is entirely unified; and if He is incorporeal and immaterial, then He is a pure mind; and if He is infinite in activity and strength, then He is ultimately perfect, as finiteness belongs to the imperfect. Thus, such names seem to immediately negate and indicate only what God is not; but by negating

what is unfitting for Him, they more effectively introduce affirmations of what is fitting. For God mingled perfections with His works, different for different beings, and again, all together with the deficiencies and imperfections fitting to creatures, as without the conjunction of both, these could neither subsist nor exist. While He shares in the perfections in creations, not as partaking from them, but as communicating from Himself to others, He surpasses them in having greater and incomparable and supremely; and is entirely separate from deficiencies. Therefore, we negate these of Him, and by their negation, attribute the opposite perfections to Him. Thus, what was previously said about affirmative names attributed to God also applies to these negative ones, if not directly; for they immediately negate the foreign, but as affirmations follow appropriately, these should be applied to what was said.

11.With these premises moderately laid out, we now come to the question at hand. The divine perfections or energies indicated by these names are distinguished from each other and from the divine essence in which they exist. For if we are not to speak and think of these things about God vainly, we must conceive something different by the name of essence and something else by the name of energy, and by the different names of the energies, we must conceive different energies. However, they are not distinguished completely in the same way as other distinctions in beings, nor solely by conception. For if they were so distinguished in reality, the divine would be composite, consisting of many distinct things; furthermore, this real distinction in creatures fitting their deficiencies is not applicable to the divine, who is overflowing and super-perfect, and these perfections exist supremely in Him as one by nature and most simple, and they are no more in Him than He is them. If they were distinguished only by reason and conception according to the precise definition of this distinction, the effort of sacred theology concerning these names would be in vain, which everywhere extols God through such names, defining each with its unique significance revealed and fitting to the divine works and introduces God as attributing such names to Himself in many places. A just one would never be both just and wise and the other things said and glorified about Him, assuming human reason ceases entirely in terms of either existing or conceiving such things, just as Peter would never be both subject and predicate simultaneously, nor genus and species, which exist in the mind and become by the mind's power. They are called conceptions and secondarily intelligible because they are added to thinking; and just as it is carried towards its corresponding intelligible, so is conception towards the thought about the intelligible, not considering the thing itself importantly, but what kind of meaning the thought about it has. Thus, it is divided into four by those precise in such matters: primary and secondary conception, each in the concrete and by abstraction. Therefore, the study of such conceptions is not immediately the knowledge of beings or the intelligible and the truth in them, but a tool for such knowledge and a method wisely ordered for how to discover the truth in beings and demonstrate it to others. Therefore, we should rather honor God with silence than extol Him with such names conceived by us, the least touching Him really, not having nor able to show any truth in reality about Him, composed and distinguished by our conception alone; otherwise, such conception has no place in God. These apply to parallel and different, all leading to one genus, and their applications and distinctions. But God is neither under any genus, nor is He such a genus. If the name of justice or philanthropy signifies something real in God, and is placed among those partaking appropriately to their nature, therefore signifying in such a way (with the greatest preeminence, as said, thus more signifying suitable works fitting to God), how could they not differ in work and truth about themselves, and how could not something else be considered to exist and be by philanthropy, and another by justice, and similarly with

others? If they thus differ among themselves and from the divine essence, in which and about which they are said, how could each be considered different in work and truth? For we do not vainly praise God as philanthropic, also calling Him just. These are fitting to God as such, needing to be and having all these; hence we do not consider these incidental or sometimes existing, sometimes not in Him; but we think of God as separate when considering His being, just and philanthropic when considering divine energies and perfections, and in unity, we truly and practically conceive something real corresponding to each name. The divine philanthropy is not without justice, nor is justice without philanthropy, and wisdom is good, and goodness is wise, and similarly with others, due to His supreme perfection, simplicity, and infinity. Each has its own true account, signifying what it is, and with each account corresponding something real in God, the accounts are verified. Hence, we speak distinctly of His justice and philanthropy; distinctly of the rod and staff, as the divine David said; therefore, we pray not to be judged by divine justice but by divine philanthropy, as each is something different in God in itself, hence performing different works externally, just as nature and will differ in God. Thus, the divine nature's works are the persons begotten from God and the Father, inherently and coeternally with Him, and the works of His will are the creations, of one will in the three persons, and one Creator of creations, the three persons being one God. If nature and will were completely the same, distinguished only by our last created conception, we would vainly demonstrate the persons begotten from the Father differing from the creations, as begotten from the divine nature and those from the divine will. Therefore, the distinction is real. If this distinction does not cause composition in divine energies signified by these names, either among themselves or concerning the divine essence, whose energies they are, it is due to the supreme simplicity and infinity of the divine. However, this does not remove the real truth in divine energies or the true distinction, as they are rather distinguished by reason and conception, not by reality, just as the properties and relations are real and thus distinguish the subsisting persons in God, yet He is one by nature. Though these are really distinguished in Him, even if the divine persons are more distinguished by reality than we now say divine energies differ from each other and from the divine nature. There they are distinguished antithetically or relationally; here without any antithesis. If divine energies are not things as the three persons, they are something of the thing and in reality. If the greater and stronger distinction does not harm the divine unity due to supreme simplicity and infinity, how will the lesser distinction cause composition, having no place for any requirements of composition? Therefore, both distinctions are real against the conceptual alone, differing by antithesis and non-antithesis.

12.Concluding, we say that each of the divine energies, which are indicated by their proper names, is a reality in God, not in the sense that we say each of the divine hypostases is a reality, nor even more so as we say the divine essence is a reality, which is a stronger way of the thing, but according to a more subtle understanding of the thing, that it is a reality in reality, in contrast to what are called secondarily intelligible, which are conceptions and are of the intellect and not the thing, being rather works of the human and wise mind and existing in it. If each of the divine energies is thus a reality in the one and most simple reality, the divine essence, and each has its own account signifying its being, then they are reasonably distinguished from each other and not only from each other but also from the divine essence itself, which is common to them, most simple, and with them as a thing, both in work and specifically, to say the same, distinguished by what they are, and not by our conception alone, but by actual and defined truth, which corresponds to these names in God. Therefore, those who say these are distinguished only by reason, that is, by human conception, are

mistaken. However, we must understand the real distinction in these in the limited way previously explained, even in the moderate degree of the manifold distinctions of the thing; for most and stronger distinctions would not fit well with the divine simplicity believed in God. To Him be glory forever. Amen.

AGAINST SIMONY

III. Against Simony (1451).

1. Letter of submission to Emperor Constantine.

† I am sending you a discourse I have recently composed against the heresy of simony, noble Emperor. Please grant me the favor of reading and considering it if you value holy words beneficial to the common good. Praising it would not be more gratifying to me than to those whom the discourse seeks to help; they are all those you govern. True praise is to affirm it with actions, which is your measure; all must comply with you leading them to the best zeal and necessity. I know I will not please many, who will call me arrogant, unwilling to be reproved; but for me, whether they are reproved or not, and whether they are grateful or envious, is of little concern. What matters is not provoking such wrath of the divine from such irreverence, which I am not the one slandering or trying to eliminate, but all holders of God, and for acting appropriately to my duty. They should know that I would not be any less bold in speaking freely from the philosophy of Diogenes, Dion, or any similar, let alone those from the sacred and greater rank, which I must more follow. I will obey the divine commanding me so rather than a human demanding otherwise; let them either correct themselves or be silent. And you, most noble and divine Emperor, strive and practice in every way to be and appear as God-beloved; you will be reverent to the divine with fear, becoming an example of this good to others. Do not think that daily religious practices and other piety are beneficial to those involved in spiritual things if they act otherwise impiously. Many ignorant of this walk blindly through this life, hoping sometimes to please God with the smoke of offerings or some cries and senseless acts, disrespecting Him inexcusably, in vain. For these ought to be done, He says, and not neglect the others. Just as you take care of other divine matters, more so yourself, best of kings, ensure that the poison of the simoniac heresy is driven as far as possible from your table, treasury, and soul. You must undoubtedly believe the great things that are said of taking care of this or neglecting it, promising or threatening not long for all the remaining Greeks; the leader is responsible for whatever may happen to the whole community.

† Of the Same Against the Heresy or Unbelief of Simony

1.The misfortunes brought upon us by these impious barbarians, and those we fear for the future, with hope of being able to endure now entirely lost, different people attribute to different causes. Some, thinking any such inquiry too strong to pursue, do not investigate the causes (for they believe they would not easily find them), and grieve over the calamities, not hoping for any alleviation, not even from God, except calling upon Him in vain. For they should have considered what angers Him and what actions might appear pleasing, found these first, and then sought aid from there. But now they have not even freed themselves, vainly running to God. For my part, having often reflected upon these things (for I could not remain calm in such excessive distress), gathering from hearing, memory, sight, and expectations, I do not believe that their sins are the only cause, nor do I deem the remedy impossible.

2.I believe Christians have fallen into the greatest calamities due to the impiety of simony. For other of our sins, some harming neighbors, others violating nature, accordingly bring God against us, the just overseer of our brothers and nature as the common father and leader of all; but this more provokes Him, as it also

violates His laws, set for each wicked or virtuous deed, some promising happiness, our end, others deterring and threatening the worst to those not heeding. If we exchange the eternal and universal goods for these corruptible and temporal things, it happens accordingly that we seem to neglect the Lawgiver, needing to be wiser and more cautious in choosing pleasures. The abomination of simony immediately sets us against God; for we impiously defy Him in whom we ought to be pious and from whom we seek forgiveness for sins, since humans cannot avoid sinning entirely. Disobeying His laws (which are indeed secondary), we take impious thoughts about the divine and fulfill them shamelessly, leading others into shared sin and introducing a mixture of evils into Christian religion. When someone unjustly kills, acts wantonly, slanders, or plunders, the whole state does not suffer, although such actions must be punished by authorities, and if they neglect, God's justice often falls upon them. But the impiety of simony is a universal destruction and a common calamity, like diseases striking vital parts and corrupting the entire body. It infiltrates the Christian polity through its leaders, corrupting all and turning them away from God. No epidemic empties the cities as this grievous disease strips the souls of the captured of spiritual gifts. It is a willful and arrogant act against God, never obtaining forgiveness in either life, like other acts corrupting faith. Therefore, God justly treats the bold as impious, bringing judgment according to their desires and delivering them to faithless and vile nations, tormenting their bodies and souls of the enslaved. "They have provoked me with their idols, and I will make them jealous with a non-nation, angering them with a foolish nation."

3.That simony is the greatest of sins and a universal impiety, and through it, all calamities have come upon Christians, our empire and church being driven into extreme narrowness, first suffering from this disease and necessarily acting wickedly, the whole nation should suffer together due to sharing this abomination, the mere nature of the vice persuades all, so that we need not demonstrate its excessive wickedness with other arguments or comparisons, but its inherent nature shown as a teacher to all in any way observing it. Since many are ignorant of this impiety due to unwillingness to know such things, leading to voluntary ignorance and sinning badly, we shall show what simony is, where it began, and what the laws define concerning those involved. This will be the purpose of this discourse; we leave others to refute, conclude, or observe the rest, and no one disputing the Christian misfortunes should find it strange or worthy of wonder if, deliberating so foolishly about the divine, this flood and shipwreck has come upon us.

4.Simony, therefore, is a heresy related to the primary article of faith, constituted in buying or selling the altar, holy orders, entries from human to divine liturgies, and the grace of the Spirit. For anyone who errs in any article of faith, either directly or indirectly, is a heretic; and the simoniac is wicked concerning the unity of God and faith. Therefore, he is manifestly heretical, though he does not hold views contrary to the unity of God and faith, yet he acts in the same manner as those who do, showing irreverence towards the one God in both thought and action. Hence, he sins more against religion than doctrine; for religion is to ascribe the due reverence to God as the sole cause of all. "If I am a father, where is my honor?" says the Lord. This is a statement of true faith: to reverently and rightly worship the one God. "One God, one faith," says Paul. But he who debases the dignity of spiritual matters into buying and selling is irreverent towards God. This is the disease of simony. If religion is the activity of faith, and one is wicked concerning it, what remains but that he sins against faith and is enclosed within the bounds of heretics and the impious?

5.This will be clearer in the following. The substance of this same infidelity lies in all spiritual and holy matters, whose freedom is shamelessly betrayed by those making them the objects of commerce, though they

have a nature beyond all buying and selling. For it is not possible, even if one gives more than sand, to obtain the value of anything spiritual, if the whole world is not worthy of one soul, which is of a spiritual nature. Solomon says, "Wisdom is more precious than all treasures, and all desirable things cannot compare with her." For those are from the earth, but wisdom and any spiritual good and perfect gift descend from above; no one among men rules over spiritual goods to dispose of them for money as we do over those we own. We sell these things, no one reproves us, but those over spiritual matters are only stewards. "Let a man regard us as servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God," says Paul. There is a great difference between stewardship and ownership, nor does it accord with spiritual gifts to exchange them for money. This privilege of freely giving is of divine generosity. Therefore, Augustine says that what is not freely given is not a gift, and our Lord says, "Freely you have received, freely give," implying that freely receiving entails freely giving.

6.But those who dare to sell holy and spiritual goods and subject the invaluable and beyond human dominion to prices and their own power, what else do they suffer but the heresy and impiety of Judas, if not even worse, as they do this despite many laws set against it and the evident demonstration of truth and strict enforcement over time? But let us leave aside the current similarity to Judas and consider rather the intention of the magician Simon, whose offspring is this God-hated disease and from whom those enslaved by it take their origin and name.

7.So, as it is said in the Acts, Simon saw the most holy apostles giving the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands, and he offered them money, saying, "Give me this power too, so that anyone on whom I lay my hands may receive the Holy Spirit." He was a lover of good things but of a distorted mind. For he did not wish to receive this power by virtue and faith, by becoming a disciple of Christ and completing the most sacred company, receiving the power freely given to him in a tangible sign, the laying on of hands by those ministering grace. Instead, he hoped to purchase the heavenly grace with earthly things alone, without these. If the disciples of Christ had agreed to this, they would have shared Simon's mindset; but they could not agree as long as they were disciples of Christ and knew that the powers were given not by money but by divine love. Therefore, the leader of the group said, "May your money perish with you because you thought you could obtain the gift of God with money. You have no part or lot in this matter, for your heart is not right before God." Here, he condemned the wickedness of Simon in its root: "May your silver perish with you because you thought you could obtain the gift of God with money." Well do the souls of those who give money for sacred things perish with the money; for they receive transient honors and benefits, and whatever accompanies this life, in exchange for those that are perishing. The penalty owed to them for their irreverence towards God matches the lot of those perishing. These are the ones who bear the judgments on the way, not escaping the essence but losing well-being and true life.

8.Since the impurity of wickedness passes from the givers to the receivers along with the money, reasonably both the givers and receivers perish together. Before they spend the price of the destructive transaction and derive some temporary benefit from it, they bind their souls with eternal penalties, which is the destruction of souls, just as the others perish their souls with money. They neither gain the sought grace by impiously hoping to obtain it, nor retain it if they had it before. For love does not rejoice in wrongdoing, and besides these earthly punishments, they are miserably inscribed in the book of the perishing. What is more, it is not only the act of giving and receiving but even the mere desire and inclination towards buying or selling that constitutes the sin of simony. This applies to all sins of the heart, which have existence merely by

being conceived in the heart, just as those of speech by being formed in utterance and those of deeds by the added bodily action. See, Simon by the hope of impious commerce has wrought the full measure of wickedness, irreverently disposed towards the spiritual good and considering it equivalent to corruptible matter. Even now, the mere desire to buy spiritual grace, even if no one else joins in the sin of selling, and the inclination towards selling before the buyer is present, make each involved immediately and mortally sinful, making them perish with the money. If it were possible to obtain grace by giving gold, the mere desire would not suffice to complete the wickedness.

9.But it would require both the one receiving the price and the one giving the grace to be present. Since it is impossible for anyone to obtain grace through money, nor for God to give anything not freely, needing nothing that He could be pleased to receive, nor for a man who has received it from God to give it to anyone desiring to buy it, since it no longer remains with him but leaves once he consents to the sale. Hence, he could not impart the grace that he no longer has. Therefore, reasonably, the mere desire to buy or sell grace is a complete sin of the heart, like pride and envy and other hidden sins that man knows how to commit. This is why it is said not because you obtained the gift through money (which would be impossible), but because you thought you could obtain it with money.

10.Then the blessed company, by the vote of Peter, rejects both the intention of Simon and his money, equally condemning both to perdition. For it is impossible to receive the money without sharing the intention of the one wickedly buying the grace or to be free from the impiety of the seller when one gives. Even if it were possible to act with an uncorrupted mind, just agreeing with the one choosing worse and cooperating with him in the evil plan sufficiently taints the person, even if he does not share the doctrine from which the evil plan originated. Thus, rightly did the disciples of Christ reject both the intention and the money of Simon. For if they did not share his doctrine, nor believed that the grace of the Spirit could be obtained through money, they would still participate in the wickedness by accepting the money in another way. They would seem to share the doctrine, participate in the irreverence and unbelief, and the blasphemy against the Spirit, from which he should have been reproved, to become better through them, to diminish the power he desired, and to exceed the command to give freely what was freely received. Nor should they rejoice in using the instruments of wickedness, meaning the money, and disgrace their liberty of thought or make Simon's perdition an excuse for their gain, as those who delight in the destruction of their neighbors or mix mockery with the purity of preaching, and cunningly pretend to give human benefits and honors, which cannot be given in this way, or believe that from such impiously collected money they could do something better by spending it, but rather be more impious to God, and eventually starve, being abandoned by the visitation they hoped from above.

11.For these reasons, they immediately withdrew as from a precipice and fled as from fire or another great danger. Then Peter, wishing to show that it is not enough to seek the communion of grace without piety, said, "You have neither part nor lot in this matter, for your heart is not right before God." He who seeks with impiety cannot be part of the spiritual authority, not bringing the same intention as us. For our intention is entirely superior to money and all earthly things, following the laws of our teacher, but your heart is corrupted, thinking wrongly about divine matters, which it should not. From the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaks, revealing the inner crookedness unless one perceives prophetically the hidden impieties in it. For saying, "I give you so much money, and give me this spiritual good," or "give me money, and I will give

you this," what a distortion it implies! How much does it exceed all sacrileges, which the divine punished strictly in ancient times? Such are the followers of Simon, trafficking in spiritual ministries. With Simon and their money, they received the judgment from the leader of the apostles, confirmed by the fellow disciples. Nor did they neglect to stand more manfully against this heresy afterward. They knew the enemy of truth would raise many Simons in life, who would fill Christian affairs with turmoil, and as long as Christians prospered, they lived under apostolic rules, especially concerning religion, and subjected those unwilling to abide by the laws to penalties, curbing human audacity. But neglecting that strictness became the beginning of their life's calamities, not being led by the invincible power of Christ, which overcame tyrants and demons with great abundance as befitting divine power; but trying to save themselves by their impious machinations, which could not be weaker.

12.What then have the apostolic canons decreed? They say, "If any bishop, priest, or deacon obtains this dignity through money, let him be deposed and the one who ordained him, and let them be cut off from communion, as Simon the magician was by me, Peter." And again, "If any bishop uses secular rulers and becomes in control of a church through them, let him be deposed and excommunicated, and all who commune with him."

13.It is difficult to enumerate what has been decreed in all councils governed by the apostolic canon; but this one doctrine is proclaimed throughout: that it is not proper for a bishop to be ordained or deposed by secular rulers and to be excommunicated along with those communing with him; for every vote of a cleric made by secular rulers is null. Some explicitly anathematize such actions, stating that no ordination or appointment should be made for money, not even to the rank of porter. They decree that the one ordaining along with the one ordained or appointed should be deposed, and those mediating should be expelled from the clergy if they are clerics, and anathematized if they are laypeople or monks. The great Basil says, "Let no one ordaining for money sophisticate the matter by not receiving beforehand or simultaneously, but afterward; for receiving at any time is receiving. This is avarice, and avarice is idolatry. Do not prefer the idols of Christ or imitate Judas by betraying for gain the One who was once crucified for us, since even the fields and hands of those receiving such profits will be called 'field of blood.' Tarasius, the head of the seventh council, writing to Adrian of Rome, calls those giving the episcopacy for money more impious than Macedonius and his spiritual enemies, equating them with Judas the traitor, selling the Holy Spirit for money as he did the Son of God." I, following the words of the wise, consider simony especially a form of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, therefore not forgivable in this age or the one to come; for they blaspheme the divine Spirit by selling it for money and other worldly transactions, such as honors and services. They act as though the measure of the gift follows the measure of money, hence suffering ultimate punishments here and there.

14.That this passion is difficult to cure and obtain forgiveness is evident to anyone who considers it. Most die from the severity of their capture, and those receiving money do not return it, which alone could release them after much and prolonged contrition, nor do those who gave it renounce what they bought, living the rest of their lives with prudence and committing no further sin against the divine. Instead, they remain impious and subject to the heaviest penalties of the canons, deceiving those who approach them and dragging them to the same precipice. Those who desecrate the improperly gained and impiously spent goods gather even worse upon themselves and others involved in this abomination, even though not many

absurdities arise from this single root. The mere thought of selling the Spirit and its gifts for temporal money is incurable by nature, profaning the means through which sins are forgiven, like bodily diseases that overturn the nature's power, although there may be hope for their cure through God's omnipotence, whether affecting souls or bodies. Thus, Peter said to Simon, "Repent of this wickedness of yours, and pray to the Lord that, if possible, the intent of your heart may be forgiven you," indicating the difficulty of forgiveness due to the nature of the matter.

15.The most difficult and least guarded aspect of this malady is that it encompasses not only the material aspect of priesthood and its ranks, but it extends almost universally to all matters associated with spiritual affairs. The forms of simony are more numerous and diverse than those of all other divisions, each differing in severity and offensiveness in terms of impiety. This is because we assign different degrees of respect to spiritual and sacred matters, although they are all equally holy and venerable by nature. Consequently, all forms of simony share a common characteristic: they are all acts of defiance against God and the Holy Spirit, as well as betrayal, idolatry, and blasphemy, according to the Holy Spirit and those who have spoken with Him. Hence, would God overlook us while those who shamelessly act against divine laws and audaciously encroach upon the sacred and holy were cut down with swords, while everything else remained modest and devoted to God and divine laws? How could this be justified? No, God did not ignore it. Although our rulers governed most of the world, the matters of the Church flourished in dignity. But if those who were supposed to uphold the divine laws ceased to do so and left the path of impiety open with great license to those who wished to transgress, and this God-defying and idolatrous abomination thus flourished among Christians, so that those who ought to have prevented it were instead engaging in and cooperating with it, should not God have become an avenger of His own laws? Should the evil practice of violating both natural and divine justice prevail to such an extent that the exiles and refugees suffered no calamity from God, while He endured the severe transgressions against His laws? Or should He tolerate the lawbreakers among us, as if some other authority were overseeing, instead of Him exacting the penalties for our contempt and insolence? I do not wish to proceed further and delve into our common misfortunes like those who, driven by some passion, devour their own flesh. These are sufficient to cause pain, anguish, and tears for those who are aware of the severe judgments from above, which foretold that our lawlessness would be visited with rods and scourges and has been fulfilled in action. Neither is it necessary to recount the boldness of the wicked who arose from simony, nor the invisibility of the virtues of the better ones, for the sake of exposing the causes of what has transpired, especially as no one of any intelligence is unaware.

16.As for those of you who will comprehend this discourse, first sympathize with our common misfortunes, which have affected us so profoundly and deeply, as the saying goes, to the very bones and marrow, rendering our homeland, along with all its esteemed elements, a paradigm of misfortune throughout life, and a subject of tears for those observing from afar, no less than for those who have experienced the dire circumstances and are enduring them daily. Secondly, believe that the judgment of these misfortunes is near, and trust me who insist upon it firmly, and in the events that loudly testify to it, unless someone has changed their nature to stone and remains unhearing. Additionally, let us act as we ought, and from God, the judgment will come as it ought, for this is His law, not being overly confident to the point of falling into the accursed, nor overly fearful to the point of neglecting the deliverance that it is fitting to seek and find, nor thinking that there is any other remedy than to propitiate God through acts contrary to those by which we

have provoked Him. Above all, believe undoubtedly that neither our kingdom nor the Church could fall into such poverty and depth of misfortunes, nor the cities, lands, bodies, and souls of Christians could turn to the impiety of Muhammad, if we had not erred significantly concerning our faith. The punishment for moral sins would not have exceeded the measure of our experiences. The divine justice is not unjust to exceed the measure of sins in its punishments, but willingly impious, we have been allowed to fall into involuntary and greater impiety. Our sufferings are those of our kin, as is the illness of one part of the body to the rest.

17.Concerning the faith, we have not erred in anything, nor could the entirety of our current misery be attributed to such errors. Neither have some said that we have erred concerning the faith, if such a thing were true, could justly produce such a multitude of calamities. For if we had erred unknowingly and involuntarily, the truth being difficult to discern in matters of divine inquiry, God would have been more merciful to us than He has been. Therefore, we cannot accept that our errors concerning the faith brought such a flood of disbelief. We are convinced that the accusation against us concerning the faith is a vindication rather than a transgression. We do not innovate in matters of faith, nor do we deviate from the reverence of the ancients. On the contrary, if the truth eluded us, our piety would suffice as a defense. It follows, then, that simony is the sought-after cause of our misfortunes. It is akin to heresy or disbelief for Judas, Simon, and Macedonius, and also fitting for the worshippers of idols. It is evident to all, from the laws and penalties established against it, that simony is an abominable act before God. It has long infiltrated and polluted nearly our entire essence, and it is almost synonymous with the confusion and corruption of Christian matters. If it is impossible to rid ourselves of this impurity (and anyone who claims it is impossible would be insane), then at least drive this plague out of this city and its surroundings, even if only with little concern. Divine intervention promises good things through such a change, and the opposite, though unwelcome to me, is evident. God has taken my opinion, and for the sake of our glory, souls, and the salvation of all things, I have spoken against this dreadful simony and advised you. This discourse, preserved, will stand as a testament for me and my goodwill towards you, regardless of how you may receive it and act upon my counsel. May you choose the better path by God's grace.

REFUTING THE ERRORS OF THE JEWS

IV. Against the Jews.

1. Refutation of the Jewish Error (1464).*

† Refutation of the Jewish Error from the Scriptures and from reality, and comparison with Christian truth: in the form of a dialogue: Drafted in the city by me, Gennadius, when I was brought there by force for the third time; and glory be to the God who delivered me for the third time.

1.Christian: Do you wish to engage in a discussion on the points of disagreement between Christians and Jews?

2.Jew: Let us discuss, if you please, but in a simpler manner. We are not very versed in logical methods, and the subject requires extensive discourse on both sides, not only concerning doctrines but also actions.

3.Christian: You speak well. Therefore, first, I ask you whether you are a Jew.

4.Jew: Yes, I am a Jew.

5.Christian: You are not a Jew. For the place of the Jews was Jerusalem and the surrounding area, formerly called Judea. But now that place is neither Judea nor are you from there, but rather perhaps from Prussia, Ephesus, Byzantium, or Thessaly. Just as one born in Ephesus is not Thessalian, so neither are you a Jew, having been born in another land and not in Judea.

6.Jew: This does not prevent me from being a Jew, for I trace my lineage from Judea, even if I was not born in Judea. But I will not argue much with you about this. I claim to be a Jew because I maintain the ancestral faith and religion of the Jews, live by Jewish laws and customs, and use the Jewish language.

7.Christian: I will not argue with you further about the geographical name either, although I can show that this name is taken in vain. For if I, being a Byzantine, though my father moved here from Thessaly, do not claim to be Thessalian since I was born in Byzantium, how can you, whose ancestors left Judea so many years ago during the last dispersion, and possibly even more in previous ones, justly claim to be a Jew? But let us consider the reasons for such a name, which seem to support your argument more reasonably. If it were not for our differences, you would perhaps take pride in being called by the name of the true homeland where you were born, just as it makes no difference to me now to be called Thessalian or Byzantine, as long as there are no differences between Thessalians and Byzantines in language, doctrines, and customs, as there perhaps once were. Now let us leave the matter of language aside. I also know the Latin language, but I would not say I am Latin, because I do not think as the Latins do. I speak of our differences, and similarly, being Greek in language, I would never say I am Greek, because I do not think as the Greeks once did, but prefer to be named after my own faith. And if someone asked me who I am, I would reply that I am a Christian, especially if you asked me or someone who differs from me in belief about the divine. So, you claim to be a Jew because you follow the prophet Moses. For before Moses, the matters of the Jews were diverse and incompatible, and nothing was sound or sacred, except in a few. But through Moses, the Jews first began to live according to divine law, and he was their first lawgiver from God in all matters concerning both communal and personal life, and in their relations with one another and with God. Is this not what you mean?

8.Jew: Yes, exactly that is what I mean.

REFUTING THE ERRORS OF THE JEWS

9.Christian: Then I will show that you are not truly a Jew, for you are not a follower of Moses, though you may think so. If no one who disbelieves or contradicts Moses is truly a Jew, and you disbelieve and contradict him, then you are not a Jew, nor a follower of Moses.

10.Jew: But I deny that accusation; I believe and obey Moses.

11.Christian: But I will show, and in many ways I have to show. First, the Lord spoke to Moses: "I will raise up a prophet from among their brothers, like you; and I will put My words in his mouth, and he shall speak to them all that I command him." And this divine promise, the blessed one spoke to the Jewish people, saying to them: "The Lord God will raise up a prophet from among our brothers, like me, and every soul who does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed." Therefore, since this prophecy was realized, and even though Moses had foretold it, and you do not accept him, what else is this, but disbelief and the contradiction of Moses? For if you do not accept anyone like Moses, how is this not a clear disbelief in the one who spoke?

12.Jew: I do accept him, and I say that it is impossible for Moses' words to fail.

13.Christian: So, you do not accept the one who has come or who is thought to have come, claiming that he is not the one promised by Moses; but do you accept another?

14.Jew: Yes.

15.Christian: Then let me show you that it is not blessed that he has not come until now, and that it is not blessed for him to come after this. At the same time, I will show you that it is impossible, unless he is without argument. First, let me show you the first point. Indeed, at the end of Deuteronomy it is written, after the death of Moses: "And no prophet arose in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face." Therefore, it is clear from this that the one who was to rise up according to Moses was expected soon, and not very far from those who understand Moses' writing well, nor from a great distance, as you still expect him to come at the end of the human race. For this is what "no prophet arose" means. Then, the signs are placed: that the one who is to rise according to Moses, according to the divine promise, must also be known by the Lord, face to face. For it should be understood no more about Moses than about the one coming after Moses, as Moses himself spoke, that God will raise him up, as He raised me, performing a paradox. But this sign you would not yet accept if it came with extreme clarity, even though it was foretold by the prophet. And what does it mean that he will speak to them all that I command him? For He did not say that he would speak to them what you have spoken, or as you have spoken; it would not have been appropriate to say this. For if the one coming after Moses was to say the same things and nothing more, why would there be a need for such a prophecy? Even the interpreters of the Mosaic law and the teachers among the Jews fulfilled this need for the multitude of the Jews, and would continue to fulfill it. But let this be set aside for now. Moses the prophet says, "Every soul that will not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed." And if he speaks of every human soul, and throughout the whole earth, this is much greater than the sign of the one coming. For it is clear that not only among the Jews' kin, and in the place where such a one will be born, will he be the guide of the divine will to the smallest portion of the earth, but also to all men, and throughout the whole earth, the divine word will spread, which will be given through him. And those who will disobey him in the world will bring destruction upon their own souls. Therefore, as he was the precursor of the salvation of souls, and as he will legislate for them as a precursor, it is fitting that the punishment will also be brought to them by the

one who sent him. But let this be left for the present, and let it be understood only about the Jewish souls, as you may choose, since many souls are about to refuse to obey him, and for this reason, they will be destroyed.

16.If then those who do not accept or heed the one coming after Moses shall be utterly destroyed, it is clear that before the destruction of the Jews, this one was destined to come, so that their disobedience and insolence towards him would be the cause of their ruin. Therefore, it was necessary for him to come while Jerusalem was still established, and while the nation was still intact. For this would be fitting with the divine favor towards the Jewish people, offering help to those who would be saved, enabling them to be saved always if they believed, and destroying those who opposed. But now, you, expecting such a one, think you will find deliverance from ruin through him; and perhaps you will die in the disappointment of your expectation, just as the crucifiers of Christ and their successors, during whose time the destruction occurred, which continues to affect the dispersed Jews. And what kind of ruin will befall those who will disobey the one who is to be resurrected? For they will not disobey while they are gathered together and possessing their homeland, to be immediately destroyed upon disobedience, but rather, if such a one were to come after these events, he himself would first heal such a ruin among you, and would gather the city and rebuild the temple, restoring everything to its ancient state, and then begin to teach. And who among the Jews would disobey him having such power and having done so many good deeds? Or who would be so foolish as to disobey the liberator who has performed so many unexpected and extraordinary good deeds for them, and thus be destroyed because of it? If there were indeed such people around him who would be destroyed for disobedience, before they could be properly gathered, what would be the need for the divine to innovate such things for such people, unless compelled by some greater necessity? And this has indeed come to pass, the turning of the entire world towards the one true God, from the error of demons and polytheism and idolatry that accompanied their birth. And if such people existed and suffered such things, what else could demonstrate that our understanding of the Jews is correct and that the events testify to it? That the prophesied one came when he should have and as was fittingly expected, but the Jews of that time, having disobeyed, were destroyed according to Moses' prophecy. And I do not mean those who crucified him, but those who disobeyed, as Moses also rightly said. For it is evident that neither Pilate wanted to crucify our Jesus, nor did the multitude of Jews come to the conclusion by themselves that he needed to be crucified, but they were persuaded by the chief priests and Pharisees because Jesus always appeared troublesome to them, as he himself said in the things he was about to lead them away from their wickedness, and through them all the Jewish people, and to turn the other nations away from the deception of demons and polytheism, drawing them towards the one God. Attempting first to persuade through teachings, then also by proving with evidence, as they were unwilling to accept the divine word. Therefore, not wanting to obey, they persuaded the crowd with fears and falsehoods about their destruction, which would not have happened if they had intended to obey Jesus, and was more likely to occur because of their disobedience. And God knew long beforehand that they would not be persuaded, and foretold their destruction. Hence, the Jews were destroyed by disobedience, while the whole world was spiritually saved, turning away from error, having everything very well, with those proclaiming the divine word through Jesus philosophizing in patience with the afflictions brought upon them for such a word, because of the appearance of such a word being both novel and extraordinary. They philosophized well because of the command of the one who sent them and

the promises from there regarding the completion of their work, and being kindled by the love of the world's salvation.

17.Such things should have been foretold and accomplished by the disciples of Christ, being strengthened by superior power. Thus, from the things said, it is clear that there is no reason for the one foretold by Moses not to have come, and that it was necessary for him to come at that time, as I claim, following the premises of the Mosaic accounts. For the other proofs, if you wish, we will set forth afterward. That it is also impossible for him to come after this time, that is, from now on, if he has not already come, is evident to anyone wisely and dispassionately considering it. Either he himself will be the one to gather the Jews first and establish the city and the sanctuary for them, then teach and speak to them as the Lord commands him, or another will have done these things beforehand, and then he will rise among those who have been gathered and are worthy, if they wish to listen, being sent from God and will teach. These things have been shown to have no reason in the immediately preceding statements and will now be shown otherwise. Firstly, it is in itself impossible for such a gathering of the Jews in the city to happen again, not because of our Christian positions and the truth as we would state it, but also as you might say, if you wish to consider it wisely and dispassionately. It is clear that in the previous captivities of the Jews, the durations of those times and their releases were very clearly foretold. But concerning this most notable and complete destruction of everything there, the capture and desolation of the sanctuary, the city, and the entire nation, and that these things would happen by the Romans, were foretold by Daniel, as Josephus also attests. But Daniel does not speak of any relief from these calamities or a return to their former state for the Jews; on the contrary, he insists that such desolation will last until the end. The words of Isaiah and the other prophets will be set forth later, if you wish. But for now, let us rely on what Daniel has, who says at the end of the tenth vision, after explaining the calamity and foretelling its cause, that desolation will continue until the end. This is the same as saying that desolation will be unceasing from now on, and its only end will be the end of times. The actions of the Jews correspond to such a prohibition. For later, the dispersed Jews attempted to gather and rebuild the city and the temple, either not considering Daniel's prohibition or disregarding it. But whatever they built was demolished by them from the foundations. Hadrian was reigning when they dared these things, and they suffered countless punishments. Then, under Constantine the Great, they dared the same things and suffered equally. Their ears were then hardened, the emperor ordering a merciful and just punishment to show them that they willingly persisted in their deafness, not only previously disobeying Jesus, whom Moses promised to them and suffered destruction, but now also, Jesus foretelling the continuous destruction of the temple and the city, and Daniel foretelling it from afar, they shamelessly and obstinately attempted the impossible. Then, under Julian the Apostate, they endeavored the same. And he neither punished them nor hindered them; rather, he encouraged and urged them, intending to show that the prophecy of Jesus was false, as he thought. But God, supporting His own truth, punished them when fire leapt out while they were digging the foundations, burning some and scattering others miserably. The apostate himself was soon justly deprived of his life and his audacity, showing through so many events that Daniel's prohibitive prophecy about the Jews not regaining those things until the end was true. It suffices that he spoke of desolation without mentioning improvement, which he would have if it were to happen, and that the Jews tried three times, hindered by both humans and God, rather by God; for God is the cause of human hindrances, without whom nothing is accomplished or overturned by humans. Since Cyrus and Darius, son

of Hystaspes, were very favorable to the Jews, it was God who wished for the restoration of the temple and the city then, and they consented. Constantine, who was much more compassionate towards them and less opposed to the Jews in faith, nevertheless did not permit it because God did not desire it. And when Julian permitted and aided them, opposing God, the divine judgment intervened. Therefore, as I said, it must be considered utterly hopeless in itself for you to be gathered again in Jerusalem with the prosperity you hope for. Furthermore, it is impossible for any Jew to gather you there with such prosperity. It is clear that the governance of the inhabited world is now almost entirely divided between two religions, and Jews, scattered and few, serve both authorities everywhere. As long as the current rulers govern Egypt, Palestine, and the surrounding lands, your hope is impossible. Perhaps they will even oppose Christians more vigorously and those who are free until now. This will continue until the end, as we said, making your hope impossible. If it were ever to happen that someone of another religion, like Julian's purpose of mockery, were to gather you there and grant some authority regarding the establishment of the sanctuary, first, this would be prevented by God. If it were possible and allowed, it would not make any difference to the current rejection of God within them. They would be slaves to such rulers no less than now, and such a gathering would bring them no dignity. Nor would the one rising among them in such conditions be known face to face by God like Moses. The time and your situation then would be unworthy of such divine visitation and such a prophet. God would not act in vain, which is impossible. Neither would it be for the entire world, for no one is to be added to them now, any more than before, except the kin Jews, and especially now; nor for a significant number and virtue of Jews. If it ever happened that the place became Christian, which is humanly improbable, the hope of the Jews would be even more impossible. If Christians and those of the other religion divide the inhabited world until the end, as now, Jews will be in the same or worse situation. Jews will never be strong enough anywhere as long as these two groups hold power to accomplish such things. Nor, if another religion besides these were to revive or appear for the first time and dominate the land, would the hope of the Jews have any place, no less than under these two religions. Therefore, it is rightly said by us that it is impossible for the one foretold by Moses to come after this, as you expect. I say this, thus conceding, with the hope of convincing you to turn to the truth, both from Jewish premises and from reasonable arguments, which anyone would accept as reasonable, not favoring either side. It is necessary to use such arguments with you now, as you are still steeped in the stubbornness of your ancestral beliefs. But we who are enlightened by the light of Jesus think that nothing could be more godless or foolish in all human life than the Jews' shameless disbelief and irrational expectation towards Him, as firmly as we know anything else evident beyond dispute. Therefore, if it is impossible for the one foretold by Moses to come after this, as a Jew might say, wanting to follow reasonable argument, then either he never came, nor will come, and the word of God through Moses has failed, or you rightly deny it; or he has come, and he is none other than Jesus, whom we proclaim. It is equally contradictory and faithless to Moses to think that the promised one will never come, and to not accept the one who came, given it is impossible for another to come henceforth. Therefore, I rightly said that you are contradicting and disbelieving Moses, making you not a Jew. I will also show this in other ways, if you wish, as I promised at the beginning.

18.Jew: But do not proceed further until I respond to you. I will not answer all the many points you made now, either conceding or denying them. But I ask you, do you accept this prophecy of the prophet Moses about the one to be raised up by God after him?

19.Christian: Yes, I accept it fully, and I consider it most true and divine.

20.Jew: But I will show you that you do not accept it. For our prophet and lawgiver Moses says, "The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me." You, however, say that Jesus, whom you claim was prophesied by Moses to come, is not called or considered a prophet, but the Son of God and God. And there is a great difference between God and prophet, servant and master. Therefore, you lie about the Jesus you proclaim, even if he himself placed himself in the rank of a prophet, and you also lie about Moses. Or if he calls himself the Son of God and God, not a prophet, we, not wanting to disbelieve or contradict Moses, reasonably did not accept him, as he contradicts Moses and God who inspired him. You, however, are guilty of the same error as the one who contradicts. Either you do not understand the prophecy correctly, although it is clear, or you willfully disbelieve and contradict Moses, and attach your crime to us Jews, who, because we believe our prophet who promised the coming of a prophet, do not wish to follow the one who came not as a prophet or was believed to be a prophet according to Moses, but as the Son of God and God, and so much higher than what it means to be like Moses, as the word of the Mosaic text desires. Respond to this.

21.Christian: We appreciate your intelligence. For what you say is not superfluous, as we hear from most Jews, and it is not intolerable. Therefore, you give us great hope that our struggle and effort will not be in vain but will come to a successful end. For Jews, being strong-minded, do not wish to compare our faith with their own positions to find what fits or does not fit well within them, not being led by prejudice, but by sound reasoning. We, knowing your matters well and on what you base your opinion, then placing them alongside our own, find the best and most complete alignment, without which things could not happen well. Such must be the examiner of truth. And you, likewise, would be such, not seeking what to refute to avoid, but reasonably persuading or being persuaded in speaking. For we do not converse in vain as if we do not have common principles, for if someone speaks against the principles and contradicts, no one would converse with them, as Aristotle says. But starting from the same principles, as you see, and adding reasonable arguments, we conduct the discussion. Previously, we showed that it is not reasonable for Moses' prophecy about the prophet to be raised to be postponed indefinitely, and after the complete ruin of all Jewish matters, it is not reasonable to hope further for this if there was no word in the world about the promised one having come, and he being acknowledged as such. Now we will resolve your difficulty concerning us with the guidance of God. First, we ought to examine whether the matter concerning our Jesus is worthy of being aligned and agreeing with Moses' prophecy or not. For if it is not worthy of being aligned, as Jesus is far from being raised by God or coming to the rank of a prophet, or bringing God's commandments to the Jews, or rather to the whole world, and thus those who disobey would be destroyed, not because he calls himself the Son of God or is worshipped by others as such, it must be rejected, but because his purpose and words and life entirely align with what was promised by Moses concerning the coming one. But if his words and life were fitting for a prophet and one sent by God, and thus worthy of being listened to and honored, not only by Jews but by the whole earth, first in the impossibility of another's coming, neither has another like this come after Moses except Jesus, nor is it reasonably expected that another will come, and in the certainty of Moses', rather God's, promise through him, necessarily being fulfilled, it must be believed that he is the one promised by Moses, and be accepted as a prophet and revealed by God, and heed his words as heavenly commandments. Furthermore, it is necessary to believe him not only in what he legislates for humans and shows the way of salvation, but also in what he reveals about himself to the one who sent him from heaven,

and also believe his disciples, who assert the same about him, even to the point of foretelling their death for what they asserted, just as they were believed by the prudent Jews and nations throughout the earth, initially a few in each region adding to them due to the supernatural nature of their preaching, but later many were added soon, because God from above confirmed their care. And we say these things, not yet forcing you to hold such an opinion about him instead of the ancestral slander against him, for the word of truth will compel you to that in due course, but for now, we present ourselves and reasonably refute the accusation against us about disobeying Moses. For we, because of the works of Jesus alone, even if there was no prophecy about him, would have believed him and those who conveyed everything about him to us, having immediately heard and seen him; therefore we have believed. But those who disobey Moses while pretending to obey and thus do not accept the one believed by us to be much greater than a prophet and bring testimony from Moses, seem not only to be dull towards the truth of matters but also to disbelieve Moses. And we seem to act correctly on both counts. Therefore, nothing can lead us away from faith in Jesus, being such as he declared himself in words and showed in deeds, and those who followed him proclaimed in words and confirmed their proclamation in deeds; and God from above testified, turning the whole earth from the deception of demons to himself through such faith in Jesus. Therefore, as I said, nothing can lead us away from such a belief about Jesus that the one to be raised is called a prophet and will be raised by God as Moses was. And you, if you accept that he is a prophet and was raised by God to speak his commandments to humans and is the one prophesied by Moses, you would immediately accept all the references he made about himself to God the Father wisely. For it would not be possible for such a one coming from God to lie about himself, nor would it be acceptable for you to disobey or not believe him, being such and with such a threat imposed on those who do not listen.

22.So that you may understand well that we honor Moses more than you Jews do and comprehend him better—insofar as we rightly adhere to the truth to which he appropriately guided at the proper time—first, the name and reality of prophecy appeared much greater in the times of Moses than afterward. For later, as more prophets arose who proclaimed both the disciplines from God upon the Jews and their recalls from them, the name of "prophet" was esteemed less among the Jews. Some, suspecting deception—because certain false prophets arose seizing the title of prophecy—and thus those who threatened and reproved were considered very burdensome, and those who made promises were deemed unbelievable and were scorned. Some of them were treated not as benefactors and good men but as enemies and wicked ones, until the outcome of events showed them to be true prophets of future things and inspired from heaven, and signs occurred among them indicating this. But Moses alone they regarded as greater than a mere human—not only those who came later paying attention to him but even those during his time—though he himself suffered somewhat from the innate stubbornness and impetuosity of his people in many ways, although, as has been said, he was revered by them more than anyone else. And indeed, Moses's prophecy greatly surpassed that of others, revealing many things about the future and, most importantly, the ultimate and supernatural care of God for humanity, which we will show you more clearly as we proceed. But he was greater, having taught all the earlier things, about which no one could have known if they had not been revealed by God. For these things are now known to all people through Moses alone, both those who hold orthodox beliefs and those who hold false ones. In matters concerning the creation of beings and the production of humanity, and all subsequent things he taught and wrote about, almost all people now agree,

and there is no nation of humans whose account does not consider Moses to have been great. Furthermore, he gave a divine law, not prophesied earlier by other prophets, but confirmed by many signs from God. Because of all this, and also for the wisdom he had acquired from the Egyptians and the signs wrought through him, he was called a god by the Jews, as Diodorus narrates in his first book of histories, even though he was Greek, thus providing a more credible testimony about Moses to everyone. He writes: "After the old establishment of life in Egypt, said to have occurred under gods and heroes, it is said that Moses, a man great in spirit and most capable in life, was the first to persuade the masses to live according to written laws." He continues: "Among the Jews, Moses, called a god, was the first lawgiver; among the Egyptians, they say the second lawgiver was Saouchnis, a man distinguished by understanding." Other ancient historians also recount this about Moses and the reverent reputation he had among the Jews. Therefore, the title of "prophet" was something great then, as the Jews also called him a god together with a prophet, as the previous Pharaohs and Egyptians so deified him. The Lord also promised Moses, saying, "See, I have made you like God to Pharaoh," so that through the signs he performed in Egypt, he would no longer be regarded as a mere man by the Egyptians but would be worshipped as a god. Similarly, Nebuchadnezzar, falling on his face before Daniel, worshipped him and ordered incense and sacrifices to be offered to him. Thus easily did the polytheists of the earth deify and worship humans. So, knowing this, that such was his reputation among the Jews, it seemed sufficient to call the one to come a prophet to show his greatness and divinity. Therefore, it was enough for those who had long expected the coming of such a prophet from Moses to accept him as a prophet and thus divine, and greater than the one previously promised, as it is fitting for the later one to be greater. For he does not simply say a prophet will come, as those who prophesied in the time of Uzziah and thereafter were called prophets, but he will be a lawgiver to humans from God. "For he will raise up a prophet like me," he says, with the same care and wondrous acts, in proportion to the divine goodness and philanthropy. For the improvement of human beliefs and morals, he will speak to humans from God, and whatever God commands him, and therefore anyone who does not listen to him will be utterly destroyed, even if he is to have the greatest authority as a result of this providence. Just as the divine goodness, having sent no lawgiver and prophet like this before, timely sent Moses to the Jews, so it reasonably followed to send one greater and more divine afterward. For this was fitting for the divine goodness and wisdom, to proceed in an orderly manner for the benefit of humans, since He would not leave them forever in the ungodly and disorderly life governed by ancestral sin, gradually departing from the natural law and divine grace. And just as He led them out of the disorderly and lawless life by sending the beginning and foreword of good things through a lawgiver, so it was reasonable to send a more perfect and divine law through another greater providence, suitable for those more prepared for good by the previous law. For God would not be worse than human teachers or physicians, who prepare the nature or reasoning and will of humans for higher teachings or remedies through less perfect ones, to do the opposite. This would be superfluous. Therefore, the prophet says, "With the same care He raised me up among you, He will raise him up too, but the benefit from such care will be greater. For through me, He delivered you from the bondage of Pharaoh and the bitter education and gave a law for salvation. But through him, He will achieve the freedom of the whole world from the devil and the true and highest life through a greater legislation for those who will believe." The law given through me to you has less power, as is fitting for an introductory law, and will not overcome human obstacles to spread and prevail throughout the world. But the law given through him will have this power and will be a

guide of divine will not only to the Jews but also to all humans, running through the whole world. Thus, it will be received gladly by those predestined for salvation, so that those who receive it will despise and overcome all difficulties for the improvement from him. Every soul who does not listen to him legislating in this manner will be utterly destroyed, not only eternally but also temporally. Not only will the Jews disobey this and bitterly lose their freedom, city, temple, and all together, having no consolation left, but also all the earth will experience this, as that legislation will be sown successfully in the world and will entirely uproot and destroy the tares of previous disbelief. All these things are indicated in the words of the Mosaic prophecy and promise. Now, anyone with understanding, seeing from the events that they have been fulfilled, will understand those prophetic words in this manner, and will consider such an intention in them, even if we have touched upon this consideration moderately now, always looking to what is more acceptable to you, as is fitting in the beginning, until we begin to investigate more accurately with God's guidance, as you wish.

23.The blessed Moses at that time should neither have been entirely unaware of such a divine economy, for he would not have prophesied about it, nor have known it so fully and precisely, as it would eventually come to pass in all its works, which would have been reasonable. For the obscurity of other prophecies, given in a compact manner, was not only for the hearers but also for those serving and foretelling them, as the future was not fully revealed to them, either in how it would come to pass or be understood once fulfilled. This most of all belongs to God and is eternally present with Him. Then, as is reasonable among humans, it belongs to those who have seen the outcome, who see the prophecies fulfilled, aligning the works with the prophecies. However, different people investigate their causes more accurately and loftily, relying on the hope of divine guidance. Yet all are in pursuit of accuracy, which only God truly knows. Those who, through hardness of heart and disobedience, or ignorance derived from the works, have become unworthy of divine illumination, not only do not pay attention to the compactly spoken words of the prophets but also do not heed or contradict the fulfilled ones. The disposition of those inspired by God and foretelling about these matters is, as expected, wiser and more trustworthy, being immediately accepted by pious hearers and souls. Yet even they do not have the clearest understanding about these matters, as is reasonable from the works to those seeing them wisely and dispassionately as they come to pass, and not without divine enlightenment. Therefore, Moses, knowing that the one to come would arrive for the betterment of humanity and being rightly inspired about the superior excellence of his words and deeds, saw it much more gloriously than the words indicated. However, the entire mystery concerning the one to come could not reasonably have been revealed to him then. For the depth of the mystery is such that even those who genuinely believed in it after it was fulfilled and came to pass, and were thus ready to die for it, could not grasp it, although the truth about it was revealed to them from God. Therefore, they died for this belief and desired to make the truth about it known to others out of gratitude. The divine inspiration through the wonders performed around and through them confirmed both them and those who experienced and saw these things. This is inherent in all divine matters and universally acknowledged truths about God, that even though they are believed to be so, they do not fully correspond to reasoning. Among the paradoxical and greater works of God concerning us, or our beliefs about Him, such incomprehensibility is even more present. Knowing and confessing that these things are as taught, and dying for this confession, we cannot fully explain how they are and how they exist in themselves, nor can we convey it to others, as in other matters corresponding to our reasoning and thus naturally known to it.

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24.Moreover, what is very reasonable, if it were necessary and possible for the blessed Moses to know precisely the entire mystery concerning the one he prophesied, it would not have been appropriate to elaborate on it to the Jewish populace. Firstly, since it was not the time for the mystery to occur according to the divine plan concerning it, hence it did not occur in that way, there was no need to speak of it plainly. Secondly, the Jews would not have accepted it as such. If, even when it had occurred and was confirmed by many works and shining in events, they did not pay attention, how would they have believed it, merely hearing it spoken? Let it be said, then, that the divine prophet would have declared at that time: "God will raise up from among our brothers a man, true in appearance, and born of a virgin without seed, but united with and moved by the eternal and divine Word of God, so as to be the same God and man, not by the identity of natures but by their personal and individual union in an infinite and true distinction of divinity and humanity, with the divine Word not assuming complete and true humanity, but with the divine Word establishing such a human person in himself. Therefore, being such, he will use his humanity as a servant of multifaceted benevolence towards the human race. Being the Word of God and the natural offspring of the divine mind, and, as is fitting, existing with the begetter in the dignity of divinity, he will smooth out all difficulties of this supernatural benevolence, appearing in his human aspect, by his divine power, and will accomplish the heavenly law and the will of God the Father concerning the salvation of humans throughout the whole world. He will allow so much to the difficulty of the human nature united to his person that he will perfect and accomplish the supernatural economy of human salvation through it, as the improvement of humanity could not otherwise become so great and universal according to God's purpose for humanity, if not through such an economy perfected in the assumption of true humanity. And the Jews will crucify him—I mean his human aspect—crucify him willingly and able to avoid it if he wished. Seeing him risen and ascended into heaven, the few who believed in him and followed him, first teaching and performing wonders, will transform the temporary and apparent disgrace from his human passion and voluntary suffering into glory, with his cooperation from heaven. They will spread the truth about doctrines and piety, and the guidance to the spiritual and truly human life given through him, traveling throughout the whole world with many dangers and labors, with the most extraordinary heavenly cooperation from him, being invincible and unconquerable. They will disseminate and establish this benevolence everywhere, with him assigning such ministry to them and promising his cooperation in seemingly impossible matters. Then, as the false and alien nations throughout the inhabited world believe in the proclamation about him and his laws, and this prophecy about him, but his own and true Jews alone, instead of approaching, having rewarded him with such a punishment in his apparent aspect, that is, his humanity, will be utterly destroyed not in a long exile, like in Egypt, or in other captivities and afflictions they underwent for their sins in the meantime, but enduring complete and final destruction unheard of." If Moses had spoken thus, even with much moderation, they would have immediately dealt with him as they did to other prophets later, laying hands on him as on one who dreams irreligious and impossible things and seeks to deceive them, or as one who slanders their descendants and induces disbelief and impiety, for having laid unjust hands on the heavenly benefactor, they would have condemned him in anger. If even the fulfilled matter, wisely and only preliminarily foretold and testified to by Moses himself, was so bitterly disbelieved and remains disbelieved to this day, what kind of people would they have been then? Did they not reject Moses on other matters, even though he bore with them divinely and managed their impetuosity and arrogance? Here they would have been even more shameless in their

addition. Therefore, even if he wished to speak more clearly about the prophesied one, having himself been more clearly revealed such things beforehand, all benefit through Moses would have been nullified, including the preparation of the law given through him for the more complete improvement of humanity, and his prophecy about it, contributing not little to the divine guidance of those willing and worthy to be enlightened. All this would have been nullified by the utter shamelessness that would have ensued against him. Thus, the purpose of God's good providence toward humans would have been undermined. Therefore, it was necessary to prophesy the divine providence through the coming one so that it, being proclaimed from afar, would be believed by those predestined to eternal life, and by such distant testimony about it, serve as assistance and reward for their prudent obedience. To those disbelieving, as ones rejected from afar for their own sake, it would provide a reasonable pretext for just divine punishment in the presence of divine justice. For these reasons, it was necessary to prophesy, but it was not necessary to recount it plainly, nor would it have been beneficial to those who would believe. Therefore, the concealed aspect in the coming Jesus was combined with the apparent and shining aspect, so that it might lead the intelligent to him and make their approach voluntary, not by compelling necessity, as is the case with things most familiar by word or sense, but also by willing assent to the perceived truth, with the difficulty associated with it yielding, which is peculiar to faith.

25.From all this, Jew, you can understand how Moses's distant prophecy about Christ contributes significantly to the true knowledge of Christ among humans, even if you, who think you are entirely encompassed by the Mosaic law, should find this most useful. The fact that he is called a prophet there and not explicitly the Son of God or God in those words does not harm the truth about him to those who wish to consider these matters wisely and without contention. It is enough for them that Moses foretold someone would come from God, proclaiming and performing the divine will among humans and wondrously raised by God, just as Moses himself was wondrously raised, as his history shows. These things suffice for those who attend wisely, aligning with the wonders that occurred concerning Jesus, which incomparably surpass those of Moses, and were later accomplished by him, much more supernatural than those done by Moses, and by far surpassing in number, with a life much higher than Moses's, though he was also inspired, and teachings and laws in harmony with his life, producing similar followers and introducing them to the heavenly Father. And if more and clearer prophecies were needed for the more disobedient about Jesus, consistent with what is believed about him in the world, many of the later prophets have foretold thus, and much more timely, both after the simpler prophecy about him through Moses and closer to the actual events. For the prophets themselves foretold not only about his wondrous raising by God and such teachings and laws and what he would suffer from disobedient people, but also about all things concerning him or by him, both glorious and seemingly inglorious before and during the passion, his rising afterward and ascending, and even what happened to his disciples and apostles, very clearly. All of which, if you wish, we will explain to you, knowing everything well, but still adhering to your ancestral interpretation about them as is to be expected up to this point. For now, we have sufficiently resolved your difficulty regarding us, seeking perhaps not unreasonably how we, saying we attend and believe Moses, have a different opinion about the one who has come, as we say, from what Moses himself indicates in the words of his prophecy about him. We also let you know that Moses himself said afterward about the future: "Rejoice, O heavens, with him, and let all the angels of God worship him," which cannot be applied to a mere man. Do we seem to you to be speaking unconvincingly?

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26.Jew: I cannot say that what you have said is unconvincing, for it is not irrational; it holds much reason within itself. It would be desirable for me to be able to respond in this way to a Jew questioning me if I were a Christian. But to say that I completely agree with it, I neither wish nor should. For not everything about our matter is contained within these main points. But since you previously said you would show me in other ways the futility of my insistence on the law of Moses and reverence for him, you may add those too.

27.Christian: I will add a few points briefly, for there is no need to elaborate much on them. I say then, that the blessed prophet, through his own legislation to the Jews and according to the divine administration granted and interwoven with it, primarily established the laws concerning religion, that is, the worship of God. He condemned the independent judgment of the Jews or made them inexcusable for their dullness or wickedness in their condition. He allotted them the city and the temple in it as the place of priesthood and all religious reverence towards God, established by him, so that they could not worship God properly outside of them and would instead act impiously if they tried. Those taken captive in the past adhered to this well. They did not dare to sacrifice outside the city. They said: "For there is no time, neither burnt offering, nor sacrifice, nor offering, nor incense, nor place to yield fruit before You and find mercy." Being compelled to sing the songs of Zion by their captors, they could not endure it, saying: "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land?" Instead, with a contrite soul and a spirit of humility, and with their gaze fixed intently on God, they confessed their sins, justified Him in bringing the evils upon them, and thus showed their devotion to the divine very well. For they still had the hope of reclaiming the place of those religious rites, and for this reason, they neither wanted to violate it by performing them outside the allotted place nor to consider anything else. This hope was given to them by those who were close to God, who stayed with them and shared in their captivity, setting an example of the owed behavior among the nations and keeping pure, revealing to them the causes of divine anger and instilling in their souls true repentance and abstinence from evil. When these things were done, the hope of returning to their home in prosperity was well-founded for them, and it happened timely by divine philanthropy. And God said to the Jews through Zechariah: "Did you fast for Me those seventy years?" referring to the time of captivity, indicating that there were neither sacrifices, nor songs, nor festivals possible there. Daniel also, when the need arose, fasted for three weeks in the first month, when the feast of Passover and Unleavened Bread was to be observed without fasting if they were in their homeland. But being outside of it, they could justifiably eat and fast without the prescribed time for lawful observance. Therefore, at that time, they reasonably refrained from lawful worship, and the abstinence from lawful rites out of reverence was lawful for them, even though the hope of returning to the city was firmly held. For Jeremiah had foretold them in Babylon first, saying: "When seventy years are completed, God will visit you and bring you back to your place." Daniel, the second to foretell them there, said: "From the time of the cessation of sacrifices among you, 1290 days will pass; blessed is he who waits and reaches the end of these days," for in 1435 days, they would be gathered again in the temple and the city. At that time, they refrained from lawful worship. But having suffered the utmost evils from the Romans, they had no prophet with them until now, predicting clearly and beneficially the return, as in those previous returns. All prophecy has ceased among them now, since they could not do anything in vain against God.

28.The works of the prophets were primarily threefold, as is evident in their words: first, the guidance through warnings and promises towards fulfilling the divine will and living a life according to reason and law. The warnings served to counteract evil and were threats of punishment for those who did not improve. The

promises, on the other hand, were incentives to cultivate virtue, and these promises were fulfilled as foretold, showing the divine goodness was more ready to bestow grace and mercy upon the devout than to turn away from the wicked. Second, the transformation towards goodness through daily teachings, even after just punishments for incurable sinners, with the foresight and proclamation of divine mercy following such transformation. Third, the proclamation of God's greatest providence concerning the human race, which was fulfilled through our Lord Jesus Christ. With the ultimate goal and common work of prophecy being completed, and the remaining two aspects being unnecessary due to what was previously mentioned and evident by any rational means, all prophecy ceased from afar. Thus, it can be rightly asserted that prophecy ceased among the Jews, and that with the cessation of prophecy, there is no longer any hope for benefit from it among them. For us, convinced by our Lord Jesus and the truth, we say that John was the last prophet and the end of the prophets. "The law and the prophets were until John," he says, rightly so. For the coming of Christ, first prophesied by Moses and then proclaimed more clearly by the subsequent prophets up to Daniel, needed to be proclaimed more urgently by a prophet who would not speak of his coming but reveal him as present and yet unnoticed by many. The Jews claim that prophecy ceased from long ago, and we may agree, in the sense that the prophecy about Jesus coming as the expected one ceased earlier, as he was soon to come. And with the fulfillment of the last week, it is said, "Sacrifice and libation will be taken away, and on the temple will be the abomination of desolation," indicating a continuous desolation until the end of all things. The removal of sacrifices and libations, as they were unholy and offered by unworthy priests, and the abomination of desolation, as being the royal standards brought into the temple, are also attested by your own historians, Philo and Josephus. Additionally, Gabriel revealed to Daniel the things concerning our Lord Jesus, that he was anointed as the Most Holy, sealing the prophecies about him and fulfilling God's eternal plan for the removal of human iniquities, their atonement, and the renewal of true righteousness with eternal fruits in the human soul.

29.Returning to my original purpose in this section of my words, I say that the Jews during those previous exiles, despite the prophets who were with them foretelling their return and faithfully promising it, did not dare to violate the law under the pretext of piety, which forbade worship outside the temple and the city. However, the current Jews, having no prophet to faithfully promise them an end to their misfortunes before these troubles come, which have been prophesied to come, and when and how they will come, and that they will be incurable until the end, are acting unlawfully by singing and offering sacrifices and praying on foreign soil. And if they hope to regain the places of their worship, first, they should not act thus, but rather follow the example of the prophets who did not worship at all during the time of exile, despite having a clear and near hope of returning to their place. Moreover, there is no one who predicted their return before these calamities or now faithfully promises it from God, so if there is any hope for them, it is utterly baseless. And if, being completely deprived of such hope, they act this way, it is even worse as it leads to lawlessness. They should rather refrain, lest they continually provoke divine wrath and justly be deprived of the only place of sacrifices, as they themselves create places for themselves that are not permitted. Or they should seek divine healing in another way, and they would not fail if they sought this from God, since there is a necessity to worship for those who care at all about divine matters, as there is no race in the world that does not worship according to some law. Neither observing the law that forbids worship outside, nor seeking the reason why they have been cast into such straits by God, nor caring for their deliverance from these, do they remain in

the ailments of the desperate. They should also consider that for the sins of their fathers, God said to Malachi: "What do I care for the multitude of your sacrifices? And your new moons and your sabbaths and the great day I cannot endure. Your fasting and holidays my soul hates," and so on. To Amos, He said: "I reject your feasts, and I will not smell the scent of your assemblies, and I will not accept your sacrifices." The same applies to Jeremiah and Isaiah and the other prophets, although they were devout in the manner of their worship. For although they performed them according to the law and in the designated places, since they did not find in them the true and genuine worship and service, which consists in fulfilling the other commandments that direct love toward God and neighbor, God rejected their secondary worship with abhorrence. Now, if the Jews piously observe those greater things, they should not act unlawfully concerning this secondary worship. But if they sin grievously in the greater matters, they provoke much harsher divine wrath than in former times, and this is inevitable, nor can they think otherwise. They should not add a second reason for stubbornness and wrath, the worship outside the lawful boundaries, and instead of atonement, they bring upon themselves provocation. Is it any wonder that they err in such matters and make bad decisions about greater ones? So then, trying to worship in any way, you suffer needlessly, not because you want to worship, but because you do not see the divine purpose in these things and the reason why God has excluded you from worship, having taken away your place of worship continuously, and why before this He confined your worship to one city.

30.While you also hold to circumcision, thinking you are doing a favor to the lawgiver, you are indeed mistaken in this regard as well. Circumcision is not an indispensable command of God, nor is it inherently necessary for the salvation of humans. It does not extend to the entirety of human nature, as even women, who are not circumcised, are saved if they live according to the law. Moreover, before the divine law was given through Moses, while the Jews lived without the law, Abraham introduced this practice, being guided by God, as a temporary measure. If it were absolutely necessary, human nature would have been created in this way from the beginning. Therefore, neither by natural law nor by the written law is circumcision necessarily attached; its cause and necessity are temporary. Thus, once its cause is nullified, it is reasonable that circumcision should also be abolished. Clearly, circumcision was initially given to the Jews as a symbol, so that, being enslaved among the nations, they might be separated by this symbol and, when they were set free, might be recognized again by this same symbol, and might be distinguished in their interactions with those of other faiths, so that Abraham's seed and race might have no intermingling with others. For none of the other Jewish symbols would have been difficult for the Gentiles to observe, so that by secretly participating in these, they might deceive and lead many to their own impiety, being especially inclined towards the luxuriousness of their sacrifices. But circumcision was not easy for the Gentiles to endure. It is clearly shown that circumcision was given as a symbol, for during the forty years they wandered in the wilderness, without mixing with any others, they did not circumcise the children born there. Circumcision also holds a more spiritual reference, namely, that those who are circumcised in the flesh should also cut away the pride of the soul, just as the flesh is circumcised. Therefore, if there were no necessity to distinguish from those of different races, it is enough to circumcise the hardness of the heart, leaving the flesh uncircumcised. For this reason, Moses said, "And you shall circumcise the hardness of your hearts," and Jeremiah likewise said, "Circumcise yourselves to the Lord, and take away the foreskins of your heart," since this is more urgent and beneficial for salvation, and without this, the circumcision of the flesh would be of no benefit, except for marking themselves against

the Gentiles. Hence, Jeremiah also reproaches the Jews, saying, "All the nations are uncircumcised in the flesh, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in their hearts," so that they should not boast about their circumcision in the flesh but should rather correct themselves, considering themselves worse than the Gentiles, as they do not accept the more necessary circumcision of the spirit. For it is said that it is not by the lack of circumcision in the flesh that we separate from the assemblies of others, but by not worshiping the true God and instead revering created things in place of the Creator. For those who truly renounced the faith and agreed with us, nothing would prevent us from associating with them, even if they were not circumcised, nor would it be necessary for us to be circumcised for distinction. The entire house of Israel, by transgressing God's divine laws, falls into a superstition similar to that of the Gentiles, and just as circumcision would have brought them together, so now they come together by not being circumcised and are worse for having uncircumcised souls and minds. Thus, considering these things reasonably about circumcision, why then are the Jews still circumcised? Now, two religions have spread across the entire world, as was mentioned at the beginning, each dividing all the nations of the world apart. One is our Christian faith, which, though divided into various sects as it once was among the Jews, still agrees in the main doctrines of faith among all. These are recognized by baptism, a greater and more divine mark, just as the Jews were recognized by circumcision. Baptism is a sign that circumcision is a symbol for those well-versed in such matters. All Jews remain unmixed among themselves, and the Jews are distinct to everyone else. Those of the other religion also circumcise themselves, so the Jews are not separated from them by this symbol. Instead, they are separated by differing beliefs, and they do not mix with each other at all. Idolaters, however, who once occupied the entire world except for a small part of Judea, are now nowhere to be found. Therefore, the disciples of Christ, accepting a more evident and divine mark of faith from those who renounced polytheism and joyfully ran towards the faith of the one God, wisely and straightforwardly abolished circumcision as part of Hellenism. Those Jews who accepted faith in Christ and through Him came to know the one God and divine economy, participated with the circumcised and allowed themselves to be circumcised if someone was offended by their lack of circumcision, and then also marked themselves by baptism. Thus, since the need for circumcision has ceased everywhere, why do the Jews still rely on circumcision, thinking they are doing a favor to God or adhering to their ancestral laws? They are groping in darkness, not accepting the true hope of salvation. Their ancestors were pious before this final calamity, adhering well to Moses and through him to God, guiding them and preparing them for a higher life. Once the divine purpose for humanity was fulfilled, and the promise concerning him was fulfilled to Moses and the other prophets, with wise Jews and all nations around the world joyfully accepting the divine economy (hence the mystery of this economy shone throughout the world), the present Jews hold the worst position. They neither gain anything honorable from the type and instruction as their predecessors did nor accept the truth that has come for them and for everyone. Instead, they obstinately resist it in every way and in all things, contending to the harm of their souls. They are misled by themselves, and those among them who are leaders and teachers are deceived by others. They do not seek to find the truth, just as those deceived about the truth of natural things are unwilling to know more than what is known by the senses and do not want to learn. If it were possible for the blessed Moses, along with Isaiah and the other prophets, to now appear to the Jews with their resurrected bodies, they would immediately say, "O children, it has not turned out well for you as was said by us: 'You heard, but did not understand; and seeing, you saw, and yet did not see,' because your hearts were hardened to our words and

the realities." And thus, neither our words were applied to realities by you, nor our realities applied to your words, as the hearts of the wise could do well. You only vainly attend your synagogues, and what you do and say there has no meaning now. I have many more ways to show that you adhere to Moses and his laws in vain, but I will suffice with what has been said. But if you have anything to say to this, speak.

31.Jew: In my opinion, you are not far off in your assertions, as I also find difficulties with our current situation, reflecting on God's previous favor towards us and the current disregard. I am not speaking of God's universal providence, which is granted to us along with all creation, but rather of the special favor by which He honored us uniquely, above all the inhabitants of the earth, as His own people and chosen ones. This favor was shown through laws given, prophecies made, and punishments threatened for our impudent disobedience, yet patiently bearing with us in various ways during our chastisements, especially through the supervision of wise and godly men. Thus, we were not discouraged but rather corrected towards better things and brought back to divine fear. In this way, we called upon divine leniency, and through those excellent teachers, we were proclaimed the benefit of repentance and its time. However, since this recent captivity, we have shown evidence of great wrath upon us, indicating that we have sinned more grievously than those in former times, and rightly endure harsher chastisement. As you rightly said, I cannot deny this. Who in their right mind would deny this, knowing and firmly believing in God's philanthropy and justice? Our meeting, too, I believe, happened by divine providence, so I would not hesitate to answer any questions you might ask, even if we were to discuss these matters until evening. I ask you first, whether we can think of God as changing and altering, so as to legislate for His children in one way to live most excellently and devoutly, thus progressing in divine love and achieving the intended goal, only to change the legislation later, implying that He did not give the best law initially. This is conceivable among human legislators alone. Secondly, does it befit divine leniency to reject those unable to follow His higher and more perfect laws as god-hated, though they follow lower, yet divine, laws and govern their lives by them here, as they cannot reach His more perfect and greater laws? We will add other questions after answering these.

32.Christian: What we previously discussed should suffice to address this difficulty. However, as this may be the first time you hear such arguments and are not yet accustomed to them, you may not be able to dispel the perplexity through reasoning alone. Therefore, once again, we will strive to quench this thirst from the same sources, sufficiently and gladly answering any further questions you may have. The divine, being unchangeable and just by nature, concerns itself with the salvation of its children, as they are able to use their nature to follow the path to salvation. It does not force the will of its children, as it would not be consistent with making them free-willed and then compelling them, nor would the choice of the better be rewarded if it were enforced. Therefore, it does not force the will, but rather aligns its economy with the natural disposition of humans towards greater things. Human nature was weakened after the first transgression, the ancestral sin, which became inherent and affected both nature and will with consequent weakness. Hence, the natural law given to the first humans, aligning with His eternal and perfect law, was not immediately restored due to humanity's passionate state and inclination towards corruption, unless by force. Therefore, God, in a fatherly, teaching, or healing manner, as previously mentioned, led them towards improvement, advancing them from lesser to greater and more perfect things. Just as God provides for each nature in the world according to its order and capacity, it is reasonable that He also cares for each individual according to their capacity to receive His providence, whether deficient or more appropriate, until they are prepared to accept the higher

providence. Hence, briefly stated, God renewed the natural law within us through Moses' preparation and Jesus' perfection, as we would say, by Himself, just as He initially implanted the natural law within the creation of human nature and sowed the habit of this law, which we later lost through sin. Hence, the law of Jesus does not abolish the Mosaic law within us but rather perfects it. For He Himself fulfilled the Mosaic law in His own actions, being born under the law according to His humanity. He showed us the most perfect way of the natural law in His unique life and teachings, liberating us from the obligation to that law, and subjected us to another, not contrary, but more perfect and greater law. Thus, in Christ, we become fulfillers of the Mosaic law, just as we were previously transgressors of the natural law in Adam. In our own actions, we fulfill the Mosaic law, as it is encompassed by the greater and more perfect law operating within us. The law of Jesus renews the natural law for those who observe it well, reigniting and continuously kindling the inherent spark of the natural law and the life according to it for those who wish to align themselves with Him. This is evident from the evangelical teachings and the deeds of those who have fulfilled them: first, His disciples and those who succeeded them in their efforts for the world's salvation, and later, those added to the faith through them. Some of these, rejoicing in the believed truth, died with many torments from the then-rulers of the world, conforming to Jesus in both law and deeds. Others, after the struggles for the truth ceased due to the universal reign and spread of Jesus' name and law, demonstrated the testimony of peace in their own bodies, crucifying the flesh with its passions and desires. They lived in deserts in countless numbers, depriving themselves of all consolation and renouncing all worldly matters to purify their souls, separating them from matter by disposition, and thus, purified, leading them to divine love. This was God's purpose for us from the beginning, so that living in paradise and being piously imbued with that good and passionless state, we might be rightly elevated to the supernatural and most perfect happiness, receiving it as a reward. However, through pride and gluttony, which are the chief of both spiritual and bodily evils, and through the enemy of our salvation corrupting our reason with sensory deceits, we voluntarily missed the divine purpose set for us. But in time, mysteriously and spiritually, it was restored to us by divine philanthropy. Therefore, those who choose not to follow this divine providence must necessarily be judged as ungrateful and wicked before God, and foolish and unmindful of their own goods before themselves. Just as it follows that those who follow it well will fare well in both respects. Divine leniency does not conflict with the fact that those who voluntarily fall from the good cannot be deemed worthy of it. God must be both just and good, being the Lord and Judge of humanity, and assign to each according to their choices, not being overly lenient, but rewarding those who strive for His laws here with an eternal and supernatural reward, for the sake of which He created our nature. As for those who confess their own apostasy and turn back to Him humbly and without holding grudges, He mercifully accepts and forgives them, yet still assigns to the good and to those persistently wayward towards goodness until the end the appropriate rank. Hence, in this life and in the future, neither wickedness goes unpunished nor virtue unrewarded, which is almost a common belief among all humans. One cannot reasonably use divine leniency to evade submission to divine laws, claim incapacity to understand them, or follow them, nor, while disregarding God's paternal methods for their salvation and being ungrateful, hope for salvation, or be oblivious to divine rejection due to these things, nor be angry with those who kindly instruct and teach. If anyone genuinely cannot follow higher and greater laws, either due to weak intellect or the difficulty of the presented things, especially in the beginning, as it happens with human teachings or laws, then they rightfully rely on divine leniency and do not miss the hope of salvation. Therefore, our Jesus, even

though He knew and foretold the imminent destruction of the city and the punishment for their insolence towards Him, still prayed for God's and the Father's forgiveness for those who sinned in ignorance. Hence, all who partook in Jesus' human slaying did not experience their homeland's calamities because they were misled by those who judged wrongly at that time, during the years when the disaster befell the Jews after Jesus became human and ascended into heaven. The mystery concerning Jesus was not yet fully revealed, as it became in subsequent years when heavenly power manifested in His followers, drawing the entire world to faith in Him. Therefore, those deceived or ignorant of the not-fully-revealed mystery were reasonably spared before the calamity. Those, however, who obstinately continued, even as the events became clear, rightly endured divine justice, unlike their ancestors who could still claim ignorance. And those who were previously strangers to God, whom the Lord predicted would gladly accept and adhere to divine providence, thus rendering divine justice to those who were once true sons but then estranged, and the previous boast of the Jews, believing in the one God and rejecting the superstition of the Gentiles—by this they were favored by God. However, they justly and paternally experienced divine wrath when they transgressed and mingled with the polytheists. This once boast of the whole world has unexpectedly become the glory of all nations through divine power achieved by the good proclamation alone. Everyone has been led to faith in and worship of the one God, trampling polytheism, under the guidance of the good stewards of the heavenly teacher who came for this purpose. They were led through many struggles and efforts of both the teachers and the immediate receivers, as was fitting and necessary, in various ways, yet they were led nonetheless. Even the nations of the earth turned to the prophet of Jesus, Moses, not far off, who was previously scorned or wholly unknown, and they turned as Moses would have wanted, not as the Jews wished, who wanted to cling only to the shadow of him. With time passing, those who did not gratefully accept God's providence, reigning thus in humanity, nor recognize God's judgment upon them instead of the previous grand favor, wishing to attribute the reason to the truth, became even more without excuse. They will not be judged for being unable to fulfill or not very firmly fulfilling Jesus' law, but for not accepting it at all. Nor will they evade divine wrath for disobeying some given law but will be punished for despising the greater order to which God called them, as was the intent from the beginning, and rejecting such providence through Him. For His own sake, He neither provided lesser things nor deemed them worthy of the greater. What do you say to this, Jew? I will now call you by your ancestral name, as you seem to me to show us the true Jew not far off, who does not ignore the pearls embedded in Moses' book and those of the other prophets.

33.Jew: If it is true, O Christian, that the ultimate goal of human life, which consists in the knowledge of the truth and the rational life through all divine laws, is achieved by humans, and if there is one path to salvation through all those who walk it, beginning with the natural law, proceeding through the Mosaic law, and advancing to your law, such that the order among the laws and the steps towards the goal are like that of preliminary lessons and remedies, but you call the law of Jesus the form and the end, the perfect lesson and the perfect remedy, because it is solely and closely connected to the final end for those who believe in it and are firmly determined to think and live according to it—if these things are so, then God very wisely and philanthropically provided for human salvation through such an order and method, and those advancing towards the end through it are not only more obedient to God but also act in their own best interests. But those who always turn around in the middle of the path, what are they but those who miss the end and stumble against God? But you will grant me the greatest favor by doing three things: first, making clearer this

order of the laws and the path to salvation, so that it may be well accomplished through them; then, clearly explaining the law of Jesus in this manner, what you call the evangelical law; for we too encounter your Gospels, but we understand little of such a law as it is narrowly expounded and cannot be well grasped when interrupted by other narratives. Lastly, by setting forth in order the testimonies from our prophets concerning Christ. You have said that almost everything concerning your Christ has been foretold by them and that his divinity, which you advocate, has been proclaimed by them. These matters will be the fruit of another meeting if you wish to favor us who seek. But now I want to ask you since you too have endured no fewer calamities than we have, and almost all your esteemed things have been lost. If the Jews have suffered all these dreadful things because they did not wish to comply with your Christ, surely those who genuinely complied with Him should not have suffered so greatly. But if you also, believing in Him, have experienced the same evils as we have, then the Jews have not suffered and continue to suffer because of their disbelief in Jesus. Whatever reason is assigned for the Christian misfortunes can also be rightly assigned to Jewish ones. Therefore, as they say, a few words to a wise man, having comprehended our entire goal in these few points, bear with us and speak to us about these matters as you are able.

34.Christian: I give the greatest thanks to God, who has wondrously prepared your soul, so that you do not oppose what we say (for I do not think you are pretending), and for your wise questions, giving us the opportunity to connect everything that needs to be connected to the examined matters. Regarding those three questions of yours, it seems, by higher providence, that we will satisfy you well, not improvising now but providing what has been written over a long time. It has long been in our minds to write down the evangelical law or the original worship of God in summary, to present an account of the only path to human salvation, in which the need and necessity of the incarnation of the divine Word, believed by us, is well shown, and the benefits from it, and all things believed about Christ, and the order of the natural law to the Mosaic law, and the relation of both to the more perfect law through Jesus. Now I see that my efforts in those matters have not been in vain. For among our people, it is almost ready, a few words now, but for the necessities of life added by all. You will benefit yourself by seeing these things and will share the common benefit from them with others, if God wills. For being wise, as I see, and well capable of following higher things, you will grasp those two writings completely, and now, hopefully, you are near to being caught by Christ. For if any of the sciences of human wisdom, the wisdom according to Christ within us, has the most reasonableness for those who accept and hold it with reason, and it fits most closely with all divine providences concerning humanity from the beginning. And there is nothing wiser or more divine than the evangelical legislation. Therefore, we also, not following a paternal opinion now, but as chosen from all human opinions alone through the God-given preparation within us to judge such matters, adhering firmly to it, so that we would even choose to die many times for its certainty if possible. Tomorrow, I will send you those books and, for your sake, arrange and give you the sayings of your prophets about Christ. For we, for our confirmation and the refutation or persuasion of the Jews with goodwill, when we also make the sensible and true Judaism our own, besides many other great proofs about what is believed, are content with Moses, the first of the prophets in every respect, and Daniel, the seal of prophecy, each of whom foretells both the worth of the coming one and the wrath against those who do not accept. And whoever trusts in these will equally trust in all others. And whoever perversely sees these in the darkness of unbelief will likely see all others the same way. Therefore, our Lord said to the Jews then, "If you believed Moses, you would believe me."

REFUTING THE ERRORS OF THE JEWS

35.The Jews only support the truth unwillingly, as Annas and Caiaphas did then. For every lie must have some truth mixed with it, as it cannot stand entirely without it. They expect the prophesied Christ to come. We too firmly expect Him to come, as He Himself said and the prophets did not omit to mention. But we hope for His coming as the one who has already come once. When they see Him whom they have pierced, they will not benefit from their truth about His coming. They will tell the truth unwillingly, denying now that He came initially and then again. The truth, even from those who unwillingly support it, will condemn them. Therefore, as I mentioned before, I will compile for you the sayings of the other prophets, although for the need, I am quite content with Moses alone or with him and Daniel. I regret again that I cannot give you the oracles of the Sibyls and those at Delphi and Daphne about Christ, which were composed in one book, written in ancient books, and lost along with many other books in the capture of the city. I want you to know that there were wise prophetesses: the Erythraean, the Cumaean, and another from different lands, nine in total, all called Sibyls; Sibyl means "God-willed." They foretold many things, especially clearly about the mystery of Jesus. But also, the oracles of the Greeks gave such prophecies; hence, among many things that persuaded the Greeks to join the faith of Christ, the testimony of these oracles was one. And this was allowed by the heavenly counsel, arranging it so that the prophecies of those inspired by demons would serve as testimony for the Greeks, making them more ready to accept the preached truths as they were previously foretold. The demons foretold these things, partially revealing the future by God's permission and showing it to others out of necessity. For divine providence compelled them even against their will. Thus, they prophesied not joyfully but with grief, lamenting their own misfortune and the downfall of their power, and explained the matters concerning our Lord Jesus very well, as indeed everything happened and as the Greeks later believed. They foretold His eternal divinity and incarnation, the purpose of this economy, the wonders through Him, and the eventual abolition of polytheism throughout the earth. All these things woven into their prophecies, they grieved over the world's salvation, considering it their personal misfortune, as it should and was fitting, being such as they were. All these things were preserved in Greece and Rome, leading to the devout conversion of the great Emperor Constantine and the wiser among the Greeks. Similarly, the great and supernatural portent during the time of the Passion, the sun's eclipse in full moon against nature, as the natural course was suddenly disrupted, and the moon was suddenly snatched from its position to the synodic one under the total eclipse limits, and then returned suddenly to its natural place. This prepared all the wise in Greece for the understanding and acceptance of the mystery, everyone saying that such an innovation signified a change in divine matters. Therefore, during the apostles' period, some still living in Greece at the time of the portent, having learned about the events in Jerusalem, the other wonders, and those at the time of the Passion, and finding the apostles' theology about the Trinity's properties in divinity very wise and in agreement with all reasoning, which the Jews, though David and other prophets clearly outlined it for them, still do not want to understand. Those who saw these things and lived at that time accepted the faith of Jesus and the sign of faith through baptism, being the wisest among the Greeks, who also demonstrated these things in their writings scattered throughout the world, confirming the true faith as the mistress and servant of human wisdom very well and irrefutably. Hierotheus and Dionysius were among these, the counselors and judges in the Areopagus of the wisest Athenians, excelling in virtue and wisdom, and after them others. These, through their teachings and the outlines of those who had died before, were brought to the true faith. This happened not only in Athens but throughout the rest of Greece. The wisest everywhere were the first to

be convinced, becoming guides for others in this saving change, all persuaded according to God, so much so that, leaving behind their glory, families, and all other earthly happiness, they were ready to endure many tortures and finally even death for the truth they believed. For Greece was then enslaved to the rule of Rome, and the decrees of the Roman rulers to uphold the ancestral polytheism oppressed them. This was happening everywhere, sending emissaries and through local governors enforcing this with inhumane cruelty on those wisely moving from ancestral error to the truth shining from heaven. Therefore, among Christians, many of the writings of those wise men, the Sibyls, and the recorded oracles are still preserved, providing us with reliable and certain faith from all directions and escaping any suspicion of later fabrication. Demonstrating the certainty of these matters, we think it unnecessary now to elaborate further, withdrawing from the current discussion. Regretting that we do not have these to show you now, we may perhaps find and show them to you upon diligent search. But let us now proceed to answer your questions.

36.The Jews also anticipate a future change in the world, perhaps differing with us about the time according to the prevailing opinion among us concerning the season; I do not know if they differ about the manner of it. The Greeks, although no longer existing now except perhaps some corrupted ones, and those persuaded by the nonsense of Plethon and the deceitful reputation concerning his wisdom, out of ignorance revive Greek error in their souls erased by divine manifestation. We have encountered writings of older Greeks who were engaged in astrology, in which they similarly define such a change. They say that this seventh millennium, which we also call so, is the final age governed by the moon among the planets, and it is the last. Thus, all human affairs will conform to the moon regarding the brevity of life, instability of fortune, and change of will, just as in previous millennia human affairs conformed to the planets governing each. For example, the first millennium, governed by Saturn the first, produced humans living the longest time, living simply and artlessly. And so on for the other millennia. This opinion is true not as if the stars themselves are the causes of such human dispositions; they are not living beings to transmit their disposition to the souls of those born, especially humans. Rather, they serve as instruments and tools well serving the divine order under the supervision of angelic spirits, moving them externally and leading them towards the divine will, according to the active power in them given by the first cause of all for their subordinate and instrumental role. And they say that when this seventh millennium is completed, the wandering stars and the seven will accompany each other in one degree of Leo, and then all things around the earth will be destroyed by an ethereal fire, just as the great flood in Noah's time occurred when all such stars accompanied in one degree of Cancer, a watery sign. This is indeed true according to opinion. The divine providence governs what happens in the world, not without the appropriate disposition of the bodies serving this providence, whose activity towards these ends is instrumental, as previously mentioned. This disposition of the heavenly bodies is not only an instrumental cause of what happens below them but also signifies to those who oversee their movements from afar through astronomical methods. Therefore, it is truly said that this seventh millennium is nearing its completion and is governed by the moon, which can be reasonably said to influence all earthly affairs, such as the brevity of life, instability of fortune, and change of will, as has been the case in previous millennia under the influence of their respective planets. The notion that all stars will converge in one degree of Leo at this change, leading to the destruction of everything on earth by ethereal fire, just as the great flood in Noah's time occurred when all such stars converged in one degree of Cancer, is also reasonably true according to this opinion. And the destruction of all nature around the earth by fire is indeed true, as confirmed by divine and

holy Scripture. If those who said these things add anything far from our Christian beliefs and the truth, we reject their falsehoods, accepting only what is true and aligns with our truth as greater testimony from opposing views. Thus, according to the Greeks, it is true that the anticipated change is near, so all nations reasonably expect it soon. The Jews find this from Daniel's vision, which we also believe to be most true, as John the Theologian, Paul, and other blessed disciples of Christ clearly say, adding human signs corresponding to the lunar resemblance mentioned by Greek astronomers. These signs, once minimal among other people, especially believers, now appear greatly increased.

37.Now, it is not necessary to expound the apostolic sayings, but it suffices to establish the seal of all: the word of our Lord Jesus. He clearly explains the consummation to us, the cause and manner of it, not as a change in the existence of beings, but rather as a change towards well-being. When the movement within them, which serves the generation of the born and perishable things for the sake of humans, ceases, they will no longer oversee the generation of humans. At that time, they will be freed from this servitude, and the earth, with the cessation of the heavenly orbits' succession, will cease from generating and perishing things within it. With its purging by fire, it will be relieved of the burden of all those born upon it, who rather oppress than adorn it, not only towards the end but in itself, from the filth of human sins and all animal impurity. As for the resurrection of bodies and the sequence of events accompanying it until the conclusion suitable for each choice, it need not be discussed here, being many and evident to all. We will conclude so much for the present need that the generation of humans and the other things that exist for its sake will be dissolved by Christ, whether at the end of this millennium, as is certain from the signs given through Him and the apostles. Whether this millennium is completed or being completed or before it is completed, and the measure of this anticipation or delay, we have not exactly received, nor can we seek it, even if some conjecture it, without precision. Those among us who are precise assert that it is near but cannot determine the exact measure of the interval, as our Lord declared that we cannot know, nor need to seek it. From this, we also learn about the increase of wickedness at the end, the confusions in the world following wickedness, and the persecution of our faith, so that, as in a circle, beginning with persecutions, it will reach the end of generation under persecutions. Although many Christian nations, now great and thriving, may flourish until the end, so for the more contentious Jews, our suffering is not a great argument for their self-defense because of the current free prosperity and worldly splendor of most Christians. But I tell you the truth, as a future follower of Christ, hiding nothing from you, that while it is evident that many enslaved Christians, whom the Jews also consider similar to themselves, often err greatly regarding the laws of Jesus, and therefore they suffer evils accordingly as they sin, and the worse they fare, the more sinful they become. Thus, Christ's prophecy about them becomes effective, foretelling the increase of wickedness and the increase of trials. However, it is far from true that all those in these regions are like that. Many among them adhere strictly to the laws of Christ and are ready to face trials for the faith, neither stumbling over the faith of Christ nor ashamed to suffer everything for Him. Instead, they take pride in it, dedicating their love to Christ and firmly hoping for the reward from Him. I bear witness to this with the God who is over all, as it is said without hypocrisy and with much understood examination. Therefore, I particularly rejoice in the progress of such individuals in trials and console the sorrow over those otherwise afflicted. For what the Jews think about themselves in the patience of trials for the faith, and especially those living otherwise justly, anyone can think about those among us who, along with other virtues, bear external fortune gladly and sweetly for the faith.

However, the Jews accomplish the semblance of commerce well in the matter of endurance, but they entirely miss the mark concerning it. They exchange the labors of commerce not for the things esteemed by men, for example, but for more dishonorable and useless materials, which cannot gladden them, so they endure the labors and ultimately miss the profit. But the hope of Christians in the trials for the faith is unfailing everywhere, as they strive for true and completely certain goods or crowns. But I return to the main subject.

38.This stage of faith now operates among us Christians, not because we are worse than other free Christians enjoying the good things of life, but because we are rather more righteous. For those who are more exact in their beliefs—those who adhere to the Eastern churches, as is universally accepted by all, even by those who dissent from us, not because they think we are wrong in our beliefs but because they do not want to commune with us beforehand in another chapter of the common faith—those who are more exact in their beliefs must also have the gymnasium of faith granted by God. Divine justice reasonably prepares rewards for the most zealous of them, not only for their other righteousness but also for their endurance in faith. However, those who tarnish the gift of faith within themselves through their actions receive the appropriate punishment for their deeds. Perhaps God will use some of them more mercifully, counterbalancing the severity of the trials for the faith and their endurance with their other shortcomings in works. He uses the complete lack of education for the entire discipline of punishment for their faults. We know that everything happens according to a worthy and admirable reason under providence. In Asia, the Mosaic preparation was given first. In it, the most perfect law was sown, rooted, and flourished after much toil. In it, the blood of the martyrs was first shed. In it, the campaign of faith was tested, and the soldiers of Christ won the victory and crowns. In it, after that, the afflictions of the heretics against the Orthodox and the triumphs of the church over the heretics were established. In it, after the cessation of those double wars, voluntary wars against demons and passions in the mountains by those unable to live outside the campaign of Christ occurred, choosing the voluntary crucifixion in their flesh and its desires, as we said before, and surpassing the philosophy according to Christ unchangeably and with continual effort in their struggles until their pious departure from the body. Including this city and the nearby land in those regions, not only because it is close to them, separated by a narrow sea, but also because it shared in their former campaign and victory, and then led in glory and leadership of all the land after Asia. Therefore, in this land, the final campaign of faith must take place, as in a designated stage of providence. Here, the progress and maturity of those destined for life should occur daily. Here, the prophecies of Christ concerning the last things must be fulfilled, not for the punishment of those living irregularly, but for the salvation of those destined for it. Here, the final test of faith must be conducted, heralding the second coming of Christ. We are consoled in trials by the certainty of faith, the assurance of the hoped-for rewards, the prophecy of the Lord concerning trials and the hopes for them, not predicting extermination or abandonment of the race to those who endure to the end, nor wrath passing to the community, but a campaign and contest similar to the first ones, intended to exercise, test, and crown the love of the truly faithful. Alongside all these things, we are comforted by the unavoidable necessity of what happens, the freedom of the spiritual law within us, which, being the greatest servitude otherwise, and the most difficult preparation for the highest philosophy, due to the strictness of its methods, is otherwise the sweetest freedom, since we are not constrained by the law to songs, places, and physical sacrifices and transient things, but to spiritual methods of purification and ascent. The physical struggles serve as a beginning and a stepping-stone for those who can, but the occupation of the mind with higher

things, separated from all material efforts, securely fills them with divine inspiration from progress. Thus, the greatest consolation for us is the law of Christ, His life, and that of His disciples, leading us back to that first, passionless life that shone in our first ancestors and was unfortunately extinguished immediately. For our religion does not require temples, sacrifices, slaughters of animals, blood, or smoke, but the offering of our souls to God with a contrite heart and spirit of humility. This offering, coming from the failure of the legal customs, also brought the divine favor to the prophets of Christ sufficiently, delivering them wondrously from fire, beasts, and all other dreadful attacks. For what is more urgent for God concerning us, finding this in them, He sent down His divine grace. Our ancestors in the deserts and those living virtuously in the cities offered this worship. We also, now having this worship granted by divine permission, would not be overly troubled by the deprivation of all other things. Moreover, until now, with Christ cooperating, the despots have not taken away from us the spiritual worship performed in all the holy places, nor will it be taken away until the end. So what comparison do the Jews' sufferings have to ours, either in their afflictions or successes amidst their afflictions, to claim the fellowship of trials as a defense for the just punishment of God active among them? They cannot use lower forms of worship, hindered by the law, and using them unlawfully, nor can they use higher forms worthy of the universal providence of the Creator due to their unwillingness, clinging to the shadow instead of the truth.

39.Thus, like a drop from the sea, has been said about our claims for Christ and the judgments against the Jews, and more could be said as you inquire and provoke. For it was sufficient for me to show those who trust in Moses and insist on his laws that they affirm and contradict the greater and chief parts of his laws, prophecies, promises, and threats, which all aim not only at the salvation of the Jews but of the entire world. They disregard even what Daniel threatened, though it has come to pass, and disbelieve everything, which leads them to the knowledge of the truth more clearly than light. And they slander the work for themselves and the whole world in the Word who became incarnate for this purpose, according to the divine and paternal will in Him and the eternal counsel concerning this work. They argue impossibly about the impossibility of what Moses foretold not happening and dream even more impossibly about what is yet to happen. They renew in themselves the ancient disobedience of our common ancestors with much addition, not only fleeing His oversight and hiding like those but also shamelessly daring more boldly, being excluded from the sensible paradise of those common ancestors and the spiritual and mystical one of the leaders of the second and worse transgression, those of Christ's soldiers, and eternally deprived of divine love. It was sufficient to show this, as has been shown. We have also suggested to you many true mysteries of our faith through your good inquiries, and we will show more in the writings we intend to give you. The divine Word Himself will inspire you from above to the most complete knowledge of all things, if you believe in Him with all your soul and in God the Father who sent Him, and gladly accept the sign of this faith. Then, being within the sanctuaries of the holy, the mother church of the faithful will nourish you with the wisest and sweetest food, with which she feeds her genuine children and leads them to spiritual life. Then you will be a true disciple of Moses and the prophets, like us, numbered among those who harmonize with them, not among those who insult them by opposing them. May these good things happen to you from God, for without His inspiration and provision, we can neither think nor do anything. But before you respond to us about all these things and what you think about them, as if sealing our discussion on the subject and this excellent conversation, I ask you, and you respond to me.

40.Jew: Ask, if you wish anything:

41.Christian: Those who believed in someone claiming to have come from God to legislate for them, whether it be Moses or anyone else, and promised to keep his legislation as divine, then break it in various ways, do they sin against God?

42.Jew: Yes, and they themselves would say so. For the Jews confess to God and strive to make amends through repentance whenever they realize they have sinned against the Mosaic law.

43.Christian: And is it possible for those who received a law as from God, whether in a greater or lesser nation, to all understand it alike and equally care for its observance?

44.Jew: It is not possible. For this reason, interpreters and teachers are appointed in the nation to explain the meaning of the law to the simpler ones and to resolve the differences of those who understand it differently by the vote of the wiser among the nation collectively. As for the observance of the law through works, penalties are prescribed for those who transgress and are imposed on the transgressors, proportionate to the order of the law and the manner of its transgression.

45.Christian: Well done for answering excellently.

46.Jew: But was it possible for God to force the minds of everyone in the nation to understand the law and fulfill it through actions, guiding everyone's mind equally towards the knowledge of the truth and their will towards choosing the good, wishing to live according to the law?

47.Christian: God can do this if He wishes. However, it is impossible for Him to wish this because it is impossible for human nature, as long as it remains human, to be free and adorned with free will and autonomy. As long as humans are made by God in this way, it is impossible for them to be forced towards the good, as this would involve a contradiction, which God, being omnipotent, would never wish to be involved in. At the same time, it would be unsuitable for them to be forced and led towards the good involuntarily, as they would be deprived of the greater good fitting to rational beings. Instead, they would receive a nature corresponding to a lower end, such as the good for those led by nature alone without reason towards their respective ends.

48.Jew: You speak excellently.

49.Christian: And all these things need to be established and judged even more so in larger and greater nations legislating, rather than in one, and concerning a law that is harder to understand and harder to observe in actions.

50.Jew: Certainly, because in both respects the difficulty increases here.

51.Christian: You answer excellently and wisely. So then, the fact that various opinions have arisen among Christians about our Jesus, due to the greatness of His mystery and the human weakness, as I have said, or in some cases, because of contentiousness and willful wickedness, especially in the early days of our faith—traces of these diverse opinions about His mystery still exist in the world, following the views of their predecessors by succession. However, all those who accept the sign of faith in Christ through baptism are ready to die for Christ, placing their hope for eternal life on Him, no less than those who understand and believe more precisely through their own diligence and divine enlightenment and the adherence to the common examination by the more and wiser. Therefore, it is also true that not all equally, both those who hold true opinions in all things and those who hold false opinions in some things, observe the laws of Jesus, that is, the evangelical laws and those of His disciples and successors on earth, either precisely keeping them,

sometimes transgressing, and through repentance returning, or dying incurably in transgression. These things should not be ascribed to the faith in Jesus or His laws as being human and otherwise naturally occurring under any law believed to be from God and promised to be kept by any nation, much more so in many nations and under a law building truly human life in choices, and impossible otherwise, as long as humans have free will. For it not only leads the human will in choices but also the mind in beliefs. Therefore, the mind often errs about the truth in beliefs; it would never willingly be placed in falsehood, but it is placed there by the will being deceived, the will itself being first deceived by the appearance of truth that falsehood assumes, or the perception by senses alone without reason, or the good opinion about the teachers among them. Given that such things are not attributed to the faith in Jesus and His laws for the reasons stated, let us consider the work of Jesus itself. Through Him, all humans have since been placed in the appropriate faith concerning God, and it is accomplished in those who believe His law to be divine, so long as they do not resist Him to the end, following their senses before reason and being led astray by the evil one, who has envied human salvation from the beginning. I ask you, then: is it not true that only in Judea was the one God believed in by a few Jews scattered elsewhere, while the rulers of the earth and the nations they ruled lived everywhere in polytheism, or rather atheism, attributing divine honor to God's creations, deifying them, and still worshipping idols and sacrificing to them, or rather to demons who deceived them, drawing human reverence and worship to themselves instead of the one God over all, allowing this with many reasons through His Word revealed to us and most reasonably persuading our reason? The enemy of human salvation delighted in the deception of humans and their departure from the true and one God, which he had wrought in our ancestors and through them into all nature for so many years by the suggestion that led to that transgression?

52.Jew: It was so.

53.Christian: In such a state of human deformity and calamity, could God have a greater or equal concern than to draw the entire world to true reverence for God from the previously prevailing dreadful impiety and to draw them to Himself, their Creator and Lord, from the enemy of their salvation, opening to them the door of eternal life, justly closed, but only able to be opened and destined to be opened by the utmost philanthropy?

54.Jew: And who would deny that this is the greatest of divine benefactions to humanity, and in no way less than their original creation, if not even greater in certain respects, being a re-creation?

55.Christian: Could this ever be accomplished in any way other than one that is extraordinary and entirely divine, blending divine goodness and justice, extending to all nature while preserving the free will of the individuals of nature, exercising their free will in the humble things concerning it, and compelling them in its divine aspects towards faith, as it is fitting for supernatural and extraordinary things to be accomplished in a supernatural and extraordinary manner?

56.Jew: You speak well about the necessity of an extraordinary method, especially given the lesser administrations and the transitions to the lesser ones, as you mentioned the difficulties among humans. You say correctly that God was accustomed to doing this with some preceding and accompanying wonders.

57.Christian: It is true that such a global benefaction of God was accomplished through the manifestation of Jesus and the journeys of His disciples, who, being modeled and organized by His example and methods, were fortified by the hopes in Him, inspired from heaven and firmly confident in their conscience about His promises, then achieving more excellently than their hopes in their works. The law of

REFUTING THE ERRORS OF THE JEWS

Moses, for nearly 1,700 years, did not manage to draw anyone beyond Judea and those using the Jewish language to the belief in the one God. But the conversion of all nations to Him was accomplished by the preaching of Jesus alone. And from then until now, the glory of the one God prevails among all humans, and those who rightly believe in Christ, those who falsely interpret, and those who hold some false opinions, all believe in one God, and the whole world has been freed from polytheism and idolatry through Christ. Furthermore, the belief in Jesus as the Word existing intelligibly in God and eternally being God, then assuming human nature, was that He would act divinely in human matters and humanly in divine matters, thus managing human improvement in this way alone. Additionally, the simple belief about God, that He is one, absolutely one, although believed and understood in three properties or persons, was sown, flourished, and bore fruit throughout the world by the apostles and their successors until Constantine. Are all these things true?

58.Jew: This is true and without any objection, that from the time of Augustus, idolatry and polytheism began to wane, and under Constantine, it was completely extinguished, and from then, the one God is believed everywhere, all, even under various legislators, being firmly attached to the unity of God.

59.Christian: Bear with me as I ask many questions at once, all converging towards one goal, so that I do not trouble you by asking them one by one. Could such things be hoped for from a mere human in this way, so as to be firmly promised to those who would serve Him afterward, or be accomplished as hoped for? Was it only human for those sent by Him to kill with His name alone, yet raise others worthy and perform other supernatural benefactions to those who believed, freeing them from the dangers brought upon them, or overcoming all other difficulties associated with such an endeavor, and doing all these things supernaturally and wondrously themselves and being assisted from heaven? Was all this purely human, not as the Jews slander, desiring to obscure their wickedness with blasphemy, but even of the best human, yet only human? Was it simply human to willingly die and foresee it, thus managing death economically and retreating when pressed by the adversaries, urging it timely again, and instilling the same philosophy in His disciples so that they would turn for the salvation of the world, soon to revert to the one God through them and for the divine glory, even for the rewards promised by Him, whom they believed to be the Son of God, and similarly choose to die every hour, evidently escaping death by divine inclination, and when they were to be crowned after sufficiently serving the divine purpose each one according to their capacity, then be granted a pious death full of heavenly philosophy? Was the conversion of the whole world to the one God, the abolition of various idolatries and idol sacrifices and the temples where these were impiously practiced among the different nations, all accomplished solely by the name of Jesus, a human work? Was it then merely human for such a person, whom many believed in as an ally even though He was not present with them but had been absent from the earth for so long, to overthrow the tyranny of the devil and draw the entire world, snatched from his snares, to the true Father and Creator? Moses, without God, did not lead Judea alone to the faith in the one God any more than he brought it from afar, which was unstable and prone to change, living irregularly and more driven by foresight. He established it within them, benefiting his own nation alone among all, and thus, being reasonably believed by the Jews to have accomplished this with God's help. Jesus later confirmed this belief by His works, using Moses as a foundation for the sacred truth revealed through Him and his work, not as something alien but rather as something of His own, which Moses could not have advanced further. Moses taught what pleased God, but these teachings had the order of preparation and

introduction for the perfect truth that was to be revealed in doctrines and morals, through which the rational life of humans is achieved. Moses fulfilled the order of a servant for the one to perfect. Moses was believed to be divine because of these things and rightly so, though not foretold by other prophets. Nor was it necessary, as no other prophet was foretold from afar. But was it simply human for someone who accomplished such supernatural works in the world, related to great and heavenly power, surpassing all human hope and strength? Or was He rather the Son of God and is called such, and the Lord and God, who subdued the Assyrian dragon and destroyed his dominion; the ruler who, with authority, used all creation for the service of the economy; the prince of peace, who brought peace to the rulers of the earth, rising suddenly in His days, and far greater is the eternal peace He accomplished for human souls with their Creator; the father of the coming age, as the leader and creator of the expected happiness in that age for those who think and live rightly; the hope of all nations, fulfilled here by His coming, as it was fitting to be fulfilled in this life, and will be fulfilled in the best and most perfect way in His second coming; and the king with an eternal kingdom? And all other things foretold about Him earlier, later demonstrated by works, through which He did all things with authority, divine approval as fitting such a person, and inherently divine, as the Son of God and God. Therefore, He often called Himself the Son of Man, and often praised and blessed those who called Him the Son of God, acknowledging their blessedness. If some others, despite receiving the belief in the one God solely from Jesus and having it among all people on earth, yet not acknowledging the divinity of Jesus and focusing only on His apparent humanity with respect, say that Jesus did not call Himself the Son of God, so they might accuse us of slandering Him, and be slandered by Jews as having said what He did not say, we can easily refute this by the evangelical sayings, leading them to the respectful acknowledgment of our gospel. The Jews could not say this about us as slandering Jesus if they themselves did not then slander, nor could they say that He called Himself the Son of God by grace, as all living according to God are called sons of God and God their Father. They would have wronged Him by accusing Him and prosecuting Him for impiety, which they would not admit themselves. Therefore, if He claimed such glory for Himself that was not present, would it have been possible for Him to be so loved by God, to be deemed worthy of such glory, to accomplish such great things, and to be so divinely favored and godly? Could it have been possible for the entire earth to be transformed from the contemporary polytheism coinciding with human birth to true reverence for God through Him and those attached to Him as the Son of God and Lord? Could it have been possible for God to allow another error to arise immediately among humans after delivering them from a long-standing error through the same method and instruments by which He eradicated the former error? Could such a significant change have occurred without God? I leave aside that it was foretold by various prophecies and confirmed by diverse and very extraordinary signs, and that it happened not without God, who, if He provided and cared for the world, as it was universal. Were those who did not accept this providence of His not reasonably abandoned, themselves owing more to pave the way for others, as the good seeds of it were first sown among them? If God had abandoned the entire world, as the Jews would say, how could He, instead of rewarding their piety with many additions, honoring and recognizing their noble rejection of innovations, have stripped them of all their former possessions immediately until now? How could it have been possible for countless people to be killed daily by the rulers everywhere for believing in Christ, having abandoned their ancestral superstition, unless they were inspired by Christ within and convinced of His divine power by the miraculous signs accompanying their struggles, and therefore, with

joy and firm hope in heavenly rewards, they converted their reverence to Him at the cost of all, even their lives? Most of them endured long and varied bodily punishments before death with joy, as if suffering in others' bodies, not their own. Could it have been possible for those choosing the philosophy according to Christ in vast numbers while the Roman state was still strong, to receive such divine favor in foresight of the world's and all in it fleeing, filling the deserts and mountains, bravely dying by choice, and receiving heavenly visitations and consolations, without which it would have been impossible for human nature to endure such prolonged hardship? In the wonders and signs accomplished through them in the name of Jesus by the faith of those approaching them, say what you think about the majesty and divinity of Jesus gathered from all these things. We still hold back the stronger proofs, adhering to His law, until you are guided and acquainted with Him through these, so we can share with you His holy things and the many pearls. But we have not even touched on the other extraordinary history about Him left by His disciples in these words; only from the facts themselves and what is reasonably common to all, we present to you irrefutable defenses.

60.Jew: As a Jew, I would have nothing to say, although I used to often defend the ancestral customs against Christians. But what I have to say simply and collectively about everything, I will tell you now, if our fortunate conversation has indeed come to an end.

61.Christian: No, wait, because I want to ask you more questions again, and then you can speak about everything at once, whatever you intend to say. So, I ask you: Is it fitting for a good, wise, and just person, whether a father or a master, not to exceed the measure of the faults in the punishments inflicted on erring servants or children?

62.Jew: Yes, that is how it is.

63.Christian: And God is good, just, and wise, and He is supremely these things, being perfect and excellent in all things, and alone possessing all perfections precisely and eternally?

64.Jew: Absolutely, that is so.

65.Christian: Therefore, being such, He will rather show leniency out of goodness in the punishments of His children than be meticulous, and He will not wrong them by inflicting excessively greater punishments than their faults.

66.Jew: You speak correctly.

67.Christian: I ask again: Is it fitting for a good, wise, and just person, whether a father or a judge, to correct erring children or servants with humanity and then to forgive, but to punish those showing the greatest goodwill and obedience to His laws sparingly?

68.Jew: Far be it from such a one.

69.Christian: But it is true that your ancestors, both before and after the law, often sinned, and they immediately experienced divine wrath, and this with much oversight and even in the punishments themselves, as mentioned earlier, but later they often fully received divine forgiveness, as if they had not suffered anything dreadful from the beginning nor offended.

70.Jew: Indeed, this is true, and it would be impious to deny it.

71.Christian: Our Lord, Jesus, as the Son of God and God, the one prophesied by Moses, as the teacher of truth in word and deed, as the Savior of the human race, appearing according to the divine and paternal will, obediently and consultatively as a son, but humanly subject, doing and saying the entire divine will, as the giver, keeper, and perfecter of the old law, as conceived and born supernaturally and marvelously according to

God, and thus raised and lived, and truly working wonders in the world to confirm the faith due to Him—was it as such that the Jews crucified Him, or as having the opposite opinion of Him, and as being the opposite of all these things? May the blasphemy fall upon them, for our previous and godly opinion and boast about Him is evident.

72.Jew: Clearly, they crucified Him as having the opposite opinion of all the aforementioned things. For I also refrain from otherwise expressing the blasphemy against Him, as the Jews say. But it suffices to say so much.

73.Christian: And do you Jews now not agree with your ancestors about Jesus, and therefore consider Him to have suffered justly, and think your ancestors were supremely pious towards God through their zeal for such a one as they thought He was? And do you think you are pious by fully participating in and exceeding their piety within yourselves?

74.Jew: Absolutely, this is what Jews think and say.

75.Christian: Where then is divine justice, wisdom, and goodness? And may the Lord forgive me for advocating for them, for He moderately corrected the idolaters and those conforming to the Gentiles and offering sacrifices to the calf and again forgave them. But for those who showed the greatest piety towards Him, for whom nothing could be more pious, having killed such a one as they believed, and made an example by their lives, He immediately brought the incurable and greatest blow, and as the reward of the greatest piety, they found the greatest calamity, not only among themselves but also among their descendants, who are being punished incurably, and their piety is continuous, and their punishment is also continuous. Where does this fit with divine wisdom, goodness, and justice? In punishments, He does not exceed the measure of faults, being a just and humane God. But for the greatest piety towards Him, He imposes the greatest punishments and continuous punishments for continuous piety without compassion. Or rather, if they were strengthened by a multitude of moral faults at that time, God should have overlooked and forgiven everything immediately for their contention for Him and His laws and the foresight they wisely and piously exercised for the then laypeople and their successors, lest they depart from piety towards Him by sparing the one they considered impious and be deceived by following Him as the Son of God instead of following God and Moses, His servant. Do we not think that God is supremely good, so that in the divine scale concerning each person's life, many minor and light transgressions are swallowed by the great merit of one man's supreme act of righteousness? What comparison would the other sins of the Jews at that time have towards God compared to this greatest act of piety for Him and His laws? But now, the same piety is continuously shown and maintained by their descendants in deeds, words, and all ways, demonstrating their estrangement from Jesus and those attached to Him. It suffices to say this, and let them use their own folly. This has been said before. I add now that even in their current administrations, if ever, the Jews live more precisely now, agreeing with one another, supporting each other, acting justly, showing care for orphans and widows, as it is fitting for all people, the indulgent living prosperously in the good things of life with rational freedom, and in misfortunes and adversities being moderate. Not only willingly but perhaps also unwillingly, they live with this commendable disposition, fearing the laws and punishments imposed by their rulers, who treat them more severely in faith as foreigners, as with all servants. So now, not only for paternal and personal piety shown for the divine laws of their ancestors, but also for their own justice and virtue in morals, they receive from God such an incompatible heavy and bitter life. And the time of such divine harshness upon them is not three

years, nor seventy, as in Babylon, nor four hundred, as once in Egypt, but one thousand four hundred and more years, dispersed throughout the world. If then it is impossible for the greatest prize of piety and virtue to result in the greatest calamity among humans from God over such a long time, and the one holding this opinion about God would be mad against his own salvation, it is rather true and fitting with true opinions about God that He imposes the greatest and most prolonged punishments for the greatest offenses against Him. What remains but to conclude that what the Jews consider piety and continue to consider piety until now are rather their offenses, and God justly brought upon them the unbearable punishments for being such, and as long as they continue to blasphemously lie about the benefactor and savior and rebelliously oppose Him, they will continue to endure such punishments. In the end, they will see the one they pierced. We have already reasonably demonstrated that what they hope for is false and impossible. But now, we place this crown on everything, which alone, without anything else, is sufficient to show us more certain in faith and to transfer them to piety if they wished to understand. The same crown of the words against the Jews will also be the seal of our discussion with you.

76.Jew: I owe you the greatest thanks. As I said from the beginning, I did not hope for such a meeting with you without God's intervention, and now I know this from experience. Therefore, when you send me those writings, having reviewed them beforehand, and receiving many things through God in the meantime, and establishing within me the opinion about the truth settled by Him, I will seek you out shortly so that I may also receive the sign of faith in Christ, with your cooperation. For I no longer have a place to rest on the ancestral doctrine, shaken by so many necessities under your wisdom, nor can I further oppose the mystery of Christ so strongly fortified by such proofs. I have previously met many Christians trying to undermine the Jewish mindset with Jewish prophecies, to which the Jews have many responses prepared, which I thought previously to be good, but now I see from your methods that they are more evasions. However, your way of reasoning is concise and extraordinary and leads so directly to the knowledge of the truth that it not only convinces Jews but also anyone holding different beliefs, and not only convinces them but also firmly supports their faith, not only in the difference between Jews and Christians but also in all aspects of wise and sound belief about God. I ask you to write down what we have discussed (as you can remember) and include these in those other writings, sending them all together, and especially the one concerning the only path to human salvation. For I think, with the grace of Jesus helping, having known this path first from your wisdom, then using the second treatise on the evangelical law as a vehicle or weapon, I will not fail in reaching the end.

77.Christian: I will do so. And may our Lord Jesus help both of us, until we see you receiving the sign of faith in Him through Him towards God and the Father successfully, and glorify His divine grace. Farewell, most wise one.

THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES

2. The Principal Messianic Prophecies (1464)

† From the prophecies concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, the clearest have been placed here, as there are many in all the words of the prophets:

1.The ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor the leader from his loins, until the one to whom it belongs shall come, and he shall be the expectation of the nations. Therefore, there was no ruler lacking among the Jews of such sort, until our Lord Jesus came, to whom it was appointed from afar to come for the salvation of the nations. As they eagerly awaited him, thus all the Gentiles joyfully received him, but the true Jews neither accepted him as their ruler and guide of their souls, but even dishonored him. Therefore, as they did not accept the spiritual rule given by God, their physical rule also ceased with the rejection of the spiritual leadership which they opposed, and it was also abolished. In agreement with this, Micah said: "And you, Bethlehem, house of Ephrathah, though you are little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of you shall come forth to me the one to be ruler in Jerusalem, whose goings forth are from of old, from everlasting." And he adds: Therefore, he shall give them up until the time when she who is in labor has given birth, and the rest of his brothers shall return to the children of Israel." The goings forth being similar to the evangelical words: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God," and to that of David: "From the womb before the morning star I have begotten you;" and the phrase "Until the time when she who is in labor has given birth" corresponds to Isaiah: "Rejoice, O barren one who does not bear." Where then are the goings forth of Zerubbabel from everlasting, whom the Jews take as born after the Babylonian captivity? The ancient Jews understood this differently; although much after Zerubbabel, when asked where the Christ was to be born, they brought forth the testimony of Micah concerning Bethlehem.

2.The word that came to Isaiah, the son of Amoz, concerning Judah and Jerusalem: "In the last days, the mountain of the Lord will be revealed; and the house of God will be established on the tops of the mountains and exalted above the hills, and all nations shall come to it. Many nations shall come and say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; He will teach us His ways, and we will walk in His paths.' For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem; He will judge between the nations and will settle disputes for many peoples." Following these, concerning the peace that occurred in the time of Christ among the nations and their conversion to the true God, the Jews interpret this as predicting the return from Babylon here. For which nations came after the second building of the temple? What law was given there? For the old law was given not in Zion, but in Sinai by the Lord. Therefore, they point to the new covenant given to the apostles there, and through them to all nations. Then he adds the peace that flourished everywhere with the preaching and the dominion of all nations under the Roman rule, and the cessation of wars against neighbors. The house of God being exalted is the Church wondrously raised.

3.Therefore, the Lord Himself will give you a sign," as He first said, "House of David; then He sets the sign: "Behold, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel. He shall eat butter and honey before he knows to refuse the evil and choose the good." And shortly after: "For to us a child is born, to us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace." For I will bring peace upon the

princes and health to him; and his government shall be great; and of his peace there shall be no end; upon the throne of David and over his kingdom, to establish it and uphold it with justice and righteousness from this time forth and forevermore. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will do this." If a sign is called a miraculous and exalted representation of a high matter and an extraordinary wonder, and at the same time salvific, then all these things were to be possessed by the virgin birth and by Him who was born of her, and so it was. At the same time, the sign was both in height and depth, by the descent into Hades and the ascent to the heavens, and because He raised mankind lying in Hades to heaven, or rather through the pre-eternal birth in the heavens, and through the temporal and earthly birth from the Virgin, and through the apparent humility and the exaltation perceived in the mystery by the worthy. If the Jews say that a young woman flourishing in age but not a virgin is to be understood, and therefore this prophecy concerns the wife of Ahaz and the resulting Hezekiah, firstly, if the foretold birth is common and not extraordinary, how is it given and called a sign? And how is the commonly born one called Emmanuel? Moreover, the term "young woman" also refers to a virgin. In Deuteronomy, concerning the virgin who is violated after betrothal in the field: "You shall kill the man, but to the young woman you shall do nothing, for the young woman has committed no sin deserving death." And he adds the reason: "For the young woman cried out, but there was no one to help her." And in the third book of Kings, the Shunammite who was a virgin, Abishag, is called a young woman: "And the young woman was very beautiful, and she served King David, and the king did not know her." They say this concerning the wife of Ahaz to understand Hezekiah from them. And was Hezekiah called Emmanuel? And before he knows the evil and good, how could he be stubborn in evil to choose the good? For this is beyond a mere man. And although he will use childish food as a man, his affinity for the good, manifesting from the first birth, shows the mystery beyond man. The approach to the prophetess is instead the closeness to her by the Spirit and the gift of prophecy; Mary is the prophetess by saying: "For behold, from now on all generations will call me blessed." Immediately the king of Assyria, the devil, as called in many places of Scripture, was plundered by the one born from her. Do not be amazed that it says: "child," and the following: "whose government shall be upon his shoulder," either because, being crucified, he prevailed miraculously; for he also carried his cross upon his shoulders; or because his government is not weak nor light but upon his shoulder; for strength of man is in the shoulders and arms. For it is said, "the arm of God and the Father," and He is God, being the creator, towards whom it was said, "Let us make man," and by the word of the Lord the heavens were made," said David. And as Adam is the father of the present age, so He is the father of the age to come, as the Apostle says: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation; old things have passed away; behold, all things have become new." And "Prince of Peace," because He said to the apostles, and through them to the whole world, "My peace I give to you." These things could not be said of any mere human child. And he adds: "The zeal of the Lord of hosts will accomplish this for the sake of men," and against the enemy of their salvation who envied. The "Mighty God" is said Judaically, meaning he who has power. Having come, He established the throne and kingdom of David, which was destroyed since the Babylonian captivity. For the prophecies that this would shine like light in the world, Jesus fulfilled this, being born from the seed of David and expanding His name and virtue through His preaching in the whole world, having been rejected by the Jews. Emmanuel they will not call him then; but they will call him Jesus; but you shall call him then and now, proclaiming beforehand instead of calling.

4.Therefore, my people shall know my name on that day; they shall know that it is I, the one who speaks, and I am present, as the hour on the mountains, as the feet of those who bring good news of peace, who bring good news of good things, for I will make your salvation known, Zion. Your God will reign, the voice of those who watch over you from above; and at their voice, they will rejoice together, for they will see eye to eye. When the Lord has mercy on Zion, let all the deserted places of Jerusalem break forth into joy, for the Lord has had mercy on her and has delivered Jerusalem. The Lord has revealed his holy arm before all the nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God." And a little later: "Behold, my servant shall understand, and he shall be exalted and glorified and lifted up exceedingly; as many will be astonished at you, so his appearance will be inglorious among men, and his glory from the sons of men. So many nations will marvel at him, and kings will shut their mouths because of him, for what had not been told them they shall see, and what they had not heard they shall understand. Lord, who has believed our report? And to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We have declared him as a child before him, as a root out of dry ground. He has no form nor comeliness; and when we see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him. But his form is despised and rejected among all the sons of men. A man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, for he has turned his face away, he was despised, and we esteemed him not. He bore our sins and was wounded for us; we considered him stricken, smitten by God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon him; and by his stripes, we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; every one has turned to his own way, and the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before its shearers is silent, so he opened not his mouth. In his humiliation, his judgment was taken away; and who will declare his generation? For he was cut off from the land of the living; for the transgressions of my people he was stricken. And I will give the wicked in exchange for his burial, and the rich in exchange for his death, because he had done no violence, nor was any deceit in his mouth. And the Lord desires to cleanse him from his affliction. If you make his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days. And the Lord's will shall prosper in his hand, to remove from the suffering of his soul, to show him light and to be satisfied, to justify the righteous who serves many, and he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore he shall inherit many, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong, because he poured out his soul unto death, and was numbered with the transgressors. And he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors. Rejoice, barren one who does not bear; break forth and cry out, you who are not in labor, for the children of the desolate are more than the children of the married woman," says the Lord. Therefore he shall understand that he works all things with understanding, being the wisdom of God and the Father; and therefore many will be astonished, as I contemplated your works, and was astonished. They will also be astonished at the humble and inglorious passage among men, understanding the surpassing wisdom and power of his economy. But those to whom it was not told about him, for the sake of those who did not receive the prophetic words, they will see through those who saw immediately and reported, the heralds of truth, and those who had not heard the prophecies about him will understand from the works alone; those who had heard heard, but did not understand, and seeing they saw, and yet did not see, nor comprehend. And this was mainly what moved the kings to turn to Jesus, the marvelously and surpassingly proclaimed truth about him holding sway over the earth, causing all to depart from the ancestral polytheism, which the power of the kings could not restrain with their blood and

slaughters. This changed Constantine from error and many kings and rulers among the nations of the earth. And the face turned away, turned away divine energy, accepting the passion with the mind.

5.And the prophet also appropriates the bold impudence of his own nation. Though he himself was free from sins, he endured the punishments for the cleansing of our sins, and by paying the penalty owed by us, he accomplished peace for us with God, the fruit of his chastisement on our behalf: "All of us, he says, have gone astray, each one following his own perilous path; but the Lord and Father delivered him up for our sins willingly." Hence, even he, though previously discoursing and teaching day and night, was silent at the time of his passion. In his humiliation, when he did not reveal the truth in a manner befitting God; for the unlawful and unjust judgment would not have served the purpose of the economy. He was lifted up and prevailed: or, in his humiliation, his judgment was taken away and ceased, for he humbled himself on behalf of humanity, bearing the form of all humanity; and not only was he exalted after his humiliation, but he also freed human nature from the ancestral punishment. And the phrase "His life is taken from the earth" either affirms his eternal existence as God, saying that he was far superior to be judged as a human, or it hints at his post-resurrection glory and his return to his native dignity. From our iniquities, he was led doubly to death; for if we had not sinned, he would not have dwelt on earth, purifying and healing us; and because he, under unjust judges, willingly suffered this penalty for our salvation, and we also, not long after, paid the due penalty justly, for he committed no sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth, he was greater than a mere man; yet they crucified even such a one. And the Lord, his Father indeed, wills to cleanse him from his wound; for as he took upon himself our owed sufferings and made them his own, so he also accepted our cleansing through faith; the wound meaning his passion. Or otherwise; he wills to cleanse, that is, to show him guiltless and not subject to death through his surpassing resurrection and subsequent glorious and divine events.

6.And if you offer concerning sin, not a sacrifice, but awareness and repentance and confession, your soul will be saved, and it will see long-lasting offspring, that is, eternal life; for formerly, even when they were given from the most devout, nevertheless, due to ancestral sin, all went down to Hades. Or, the unending seed, established and multiplied by him, about which he spoke in parables: "The sower went out to sow;" and again: "The kingdom of heaven is like a man who sowed good seed in his field." And you shall be partakers of the saints kept for everlasting life, who will conform to him in faith and the observance of his commandments. For he turns the word to the flocks of the Gentiles and presents the hope of resurrection through faith in him, concerning which there was no prior glory among the Gentiles.

7.And the Lord wills, in His hand, as always the will of the Father is prospered in the hand of Christ, to remove the pain from His soul; for the pain He had for our healing was alleviated by His hand; and as having divine authority in His human nature, He accomplished the purification of all creation.

8.And to show Him light and grant understanding, meaning our enlightenment and transformation towards better things. For if He was led to death for our sins, and bore them upon Himself being sinless, and the justice of nature is reckoned to Him, thus also the improvement of nature, its purification and transformation. Hence, being righteous, He has excellently served many; for He came not to be served, but to serve, as He said about Himself, and therefore took the form of a servant; fittingly received the justification of the many, that is, the nations, from the Father; as He bore their sins and took them away, being able and having removed them, He made them His own inheritance, as those saved by Him, and deprived the previously powerful demons of their strength, having snatched away many who believed in Him, whom they

had plundered; for He undertook all the economy for them according to the paternal and divine will. For this reason, in order for these things to happen, He was delivered to death, and not only did He endure the punishment assigned to the lawless, but also endured it among the lawless, being crucified with the thieves.

9.Rejoice, barren one, the land of the nations, for you shall bear many souls for God and establish a church within yourself, being both mother and nourisher of the seeds of the divine Word. How great is the joy, to transition to such abundant fruitfulness from utter barrenness? Break forth and cry out, you who do not labor, due to the violence of the birth; for clearly, with great force, the barrenness was dissolved, and this fruitful birth occurred, and the population was filled with God's fullness; for by the many bloods of the sowers of truth on earth and their labors and those who followed them, it was accomplished, and finally, the land of the nations, previously desolate, appeared prolific, having joined to the heavenly bridegroom; while the Jewish nation, which had previously possessed the husband, having given a bill of divorce and rejected Him, became barren and fruitless instead of previously being fruitful.

10."Behold, the days are coming," says the Lord, "when I will make a new covenant with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt. Because they did not continue in my covenant, and I neglected them," says the Lord. "For this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days," says the Lord; "I will put my laws into their minds, and write them on their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall not teach each one his neighbor, and each one his brother, saying, 'Know the Lord,' for all shall know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, for I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and lawless deeds I will remember no more." Nowhere here does it mention the Gentiles, so as not to give them an excuse, just as our Lord says, "I was not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel"; for He came first to take care of them as the genuine ones, then to the illegitimate ones; the former became such due to the neglect of the genuine ones.

11.And he also adds that He will not reject the race of Israel, even if anything happens. Thus it was, for Paul says, "God has not cast away His people whom He foreknew. For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin; therefore, not all Israel who are of Israel are saved, nor because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children." "Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved." The remnant, therefore, are the apostles, the Israelites who received the word, the three thousand, the multitude mentioned in the Acts, and many others who believed sporadically after that. The matters concerning the new covenant and the comparison to the old one, and how all will know God, like the sun shining on all and moving everyone's hearts towards Him, whether wise, unlettered, private individuals, rulers, slaves, free, small or great, by faith alone and the symbol of faith, baptism, and repentance for past sins, being immediately illumined by the light of divine knowledge, all these are clear in the prophetic word; and this prophecy is the clearest concerning the evangelical law.

12.Gabriel, who appeared to him, said to him, "Daniel, consider the word, and understand the vision; seventy weeks are determined for your people and for your holy city, to finish transgression, to make an end of sins, to make reconciliation for iniquity, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal up vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy. Know therefore and understand that from the going forth of the command to restore and build Jerusalem until Messiah the Prince, there shall be seven weeks and sixty-two weeks; the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublesome times. And after the sixty-two weeks,

Messiah shall be cut off, but not for Himself; and the people of the prince who is to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary. The end of it shall be with a flood, and till the end of the war desolations are determined. Then he shall confirm a covenant with many for one week; but in the middle of the week he shall bring an end to sacrifice and offering. And on the wing of abominations shall be one who makes desolate, even until the consummation, which is determined, is poured out on the desolate." This period of seventy weeks is not the time of captivity, but the time after freedom and return until the final captivity; for the time of the previous captivity was one thousand two hundred and ninety days, as prophesied by Daniel; and blessed is he who waits and arrives at the end of these days, for in one thousand four hundred and thirty-five days they will be gathered again to the temple and the city, as Daniel promised. That such desolation will come after the return due to final wrath and rejection is indicated by not calling them the people of God anymore but your people, just as previously when they sinned in the wilderness and turned to idolatry, God did not call them His people as at other times but said to Moses, "Go, get down; for your people have corrupted themselves." So now, it says, "your people and your holy city," the pronoun referring also to the city, as if saying, "and your city"; taken commonly, meaning the customary holy one.

13."You will know and understand from the going forth of the command." When the command goes forth, he says, for the city to be rebuilt. Artaxerxes commanded the city to be rebuilt, and Nehemiah, having been sent, led the work, and from there, they count seventy weeks until Christ. Seventy weeks of years make four hundred and ninety years; in the year 490, that is, in the middle of the final week, sacrifice and offering were taken away, and the abomination of desolation entered the temple. And then sin was completed and sealed; according to Aquila, godlessness was completed and sin was fulfilled; which Jesus said, "You have filled up the measure of your fathers," speaking these things to those of the circumcision. Thus, the godlessness of the Jews was then completed, but the sin of the world, which Christ came to dissolve, was annulled at His coming; for He was the one who takes away the sin of the world. Thus, the presence of Jesus was a fulfillment and completion of sin to the Jews who disbelieved in Him, but a removal and cleansing of sins and iniquities, and a propitiation for those who believed, rather to all people universally. Though He allowed the free will of those who choose to operate the gift of heavenly grace, He did not compel. He provided the removal and propitiation through the washing of regeneration, which is the symbol of faith and the confession of divine economy. He grants eternal righteousness through the participation of the Spirit; for the Word of God was made unto us righteousness and sanctification from God, according to the Apostle. For with His coming, people no longer follow the law and the prophets; for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness, according to Paul. And being sealed by the coming of the Spirit, they are renewed in the image, and through the mystical water, sins are washed away; through repentance, propitiation and forgiveness of sins occur, and thus one is justified by faith, who could not be justified by the works of the law.

14.Then vision and prophecy were sealed. All prophecy was opened in another way, as being revealed; but it was sealed because it did not proceed further; for the law and the prophets were until John. All these things happened at the complete desolation and final punishment of sins; they were not threatened at any other time, nor have they occurred.

15.Then the Most Holy was anointed, as one might say, the High Priest of high priests and the sanctified of the sanctified, which name was never applied to any high priest among the Jews in the old scriptures. But the only beloved Son of the Holy One and the only-begotten Son, as King of kings and Lord of lords, is also

called the Holy of Holies; concerning whom David says, "God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness more than your companions," as Jesus was not anointed with the common oil according to His humanity, but with the exceptional power of the Spirit. He was not anointed as the Most Holy, but being holy of the holy ones, as needing no sanctification; but being the giver of sanctification as God, He was anointed for the economy as man.

16."You will know and understand from the going forth of the word," meaning from the issuance of the command concerning the rebuilding of the city; sacrifice and offering were taken away after the passion of Jesus, though they seemed to remain for a time in the place of service, they were no longer acceptable to God and were as if they had ceased. Therefore, they were soon to completely cease, and the abomination of desolation, the royal standards and the handmade images in them, entered the temple, as Philo records, and they had idols and superstitious inscriptions written on them.

17."And until the end of the time desolation shall be decreed," meaning that there will be the same end of the time and cessation of desolation, either perpetually or until the end, in which time also the movement of the heavens will cease, is clear.

ON “MY GOD MY GOD WHY HAVE YOU FORSAKEN ME”

D. Scriptural and Theological Questions

I. Scriptural Questions

1. The Abandonment of Jesus on the Cross

† Resolutions of Certain Questions on Holy Scripture. Regarding the evangelical phrase, "My God, My God, why have You forsaken Me?"

1.The exegetes of this phrase interpret "forsaken" according to the common usage of the word. Believing it to be inappropriate—and indeed it is very inappropriate—for our Lord to have spoken of Himself as being forsaken by God, they attempt to address the inappropriateness of the term through various interpretations. Some say that He spoke this to demonstrate His true humanity within Himself, so that by expressing His aversion to death and suffering, He shows Himself to be truly human, in accordance with the natural aversion that all humans have. Others assert that He spoke this as representing the true and Jewish nation, expressing sorrow on their behalf as they were truly forsaken and acting as those forsaken. Others, still, suggest that, better than the rest, He spoke this as representing all humanity, as if humanity in Him was grieving that it had been so forsaken by God as to be unable to escape ancestral sin and the penalties due to it, except through this terrible dispensation.

2.Of these three interpretations, the first is not necessary, for in many previous words and deeds, the Son of God revealed Himself as truly human, to the shame of those who would later glorify Him as a mere apparition, being truly only God. It was not necessary at that moment, in His last breath, to concern Himself with proving this, as the previous words and deeds were sufficient.

3.As for the second interpretation, it is not at all appropriate; for even if the Jews who transgressed were indeed forsaken, many Jews were saved afterwards, having come to believe. Nevertheless, the whole world was saved by believing in the proclamation of the truth, and the countless multitude of former Gentiles became genuine children, while the few genuine Jews acted so rebelliously. Hence, it was not more fitting to grieve for the Jews, the few and forsaken, than to rejoice for all the nations that would be saved, and to express such joy with words. Many things can be considered within this thought, beyond mere words. As for the third interpretation, it is indeed better than the others, as stated, but not necessary either. It would have been better for those who interpreted "forsaken" to apply the phrase according to the time and necessity of Jesus. For it can be understood in other ways than the harshness of the word, and the inappropriateness of the term can be addressed in other ways.

4.Therefore, the "forsaken" here must not be understood according to the common use of the word, implying something negative; for how could it be that our Lord called Himself forsaken by God? As the Logos and Son of God, He said to the Father, "You sent Me," and He was eternally in the will of the Father, both in His eternal existence and in His mission to the world. As a human, personally united with the divine Logos, He had the natural human will subordinated to the divine Logos, and through the Logos, to the Father, hence He prayed, "Not as I will, but as You will." Since the divine Logos was always united with the human nature of Christ from the moment they were united, and the Father was always united with the divine

Logos, "I am in the Father and the Father is in Me," how could He say He was forsaken, when the divine and paternal will, being His own in both natures, was always with Him?

5.Therefore, He did not say this as one suffering and dying involuntarily, for He often foretold His death and everything that would happen after it to His disciples, and rebuked Peter for advising Him to avoid death. Nor was He forsaken by the Father as being helpless; for if He needed such help, He would have received it. He could, as He said, have called on the Father and had legions of angels at His defense, although one angel could have destroyed Jerusalem, as is recorded in the Old Testament. But He mentioned legions of angels to show His abundant power. And not only did He refrain from destroying the lawless Jews who opposed Him physically, although He was fully able to do so, but He even prayed for their souls, saying, "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing." This was a great sin, not as against a man, but against the divine Logos united with Him. Nevertheless, it was pardonable for the multitude, who neither knew the Scriptures nor could understand the depth of the mystery, but only unforgivable for the Pharisees and scribes, whose wickedness distorted the known truth and deceived the multitude. Thus, it was not unreasonable for them at that time, having misunderstood this saying, to tell many people and assert openly that He regretted what had happened, attributing the cause to divine abandonment, as if God had forsaken Him to do and suffer everything. Even now, the Jews speak such nonsense. Therefore, the evangelists rightly marked this saying, so that what was misunderstood by the Jews to disgrace the Lord may rather be understood by the faithful and those who can see clearly as a sign of His glory.

6.With these points established, we now turn to the exposition of this divine phrase. The meaning of this phrase is twofold, both appropriate to the intention of our Lord and to the occasion, with each interpretation not conflicting but rather harmonizing with the other. Firstly, our Lord, having completed the entire dispensation which He had fulfilled according to the will of the sending Father and His own will, now only awaited the separation of the most holy soul from the most sacred body, and thus timely desired this separation. He desired it not out of faint-heartedness or frustration, but unwilling to remain in vain any longer, and considering the benefits to His nature that would follow from the separation, the fruits of the dispensation, of which the separation would be the cause, and after the separation, the reunion. Therefore, He thus spoke to God: "My God, My God, all is now fulfilled; only the yielding up of the spirit remains. Why then do You allow the body to remain yet, and not soon be freed?" Upon saying this, the desired outcome immediately followed.

7.Another interpretation of this phrase can follow, consistent with the word "forsaken," meaning neglected or overlooked for a moment. Our Lord, being able to deliver the Jews to destruction and escape suffering and death, did not wish to; for He willingly suffered all and ultimately died, not compelling or destroying those who wronged and killed Him, but using their voluntary impiety and wickedness as an instrument of His voluntary dispensation for the salvation of the world. Not only did He refrain from destroying them, despite having the power, but He also prayed to the Father for their souls, as mentioned earlier. Furthermore, He desired another wondrous act to confirm the faith of those who would believe in Him and be saved, for whose sake all these things were managed, and to the shame of those impudent Jews. He could have performed this wonder while still alive, during His passion, but it was more fitting for it to occur after His departure, making it more glorious and stronger against all slander. This wonder, therefore, was appropriately to come from the Father at the time of His death. But just as He performed miracles while

praying to the Father, doing all things rightly and beneficially, so He thought it fitting to seek this upcoming wonder from God while still breathing, so that it would be believed by the wise then, and continually believed, and made known by His will. For although He was dead in His humanity, He was still in His divinity, performing the wonder together with the Father. Hence, revealing Himself with great humility, accepting His vindication from God, and wondering how it had not yet come to pass, He said: "My God, My God, why have You forsaken Me?" indicating the delay. For although the Father never forsook the Son, not even for an instant, being inseparably in Him, yet as God, He had not yet vindicated Him by shaking creation. Knowing this wonder was immediately to come, He spoke as if perplexed by its delay, saying: "Why have You forsaken Me?" The God and Father fulfilled both simultaneously; for He gave up the spirit, and creation was shaken.

8.Whether referring to the departure of the soul from the body, the future vindication through signs, or both these things, that phrase was primarily an indication of profound philosophy. Then, it served as confirmation to those able to understand correctly that He did nothing, nor desired anything, that was not also the divine will. And God immediately testified, fulfilling it, that the requested act was indeed divine will, and that it would be fulfilled imminently, as He thus requested. For the urgent desire towards the requested act was hinted at by the form of the question. All these things must be attributed to the human nature of our Lord, to which we must also attribute everything before and during the Passion, managed appropriately for our salvation’s divine purpose, not without the divinity of the divine Logos, to which the humanity was personally united, accomplishing, and predetermined, meaning, not without the paternal and divine will. This is why, as I mentioned, He did not say "Father" as He often did, but "My God," so that the events then perceived would be attributed to His human nature alone, and to silence the mouths of the Theopaschites. And indeed, He spoke this out of intense love, and at the same time gave us, who would cling to Him in faith, an example of seeking refuge in God during trials, even though He willingly managed the trial and did not exempt those who tempted Him from its cause and penalties. Our trials are many and varied, and enumerating them is beyond the current necessity. To the Logos and Son of God, Christ, and Master, who managed all this for us, be glory forever. Amen.

ON THE RISEN CHRIST BODY

2. On the Appearance of the Risen Jesus to Magdalene and Thomas

† Concerning the touching of the Lord's body, why it was forbidden to Mary Magdalene but permitted to Thomas.

1.Many of the holy teachers reconcile the apparent difference through anagogical interpretation, suggesting that Mary Magdalene was forbidden from touching the holy flesh of our Lord because He had not yet ascended, while the Apostle Thomas was permitted such a touch even before the ascension. We, adhering to these teachers, still believe it necessary to also demonstrate through historical narrative that the evangelists were consistent in their accounts of these matters and that our Lord, in His own wisdom and truth, was consistent with Himself.

2.It is necessary to note that our Lord did not prevent Mary Magdalene from touching Him before she had touched Him; for she would not have intended to touch if she were prevented. Rather, He prevented her after she had touched Him, as it is clear that she, along with the other women, held His feet, as the evangelist Matthew states. They immediately recognized Jesus by the visible characteristics of His flesh, knowing it was Him, yet they doubted in their minds whether it was a phantom or reality due to the strangeness of the event. Thus, they did not worship until they had touched Him. Once they held His feet with their hands and recognized by touch that the vision was true and real, they immediately worshiped. Our Lord did not deem it worthy to prevent them, lest He increase their doubt. How could He have prevented them when He allowed Thomas to touch Him with much freedom to rid him of unbelief? He stopped Mary Magdalene after she had touched Him, not because she did so out of unbelief, but because He wanted to dispel her doubt entirely through the assurance of touch. She, being very sensible and attentive, had replaced the seven spirits of wickedness from which she had been freed with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Hence, her doubt was better concerning faith than Thomas's later disbelief and the hardness of heart of the other apostles. Therefore, He appeared more severe towards them, for they did not believe those who saw Him resurrected. Thomas's disbelief was much worse than that of the others because he did not believe even his companions and fellow disciples who had seen Him. Towards Mary Magdalene's doubt, He was more lenient; hence, He did not reproach unbelief but simply showed her that the touch was unnecessary. "Why did you need to touch Me," He said, "and not add now the familiarity of My flesh's characteristics to My many promises about the resurrection, worshipping Me without hesitation before holding My feet? But if you touched, do not believe only because of the touch, nor continue believing because you touched; for this will diminish the fruit of your faith. That He did not prevent the touch, (He would have prevented earlier if He wanted to), but only pointed out its redundancy after the confirmation of truth through the touch, is shown by His saying, 'Do not touch Me, for I have not yet ascended to My Father.' For Jesus, knowing the depths of human thoughts, as she was moved by a thought that seemed reasonable for confirmation through touch, immediately unfolded the thought after the prevention into greater assurance of her faith and dispelled it with much kindness, showing it to be rather a product of precision, not unbelief. "You doubted," He said, "not about My resurrection, which you often heard Me clearly predict to the disciples, but because you saw Me remaining on earth even after the resurrection. My earthly life before was necessary to complete the mystery of the dispensation, but now, having risen, the heavenly realm alone is fitting for Me. Know well, therefore, O

woman, that My ascending to My Father is the ultimate goal and fruit of My resurrection, and I have no further need to remain on earth; I am still on earth and have not yet ascended to My Father due to some necessary tasks. Once these are accomplished, I will immediately ascend. You have resolved your doubt by holding My feet even before My explanation; I have clarified the thought that caused your doubt, providing its resolution, that I am not to ascend at all, but have not yet ascended. I now appear to you and will appear to others. Since My disciples will also doubt, which I know well as I knew your thought, and will think they are seeing a spirit when they see Me, unable to yet attend to the enormity of the miracle, it is good for you to announce to them that I have risen and will ascend to My Father; for the earth is no longer My place, so that they may not be moved by your thought and doubt further. But I must first meet with them and, having arranged what is needed for their future ministry in My dispensation for the salvation of the world, I will then immediately ascend to My Father. Let them go to Galilee, where they will see Me, prepared and informed by your message."

3.This is the agreement of the evangelists here, which is most accurate. We must also know that just as our Lord previously allowed Peter's fear and consequent denial for the benefit of Peter's mind and those who would benefit through his example, showing leniency to sinners through their remembrance of their own fall, and not only allowed it, able to prevent it, but also foretold it clearly, so He also allowed Mary Magdalene's doubt and the disciples' unbelief, and more so Thomas's, for greater assurance of their faith and that of those who would believe through them. Hence, He did not punish their unbelief but only reproached it, and allowed Thomas to touch and revealed Himself visibly close before the touch, showing clearly the signs in His flesh, so they would no longer doubt. He did not prevent Mary Magdalene from touching His feet but only reproached her after she had held them, addressing the cause of her doubt for greater benefit and assurance. He knew the apostles would not immediately heed her message, just as they did not believe the others who said they saw Him risen and heard Him speak. Such hardness of heart was allowed to address another cause, for if He wanted, He could have prevented it, but He managed it for the best, having many announce it and they not immediately attend until His clear, immediate appearance and touch and conversation and dining and miracles and holy instructions and His ascension before their eyes to heaven. Our Lord managed these things for greater assurance of His truth, not only for those who would preach but also for those who would come to Him through them in the world, for whom He endured the utmost humility for their salvation. To Him be the glory forever. Amen.

ON THE DENIAL OF ST. PETER

3. On the Denial of Saint Peter and the Crowing of the Rooster

† Concerning the denial of Peter and the crowing of the rooster.

1.The exegetes of the holy Gospels are not compelled by necessity to reconcile the seeming contradictions found within. For what would be the point of fabricating a contradiction only to resolve it? If they did not fabricate it, but the contradictions were true, then the solutions would not be truthful. However, the abundance of unbelievers at the time, who thought themselves wiser, sought to confirm their error and disbelief by attempting to find contradictions in the sacred scriptures, especially in the works and words of our Lord recorded in the Gospels. The more moderate among them would find fault with the evangelists' contradictions and, through them, attempt to justify their unbelief in our Lord as proclaimed by the apostles. Therefore, the teachers of the holy Church at that time were led to reconcile such differences not only to defend the truth maligned by the misguided but also to benefit and enlighten those who were not entirely blinded in mind and life and could still attend to the light of truth. Many of the prudent and earnest were thus guided from their accompanying error to the faith of Christ through the efforts of these holy teachers, not without divine grace from above. This was also for the support of the pious who might be scandalized by the sophistries of these unbelievers through their simplicity. Indeed, sophistry does not only deceive the hearers who cannot refute it due to simplicity but also those who are accustomed to using it against others. For every truth has a falsehood as its counterpart. The truly wise know the truth, demonstrate it with true words, and expose falsehood. But sophists, using deceitful words with a semblance of plausibility, deceive not only the simpler and less able to refute, but also themselves, being overcome by their own sophistry and, in trying to persuade others wickedly and falsely claim wisdom for themselves, they also fall into self-deception. Let us disregard those who, through ignorance or prejudice, adhere to falsehood, as their life's other wickedness prevents them from seeking or attending to the truth. Such understanding is a reward of virtue given to the good. The Church's teachers refuted the proposals of unbelievers at that time, which sophists innovated against evangelical truth, by reconciling the evangelical texts and other sacred books with necessary and wise arguments, sometimes refuting the assertions of unbelievers with truth, and sometimes pre-empting what they might say while sophistically interpreting. The truly wise, well-versed in both word and life, could also sophistically argue, knowing how one might ally with falsehood against truth, and thus can refute sophistries well. But they would never choose to sophisticate, being who they are.

2.Given that the Apostle Mark might seem to contradict Matthew and the other two evangelists in the prediction of our Lord Jesus concerning Peter's denial, the three evangelists say the Lord told Peter, "Truly I tell you, this very night, before the rooster crows, you will deny me three times," and that immediately after the third denial, the rooster crowed, and Peter remembered the word of Jesus, "Before the rooster crows, you will deny me three times." But Mark says the Lord told him, "This very night, before the rooster crows twice, you will deny me three times," and that after the third denial, the rooster crowed a second time, and Peter remembered the word Jesus had told him, "Before the rooster crows twice, you will deny me three times." Given that the three seem to disagree with the one, the simpler or unbelieving might see a contradiction. But the teachers refute this apparent contradiction with necessary and wise words. We now also add these points to further reveal the broad truth, which is very broad in all things.

3.First, one must consider that if the other evangelists say "before the rooster crows once" and Mark says "before it crows twice," there might seem to be a contradiction in the wording. Yet in meaning, these could agree. It is possible for the first and second crowing of the rooster to be seen as the same, given the varying perspective on rooster crowing. It might be likely that the three evangelists refer to the first crowing as encompassing the entire initial series of crowings, while Mark refers to the second specific crowing within the first series, which could also be called the first crowing within that series, and the second as the second part of the whole series. Alternatively, reconciling with Mark, the other three might call the first crowing what Mark calls the second, since the initial, faint crowing might be scarcely audible and not commonly called crowing, while the second, more pronounced crowing might be called the first due to its clarity and prominence, hence heard by most. Given the indeterminate statements of the three "before the rooster crows," how could the one saying "before it crows twice" be contradictory? Mark's statement would be a more precise explanation of what the other three meant, that the crowing event included both crowings. Such a detailed explanation our Lord would not have made in such a narrow timeframe and circumstances but was content to tell Peter of his denial and quell his boldness, predicting the sign of the time of the third denial, that it would happen soon, not after much time, but within that night, and not at its end, but in the deep of night when the rooster begins to crow, so that, realizing the Lord's prediction, he might repent with much contrition and faith and erase the defilement of his soul from that boldness, which indeed happened. Thus, our Lord indicated the time of denial with that sign, that before the rooster crows, you will deny me three times, meaning that having denied thrice, you will immediately hear the rooster crowing. This was how our Lord's prediction to Peter was phrased and faithfully recorded by the three disciples. Blessed Peter, knowing well the premise of the Lord's words and what happened to him, being Mark's instructor, more clearly dictated the evangelical history to him, that after the rooster crowed following the third denial, Peter immediately recalled the Lord's prediction, having not been aware before that crowing due to his fear, nor did he remember the Lord's words. That crowing, which greatly affected Peter, was not heard once but twice by the rooster; he only noticed this second, not having noticed the first following his initial denial, for if he had noticed, he would have immediately repented; it was impossible for the Lord's prediction to fail. He predicted Peter would deny, and as it was to happen, so it was foretold.

4.To say that Peter, having heard the first crowing after the first denial, did not understand, would neither be appropriate to think of Peter nor align with the Lord's prediction. But Peter later learned from others that the second crowing of the rooster occurred after his third denial, appearing as the first to him since he had not heard the first. Thus, he deemed it necessary to convey this accurately to his disciple Mark. Therefore, Mark not only records the Lord's statement like the other disciples, that after denying three times, Peter immediately heard the rooster crow, but also that this crowing was the second. It would be a greater fault if Peter, having heard the first crowing, still continued to deny. But even if this had been the case, he would not have hidden it. Rather, having learned from those present that the rooster crowed once before he heard it the second time after his third denial, Mark recounts this truthfully, expanding on the Lord's words with the outcome, while the others record it as it was spoken. Thus, to those who heard the crowing twice, it had crowed twice then, and they later informed Peter. To Peter, who heard it once after the third denial, it seemed to have crowed once. Our Lord, not making the crowing the main point but giving Peter a sign to recognize, thus provided it as something he would notice, whether before the rooster crowed or before he heard it.

Therefore, Mark's addition of "twice" does not contradict the Lord's statement as recorded by the others, nor does it differ from the Lord's purpose concerning Peter's repentance and humility and the truth of His prediction, whether Peter noticed the rooster crowing once or twice. As mentioned, Peter recorded for Mark not only what he heard but also what was conveyed by others who heard, accurately recounting the Lord's words. He wanted to show that nothing that happened escaped the Lord's notice and added the "twice" to align with the Lord's statement, not innovating but explaining, showing that the Lord foresaw everything correctly as it would happen, though He instructed Peter with only the necessary details, thereby teaching everyone who relies on themselves and does not refer everything to God. To Him be the glory forever. Amen.

THE HOUR OF THE CRUCIFIXION

4. The Hour at Which Our Lord Was Crucified

† Concerning the hour at which our Lord was crucified.

1.Concerning the passion and crucifixion of our Lord, the evangelist Mark says: "It was the third hour, and they crucified Him." But in the Gospel according to John, it is written: "It was about the sixth hour, and Pilate handed Him over to them to be crucified." Some Church teachers, aiming to reconcile the evangelists, say that Jesus was truly crucified at the sixth hour according to John, while Mark mentions the third hour because that was when the decision to crucify Him was made. Thus, He was considered crucified from the third hour by decision, though He was physically nailed to the cross at the sixth hour. Augustine mentions this in the sixth chapter of the fourth book "On the Trinity": "He was first crucified by the voices of the Jews at the third hour on the sixth day, and then He was hung on the cross at the sixth hour."

2.Those who worked diligently on the collection of the explanations given by the holy evangelists, placing this particular explanation in the context of Mark's Gospel where it discusses the crucifixion of the Lord, and noting those who accepted this explanation, added the following: "Eusebius of Caesarea, also called Pamphilus, in his queries and solutions concerning the divine passion and resurrection addressed to Marinus, added this examination: that the divine evangelist Mark mentioned the third hour as the time when Christ, our God, was crucified, while the most theological John wrote about the sixth hour when Pilate sat on the judgment seat in the place called the Pavement and interrogated Jesus. He indicates that this is a scriptural error overlooked by the early transcribers of the Gospels. The character Gamma (Γ) signifies the third hour, and the character Sigma (Σ) the sixth hour, and their resemblance caused the mistake. Thus, the Gamma for the third hour, with its straight line extended, was mistaken for the Sigma indicating the sixth hour. Since the three evangelists—Matthew, Mark, and Luke—agree that darkness came over the whole land from the sixth to the ninth hour, it is evident that our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified before the sixth hour, before the darkness, that is, at the third hour, as Mark recorded, and that John implied the same third hour, though the transcribers changed the Gamma to Sigma." Thus, Eusebius Pamphilus resolved Marinus's query, and this solution pleased many later scholars. They said it was more likely that our Lord was crucified from the third hour, and from the sixth hour darkness came, which was significant enough to turn the Jews back, not only due to the enormity of the event but also its timely occurrence. When they had had enough of their mockeries and jeerings, then the darkness appeared, so that even if not all, at least some were moved by the miracle.

3.For those of us who examine all things well, through divine guidance (for with the firmness of faith, known to us by our Lord Jesus, and with hope in Him, we confidently examine and consider these matters), it seems very accurate that the crucifixion took place at the third hour, corresponding well with the other narratives of the evangelists about the events that occurred then. After our Lord was seized at night and the events during His arrest and before Caiaphas until morning, in the morning, they bound Him and led Him to Pilate. From morning until the third hour, everything else occurred: Pilate's questions to our Lord, the Jews' questions and answers, the discussion about releasing someone according to their law, the Jews' responses with much insistence, Pilate's dialogues with the crowd, affirming Jesus's innocence, and the Jews' blasphemous mockeries once they received permission for crucifixion. Therefore, the third hour involved

these matters, and He was crucified by then. Until then, it was likely Pilate sat on the judgment seat, and once everything else was done, handed Him over to the Jews to be crucified. At the sixth hour, it was not reasonable for Pilate to remain on the seat; after speaking to the Jews and testifying, unable to convince them, he handed Jesus over to their will and then left for home. As the head of Jerusalem under Roman rule, adhering to Roman customs, and given the time for the meal, during the equinox and the cold, it was not fitting to remain involved with the crowd's absurdities, which he disliked. With rational behavior and influenced by his household, having nothing more to do with the Jews, he retired after making the decision against Jesus. Thus, the high priests, elders, scribes, Pharisees, and the rest of the crowd, along with the soldiers, accompanied Jesus to the place of crucifixion and carried out the crucifixion, once Pilate left. For they would not have all left had Pilate still been on the seat. They quickly took Him, having received the decision, being near the place of crucifixion and fearing any change from Pilate, lest they be hindered. Therefore, He was crucified around the third hour. During that time, they offered vinegar, divided His garments, wrote the inscription, crucified the thieves, blasphemed, mocked, and left no form of impiety undone. These continued until the sixth hour, when darkness fell, and most of the soldiers left, the entire Jewish crowd withdrew, frightened by the darkness. Therefore, our Lord's relatives by flesh stood near the cross then, as the soldiers would not prevent them as they would the crowd, being afraid of the Jews, standing afar, or not allowing them to approach.

4.From the sixth hour until the ninth hour, there was darkness. Around the ninth hour, our Lord gave up His spirit. Mark, as well as Matthew and Luke, mention that darkness came upon the land starting after the fifth hour until the sixth hour, and that the other signs occurred after the ninth hour began, when the Lord gave up His spirit. It was necessary for God the Father to show creation twice as suffering in response to His Son's extended agony and disgrace on the cross and His willing death, not to destroy the workers of disbelief and wickedness at that time, but for the glory of the divine dispensation and the benefit of those who would heed it well, for whom these things were managed. And justly punished were those who did not come to realization even after these signs. Rather, it was the divine Logos who, in His divinity, alongside the Father, displayed such endurance in suffering and dying for mankind in the assumed human nature, revealing the truth of the dispensation through these signs. For how could those wretched murderers of Christ still claim that He performed wonders through magic when He darkened the sun, unexpectedly eclipsed by the moon during the full moon, not only for those in Jerusalem but universally, being a most extraordinary wonder and sign? And after His death, He tore the temple veil, shook the earth, and performed other signs. Since these events followed the crucifixion at the third hour, as recorded by the three evangelists, how could John have stated otherwise and differed from the three regarding the time of the crucifixion? Rather, as Eusebius says, an error occurred in the transcription of the Gospel's initial writing, which was perpetuated by subsequent transcribers, who, without proper oversight, spread this everywhere, neither noting well the character difference nor seeking its cause. Later careful reviewers found no difference in John's account from the others (which would be impossible), but that the error stemmed from the inattention and mistake concerning the character. It was not necessary to alter all the books later; it was enough to understand the writing according to John's clear intention, consistent with the truth and what he meant. A similar occurrence is noted by Chrysostom in homily 17 on the Gospel of John, saying: "For this reason, these things happened in Bethany," and added: "but the more accurate manuscripts state Bethabara. For Bethany is not beyond the Jordan nor in

the wilderness, but near Jerusalem." This confusion arose due to the similarity in names, just as in our case due to the similarity between the character for six and three, as Eusebius rightly discovered, supported by many others.

5.Blessed Augustine also discusses this matter well, aligning more with Eusebius and those agreeing with him. He opens the door for us to seek a better agreement or add to what others have found, believing it possible and not impossible to find another explanation for the agreement of the evangelists. He says: "He was first crucified by the voices of the Jews at the third hour, then hung on the cross at the sixth hour," adding: "Wherever you start, if another explanation can be found, it should not contradict John's Gospel, understanding the Savior was hung on the wood at the third hour, without encompassing the entire first day." Here, Augustine examines the three days after which the Lord rose. Thus, it is possible, even by Augustine, to find another explanation for the evangelists' agreement. We have found and now set forth a better explanation, which he would have also accepted gladly. His explanation, though aligning the three evangelists with John, seems forced and not fully consistent with the events. The character error by the initial transcribers of John's Gospel, marking the third hour like the others, aligns well with the truth and removes any contradiction, eliminating the need for forced harmonization. The character's resemblance causing the error is highly plausible and reasonable. That the other evangelists did not base the time on the act but on the declaration and decision to crucify is inaccurate and inappropriate. To our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us according to His humanity, our God, Creator, and Savior, be glory forever. Amen.

ON THE SECOND COMING AND THE RESURRECTION

5. On the Second Coming of the Lord and the Resurrection of the Bodies

† Concerning the second coming of our Lord and the resurrection of the bodies.

1.Since the divine apostles speak about the second coming of our Lord with some apparent differences, aligning their words with the needs of the current teaching, we now confidently present the truth gathered from all the sacred sayings, under the guidance of the Ruler and Giver of truth, and we will also resolve the apparent disagreement among them.

2.First of all, it is necessary to lay as a foundation the words of our Lord Jesus in the Gospels concerning the resurrection, that all the dead will rise and live. "For the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live." And proceeding immediately, He says more clearly that all those in the tombs will hear His voice and come out of the tombs, that is, they will rise by the power of the divine voice, instantly, and simultaneously with the voice and their resurrection. Thus, they will rise at the sound of His voice and, having risen, hear the voice. Then He adds the purpose and goal of this great miracle concerning them: those who have done good deeds will rise to eternal life, and those who have done evil deeds to the resurrection of judgment, meaning those who will live eternally and blissfully, and those who will be eternally condemned. By saying those in the tombs, He means all the dead under a single term, those He previously called dead. For there was no need to go through the different ways of death, which are almost countless. While examining the nature of that voice and how the dead will hear it would be another matter, for now, we only focus on the fact that the Lord said all the dead will rise. Thus, we must believe that not only the righteous but also the sinners will rise, the righteous to eternal life, the true and blessed life, the goal of earthly life for those who have lived well, and the sinners to eternal condemnation and a life far worse than death.

3.To this statement of our Lord about the resurrection of all the dead, we must immediately connect what Paul says in the first letter to the Corinthians as a mystery to complete the understanding in the Lord's words, which the Lord did not need to complete at the time. Thus, Paul calls this a mystery, as it is not openly included in the Lord's words, but revealed to him along with many other necessary things. And what is this? "Not all of us will sleep," he says, "but we will all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet. For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we will be changed." The dead will rise from the long-lasting decay as if they were never decayed, and at the Lord's voice, the nature of the elements will immediately present the prepared bodies, and immediately the souls will join them, each recognizing and taking up its own. The living will be instantly transformed to the imperishability of the resurrected by God's command without undergoing any prior natural decay. Paul counts himself among the living, speaking to all who will live until the end of times and as if speaking to everyone, urging them to adhere well to the divine laws and use the uncertainty of times as an incentive for virtue.

4.Our Lord, summarizing this distinction by Paul, said all will rise, meaning they will live bodily, not just in soul, all from Adam until then. Therefore, the resurrected and those who will be changed will differ first in resurrection and transformation according to Paul's distinction. And since the resurrection does not occur without transformation, by this, all will be altered from their previous state. They will differ truly by the manner of transformation: some will rise to live blissfully in body, and some to be eternally condemned with their bodies. Therefore, those who will be transformed must also be divided, and the transformation will

reasonably be twofold: one fitting for the blessed and the other for the punished bodies. For the bodies of the blessed will be entirely impassable and light, to be lifted with their souls to the upper place, transparent, and endowed with many other divine graces. The bodies of the wretched, fitted for their darkened souls being dragged to Hades, will be impassable in a way to remain continuously tormented by fire without being consumed. Therefore, they do not differ by being transformed or not, but by the manner of transformation. They will be transformed according to Paul's distinction, whether by resurrection or without dying and rising. And that the resurrected bodies will immediately join their souls is evident, even if not explicitly stated. For those changing in life will be with their souls in the same order, and the Lord's power transforming the living will also immediately join the souls of the dead with their resurrected bodies, and everything will happen at once, as Paul compares the speed of those events to the twinkling of an eye. Simultaneously, the previously dead bodies will rise, and the souls will join from all sides, and the living will experience the bodily transformation.

5.With these points established, we now turn to the blessed Peter. In defending against those who misinterpret and disbelieve the promise of the second coming of our Lord and the transformation that will occur in the world, Peter refers to the change brought by the flood. He says it is not unreasonable to believe that just as the world was first deluged by water, even though it had long remained without such a change, so too it will be deluged by fire after that. He means the world along with the earth, even though everything now remains in its usual order. And just as our Lord compares the suddenness of His coming to lightning, Peter compares it to the unexpected arrival of a thief in the night. He says that the earth and everything in it, all the created things, will be burned up, and there will be new heavens and a new earth. To this, the divine Paul also agrees. He says about the suddenness of the Lord's coming that "the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night." Concerning the renewal of the world, he says that "the creation itself will be liberated from its bondage to decay and brought into the freedom and glory of the children of God," as it has long been subjected to servitude with the children of God, sharing their servitude, and worn out by this servitude. For servitude is now the work of the children, and when they become free, the creation will also be set free. What is this servitude of the children of God now? The spirits of those who have departed from this life have not yet received the perfection of blessed life, nor have they fully received the order of freedom. Their bodies, dissolved, serve the elements into which they dissolved. Those still living at the time of the presence will be slaves both in soul and body, not having yet received the happiness they desire, suffering from the wickedness and evil of the people living everywhere at that time. When the children of God are freed from this servitude, creation will share in their freedom. The heavens and the bodies within them will no longer move due to the change of elements, nor will they change as they do now because of the changing seasons, nor will there be any need for seasons anymore, as all created things will have passed away. They will pass away because the generation and life of humans will have ceased, for whose sake these things exist and happen now. What Paul calls liberation after servitude, Peter calls renewal full of righteousness, peace, and tranquility, consistent with the righteousness of the children of God at that time.

6.The second coming of our Lord will be preceded first by the tribulations of human life, increasing paradoxically with the passage of time, as our Lord describes. These tribulations will surpass all historical events in number and magnitude. From the few that He enumerates, we can infer about the rest, and the more diligent and naturally and graciously inclined among humans will view these tribulations as signs of the

impending presence of Christ and the other events that will occur before and after it. They will use these tribulations as pretexts for the advancement of their souls towards the good, while the common people neither understand nor turn back in any way. Following these tribulations, as the end approaches, there will be extraordinary solar eclipses, darkening of the moon, and star showers, among many other sudden and successive events. At that time, all the tribes of the earth will mourn, and all people, both believers and unbelievers, wicked and diligent alike, perceiving the culmination of the foretold events through these evident and most extraordinary signs, will react according to the inclination of their minds, making these events a cause of lamentation and mourning. After these, the presence of the Lord will immediately appear. First, the resurrection of the dead will occur, then the transformation of the still living. Subsequently, both groups will be caught up together to meet the Lord in the air. These are Paul's words, and this last part should be understood as concerning the blessed, those prepared for eternal life. As for the wretched, it is clear that they will be cast down to the depths of the earth, inhabiting Hades eternally in both soul and body, paying the unchangeable penalties for their earthly wickedness. The mourning that follows the revelation of Christ's presence will not benefit them, nor will it free them from the punishment determined by their entire life of disbelief and wickedness.

7.The angels will swiftly gather the blessed from the ends of the earth, transporting them with great speed to the upper place, to meet the Lord and ascend with Him to heaven. The punished will also be raised and will live, but their will and the corresponding judgment will justly separate them from the blessed and distinguish them. As the blessed are taken up with the angels, they will be dragged down to the depths of the earth with the demons. For the demons will no longer be allowed to roam the air by God's permission, as they did before, having completely forsaken this earthly place. Thus, they will be dragged down with the bound demons to the lower realms, and they will drag the wretched humans down with them. All these events will occur in a single instant by the infinitely powerful divine command, and celestial fire will immediately descend upon the entire earth, consuming all the works of nature created and existing for human servitude, and all human endeavors and arts, so that no vain burden remains on the earth. It will cleanse the earth of the impurities from humans with its purifying power, accumulated over the long duration of their habitation. The earth will cease its labor for the generation of these perishable and corruptible things, and the heavens and the bodies within them will cease their incessant movement, initially set in motion for human life. Their nature will have a renewal consistent with the newness of the divine children's life.

8.The descent of fire upon the earth will signify the evident destruction of the impious, who will then fill the world, as they already do now, but will increase even more until then—those filled with disbelief or vile choices, and those unrepentantly committing wicked deeds against Christ, even if they possess an amorphous faith. However, God, no longer wishing the generation of such to continue and making His presence its end accordingly, will bring about the consummation of the entire world not for evident destruction alone and a prelude to complete ruin, but for the greatest and final destruction of such beings. In the time of Noah, the destruction was evident through water, killing them and sending their souls justly to Hades, while leaving their dead bodies on earth, not punishing their spirits further, for it was not yet the time for that. Now, the destruction of the impious will be final, as their souls and bodies will be delivered to judgment together. Even if they were not to be raised alongside the pious and righteous, they would still be consumed by the coming fire, harshly perceiving the Lord's presence both in soul and body, receiving their just punishment from divine

judgment and their own conscience, even while burning in the fire. The transformation and gathering of the good, and the leading up, will precede the coming of the fire, leaving only the wicked on earth to be burned. Their souls, still alone and without bodies, will face judgment in Hades. However, their bodies, transformed and seeing the divine presence bitterly, as mentioned before, will grieve terribly and be dragged into Hades. This is taught by the Lord's word, and it is very reasonable, as the divine judgment is always reasonable. Thus, the fire must descend for the stated reasons, and it is true that the fire will descend for their destruction and judgment. If human impiety and wickedness had not wholly increased, and the pious works and doctrines were few in number, the coming of Christ would still be delayed until many good souls bore fruit on earth, filling the heavenly place. But since the Lord's coming is thus determined, other events that were to precede or follow it would still take time. With the impiety of humans having increased so severely, the generation of humans must cease to avoid nullifying the earth. The judgment of human works must follow immediately, bringing salvation in heaven for the good and destruction under the earth for the wicked, harsher than countless deaths, where they will be continuously consumed by the fire meant to cleanse the earth.

9.No human word could recount in detail all the daily expected events of Christ's coming, and the things close to it and after it. Since these events surpass all description, our Lord, recognizing the need to build the souls of those approaching faith with only the essential points of what will happen then, and the divine apostles, enlightened by divine brilliance, expound more for the benefit of those approaching Christ through them, did not propose to recount everything revealed to them. Nor was it necessary, even if they could omit nothing. The guidance of the holy Gospels is sufficient, and what they add serves as an explanation of what is reserved for humans, whether to teach, guide, support, comfort, stir towards the promised happiness with its proposed hopes, restrain the opposites through warnings, or make those who derive no benefit herefrom inexcusable, exchanging their earthly foolishness for misery there, justifying the Creator, Father, and Providence as not neglecting the salvation of His children, nor hiding their future rewards or punishments. For He has treated all humans as His children from the beginning, omitting nothing in paternal care or endurance, reckoning the final judgment of their earthly life by its fruits, making the wise His sons and heirs, disinheriting the foolish, and rendering eternal justice to them as enemies.

10.Our Savior teaches all this sufficiently, as noted by His disciples in the Gospels, and likely spoke more broadly and clearly to the multitudes about these matters. Blessed Paul and Peter, in harmony with the Lord, intertwine their teachings about future events according to the need, beneficial to wise and faithful souls, showing that preparing for that life well is the end of earthly existence. Knowing well what the Father and Lord promises to the prepared and threatens to the ill-advised, as He will necessarily do both. We have noted the apostles' agreement briefly here, intending only this. To our Lord Jesus Christ be glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen.

ON THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

6. On the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge

† Concerning the trees in paradise, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge.

1.Concerning the trees in paradise, you inquire, dearest, and to this we answer clearly and concisely. You did well to inquire, for the matter is not simple; it is varied and requires deeper investigation. Adam was created in the first and most beautiful part of the earth, which was fitting and proper for the first human. Paradise was thus immediately granted to him, as recorded in the holy scripture, planted nearby for his sake. Upon entering it by God's command, he was permitted to eat from all the trees in it, except for one tree, the tree of knowledge. But the holy scripture also mentions another tree there, the tree of life. Thus, the trees in paradise were divided into three categories. All were nourishing and life-giving to Adam, created for his sake, but one in particular was called the tree of life and was so. The other trees provided life through daily nourishment of the body, while this tree preserved and augmented life, preventing the decay that necessarily follows the exertion of the body's active power, which yields over time and labor. It replenished the innate power needed for existence and life. Hence, it was specifically called the tree of life, as it would cause greater life whenever consumed and for as long as it would nourish. It was not necessary for man to partake of it daily like other foods, but consuming it once or twice over a long period would sustain life like a medicine, reinforcing and restoring the vital power diminished by daily food. This would continue until the appointed time for transition to a better and spiritual life, which was the ultimate goal for man according to the Creator God. Hence, it was not called the tree of immortality, of endless and perpetual life, but of temporal life extension and entry into immortality. Adam was not immediately immortal by decree, but lived actively and could remain immortal if living according to divine law and reason. He also had the potential for mortality if choosing the contrary path. The time after his creation in paradise was a trial and contest; if he contested well and fulfilled God's will in all things, he would be crowned with confirmation of existing goods and additional greater, perfect, and eternal ones, transitioning to the heavenly place. But having chosen the worse path, he became fully accountable, as indeed happened. Therefore, it is likely that Adam did not eat from the tree of life, given the short time before his voluntary defeat in the trial. Even if he were to taste it, the consumption would not have prepared him for never dying, for such preparation required keeping the commandment by abstaining from the forbidden tree.

2.Therefore, after the commandment was transgressed and mortality, as threatened, was realized, the tree of life would have been entirely useless if consumed, no different from the other trees. The divine grace granted to Adam, enabling him to live as long as he was deemed worthy of such a gift, was not given to the tree. Consequently, after the transgression, the tree of life became immediately useless, and its purpose was completely nullified when Adam became mortal through disobedience. Hence, he no longer deserved to remain in paradise, and was thus expelled.

3.Let this suffice concerning the tree of life. Distinct from all others was the tree of knowledge, the ultimate and climactic tree. Like the others, it was naturally life-giving and nourishing, beautiful to behold and good for food, but it was not planted to contribute to the initial temporal life, as the others were, but to the future life granted as a reward. Once eaten, at the appointed time, it would serve as a sign rather than a cause. Nor was it the cause of the downfall of those who partook untimely and unlawfully, as some claim, as it was

not meant to be forbidden forever, but to be eaten eventually. Let the detailed examination of such matters be set aside, as it requires many words. We will only recount the tree of knowledge in distinction from the other trees, following the sacred words, as that was our intention.

4.Thus, the consumption of this tree was immediately forbidden to Adam, as it was not intended to aid him in his current life. The other trees and the tree of life sufficed for this. However, the tree of knowledge was meant to confirm his immortality and lead him to a better and spiritual life, truly blessed by abstaining from it according to the divine command until allowed to eat it by God's appointment. Then, the knowledge of all good would be granted as a reward for devout obedience, and consequently, of all evil, as known through the knowledge of good. Evil itself does not have its own nature, being rather the absence of good. In any case, the true good would then be known well, recognizing the source of all good and adhering to it alone unchangeably. Knowing evil would then mean to flee from all wickedness for oneself and one's followers, synonymous with avoiding deprivation. This pertains to that temporal life, even if some journey remained after the permitted consumption, confirming all present goods with a great and elevated addition. The most fitting view is that if the command had been kept, he would not have often tasted the tree of knowledge but, like partaking of the tree of life once or twice, would have sustained life until the spiritual transition. This was the reason for his creation, serving adequately and splendidly during the propagation and spread of humanity. After the transgression, this was not served successfully. Thus, after consuming the tree of knowledge once, according to the divine command, and fulfilling all other things well, he would immediately abstain from all other trees, surpassing their triple necessity, and be orderly elevated to the spiritual life. He would then be perfected in knowledge, with the tree marking the end of that temporal life and knowledge, and the beginning of actual immortality and fitting spiritual and heavenly life and knowledge.

5.God, out of great philanthropy, created the tree of knowledge as a pretext for double righteousness for man: first, to keep the divine command by abstaining, and second, and higher, to know all good under the single knowledge of the source of all good, God, when permitted to partake. The knowledge of good inherently includes the knowledge of evil, as noted, not primarily pursued in perfection but incidental to understanding. In such a state, they do not need to flee from evil but only in the context of understanding its absence. Receiving that knowledge means living eternally and ultimately blessed. The divine Logos, through whom man and all beings were created, says this is eternal life, to know the only true God. To know God in this way is to know all beings. Man is blessed by perfecting the mind, perfected by the knowledge of truth, and God is the sole source of truth in beings, hence the only true one. Knowing God and all things in this way means living eternally and being blessed. If Adam had completed the journey well and kept the command, the direct knowledge of God and thus all His creations would be humanity’s final confirmation. The dispensation after the sin and fall adds knowledge and continues to give it to those who attain that blessedness through faith and virtue. Therefore, the first Creator and later the Worker of this dispensation added, "and Jesus Christ whom You have sent." After earthly faith, the knowledge of Jesus and the mysteries of this dispensation will be a great addition to the simple divine knowledge, known now only by faith, then fully known. Such was the Creator's purpose in creating and temporarily forbidding the tree of knowledge, as fitting for the present need.

6.Adam, not understanding well the prohibition of the tree and the knowledge of good and evil to follow from its consumption, whether it was the forbidden knowledge if violated, or the timely knowledge to be

given, or understanding it (since he was sufficiently wise to know the nature of the animals and assign appropriate names to each, as scripture recounts), later corrupted in his will, shaking his trust in the Creator and Lawgiver, and captivated by thoughts of pride and gluttony, the leaders of evils, thus deprived of divine grace, and unexpectedly accepting and fulfilling the evil counsel, fell from the divine favor diligently pursued in his behalf, turning the hope of becoming godlike by knowing everything into its opposite—deceptive and impossible. He did not simply know good, nor primarily good with evil as its opposite, but knew both good and evil as befit the transgression of the given commandment. For he immediately knew by his nakedness that it was evil to eat, and subsequently learned that it would have been good if he had not eaten. He was justly deprived of future happiness, of the best nourishment leading to it, provided by the tree of knowledge, and of the tree of life, which would have aided and granted him immortality, had he willed it, thus becoming mortal or dead, even if seemingly living temporarily. Becoming mortal by action (for the penalty threatened necessarily followed the transgression of the commandment), he could no longer benefit from the tree of life, nor could it help him if touched. Hence, living in paradise would have been futile, where the other goods were planted and given for him. Consequently, he was deprived of all other goods and the trees in paradise, as well as the effortless and pleasant living from them, and had to dwell and labor on the ground from which he was taken, eating bread by the sweat of his face instead of living effortlessly with everything prepared. Thus, his physical life had to align and progress with his spiritual life. These things indeed happened, though with much philanthropy.

7.It is clear from the above that while all the trees in paradise were nourishing and life-giving, one among them uniquely restored life as it waned over time and increased it, aiding the divine completion destined for man by prolonging life through it. This was not for daily nourishment like the other trees but to be partaken of rarely as a medicine, hence specifically called the tree of life. Above all was the tree of knowledge, preparing for future happiness through the commandment associated with it, well-kept, and completing in due time by its consumption. Abstaining from it out of reverence would foster virtue, while consuming it once permitted would begin the crowns of virtue. Therefore, it occupied the central place in paradise, signifying its superiority over the others, mediating both the attainment of happiness through obedience and the fall into wretchedness through transgression. Thus, the tree of knowledge was not planted as an instrument of sin and mortality, as one might mistakenly think, but primarily as a cause of happiness and eternal life, rooted in the knowledge of God and His divine works. Observing it would increase and establish immortality and lead to happiness as a reward, abstained from by command and eventually eaten with permission. Consuming it while still forbidden brought mortality into action as a penalty, and a host of associated evils. Therefore, the divine knowledge and will saw only good concerning the tree and man, while man's choice allowed both, justly giving the fitting reward or consequence for either keeping or breaking the commandment.

8.All this is evident to those wisely adhering to the sacred tradition of Moses regarding these things, with God's cooperation, even if the obscurity of the covenant and wording led some to simpler or even wicked interpretations. To our most philanthropic God and Creator be glory forever. Amen.

ON THE INCARNATION

II. Theological Questions

1. On the Incarnation of the Son of God.

† By the most wise Scholarius.

Question. – † If the essence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, how is it that when the Son became incarnate, the Father and the Spirit did not also become incarnate? Or how is Christ fully God without their incarnation?

1.Answer. 1. In many essential and significant matters of the true Christian faith, and with many and varied doctrines that complete the true Christian, some are derived from the Law and the Prophets, while others come from the words of the Incarnate God and His disciples. Not all these matters of faith and the assent of mind and will are presented to us in the same way. Some hold their strength solely by the authority of those who spoke them, as they would otherwise seem implausible to listeners because the mind cannot readily grasp them by its own means. Others are supported by nature itself and human wisdom, such as the belief in God being one, good, and perfect, and whatever pertains to similar substances. Some of this can be found in divine Scripture, used as a teacher, speaking either directly from God or simply stating: "I am He," He says. And again, "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord." And again, "Before Me there was no other, and after Me there will be none other." And again, "The Lord is good to those who hope in Him and to the soul that seeks Him." And again, "Be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect."

2.The natural light of reason can also grasp these truths, by which even those outside the faith who are wiser than others hold similar opinions in most matters, though not with complete accuracy. However, they sometimes mix falsehood due to their autonomy of thought and thus attempt to apply their human wisdom and reasoning about the highest and loftiest matters boldly. The belief in one God in essence as a Trinity of persons does not contradict the unity in plurality or vice versa. What Christians believe and proclaim about the divine unity and distinction and the associated doctrines, especially concerning the incarnation of the Word of God and the mysteries we celebrate, was first taught by the One God in the Trinity Himself, revealing the worshipful Trinity to humanity in His words about Himself, the Father, and the Spirit, and legislating everything for us. To pass over other matters, His works, words, testimonies from relatives, and through voices and other signs that proclaimed His divine witness more than those who received them, once the economy was complete and He was to leave the earth bodily, even if mystically still present, He sent His disciples into the world to kindle the torch of truth and to increase the rewards of favor and faith in the Master, defining faith concisely, as was possible, for them to require from those who received them, and giving the symbol of faith, saying: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

3.First, He legislates here that faith should be in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit, and considers this necessary for the salvation of believers. If He sent them for the salvation of the world, it was impossible for those not bringing sincere faith or not transferring reverence and worship to whom it was due from those unworthy to be saved. Desiring to be baptized was to be a symbol, prelude, and beginning of the life in faith. Then He speaks about those subjected to faith in such a way as to make their relationship clear,

demonstrating their simplicity in saying "name" singularly, as the being and essence of the three is one, the name by which God named Himself as most common and perfect among all others used by people. To encompass the divine nature in a name is the same as expressing its essence and surpasses the realm of the simply impossible. It would take too long to list or attribute this to the Lord's words, but this is summarized in saying that the one God in essence is Father, Son, and Spirit. This theology began here and was called faith, as proof and knowledge make things appear to us more than eyes distinguish colors and qualities, while faith draws all human minds to what is unseen and without proof, without curiosity. This occurs entirely because the divine power is truly sovereign and its propositions are acknowledged. Miracles and divine signs, which no mere human can perform, attest to it, as well as prophetic books foretelling things hidden from those then and now appearing clearly as a single source revealed. Additionally, the outcome of these matters and the spread of His teaching over all the earth, as by God's decree without opposition, even if some had to remain in falsehood until the good of human free will is preserved.

4.As I have said, this theology, having begun there and established this faith, speaks of what must be believed concerning itself. It then continually receives additions and adjusts to the capacity of those receiving it, as it has developed over time. Through His ministers and disciples, this faith has been communicated more clearly and fully to receptive souls. By "ministers and disciples," I mean those who saw and touched Him when the Spirit's works were manifest, and those sent directly to enlighten the world, but also those who received from them what they received from Him and those whom they, by the laying on of hands, filled with the gifts of the Spirit, having received this power from the Teacher. This includes the third, fourth, and subsequent generations up to the present day, and as long as humans exist in the world. For the grace of the Spirit will never weaken as it passes to later generations, nor will it ever abandon the Church, which is so well built that the gates of Hades will not prevail against it. The apostles and genuine disciples of Christ, after the apostles, have unfolded and clarified the faith they received in a condensed form for understanding and wise listeners. They have also combated arising heresies (for the faith needed to shine more brightly under many and prominent struggles), expanding and asserting the truth of the faith and filling the world with words and writings supporting it. In all these writings, nothing exceeds the boundaries of the condensed theology; instead, all discourse tends toward and expands upon it. This is evident not only from what they seem to be considering and aiming at but also from their own firm stance on their own teachings. They say everywhere that they adhere to the sacred words as a rule and measure, using them to gauge their own teachings and advising others similarly. They do not dare to innovate anything contrary to the divinely revealed sacred words and call upon human wisdom to believe in these things, not drawing the mind beyond its capacity but rather extending it toward them. They thus provided an example of such commendable reverence to others, giving no place to human methods except where absolutely necessary.

5.Given these conditions and that the matters believed by us surpass all reason and understanding, but are sustained by the authority of the speakers who could influence our minds, and since the saints everywhere turned aside curious inquiries and persuaded others to do the same, no one should seek the certainty of this faith from human reasoning nor consider their weakness in light of what is believed. Rather, one should recognize the greatness and divinity of faith from the utter weakness of human wisdom alone concerning these matters. It was necessary for our thoughts and reasonings to have no place there, so that, like disciples of teachers, we may believe what is taught and thereby be deemed worthy of higher knowledge, gaining the

reward of conviction. "For he who hears and learns from My Father comes to Me," He says. Moreover, if we ignore the words of daily happenings, how much more should we marvel at divine providence, not only for us but even if someone ascended to the third heaven. How much more should we consider the divine and infinite essence beyond our conceptions, thus stirring greater wonder, sincere faith, and fervent longing, rather than treating it as something obvious. If in this transient and mortal life, burdened with the stain of disobedience, we were so radiant as to know God visibly, as Paul says, and to understand His essence plainly, and to resolve all human doubts, which is the greatest of promises, what more could we expect from our homeland? What would the expected life add to us? Nothing more. The awaited transformation of the soulish body into the spiritual would be in vain. True submission of the soul and all its faculties to the Master would be genuine. Therefore, divine truth had to be given to humanity through faith. If we do not want to stray from righteousness and forsake our salvation, we must accept in faith what is proposed in this manner. At times, we may accept human reasonings that align and agree with these matters, but should not reject those that fall short, any more than when we apply them to lesser and more comprehensible matters. For why should we be more deficient in understanding such great things than many humans who are ignorant of the earth's position in the universe, the size of the sun and moon, and their cycles, yet believe and admire those who know these things as having great understanding of mysteries? They do not prefer their ignorance to others' knowledge, nor do they place greater faith in it, except in folly and insensibility, often finding that what is known to some is simply believed by others. All humanity marvels and seeks what amazes them, each being struck by different things, as the philosopher notes about the diameter. If many obvious things escape most people's understanding, what wonder if the knowledge of all things, by magnitude, power, beauty, and other attributes, surpasses us as much as a creator surpasses their creations? Unless one is as absurd as to inspect the nature of the creator through a sketch or box and speculate beyond its capacity, not understanding its essence or soul or mind. If we are much better than a box and a tool, we have also received much greater grace from God. Nothing of the comparable has escaped us, and what surpasses our nature and knowledge is presented to us. Here, we can only learn by faith, but one day we will know better when it is revealed to us not by faith but by sight. The desire to grasp what belongs to the free and light while still living in the flesh and bound by earthly fetters is ignorance of oneself. Things beyond this will be known leisurely, and the benefit derived from faith is great, while the judgment for undue curiosity is equally severe. Zachariah, believing in all things and simply considering the impossible possible, shows this in his age. The blessed Virgin, having heard of the Spirit's coming and the power of the Most High overshadowing her, believed and accepted it. Otherwise, she would have contended indefinitely if she had disregarded the speaker's worth and the power of Him who creates and changes nature's laws, demanding one example of the things spoken. The blessed Paul says it is necessary for one approaching God to believe, as one cannot approach without faith. He declares that drawing near to God, the greatest of human goods, is the fruit of faith. From all this, it is evident that faith is an uninquiring consent. It is necessary to submit all things found in the divine books to faith, for this is God's greatest grace to us, that alongside all things beyond reason and understanding, even these common and widely known things are proposed to us for belief, making even the ignorant wise by faith, what others learn with toil. Much more should this be attributed to all doctrines, beginning with the belief in the Incarnation of the Word.

6.This also pertains to the current inquiry, involving two mysteries—the united and distinguished theologies, primarily deriving and resolving the inquiry, and no less regarding the Incarnation of the Word of God. The second depends on the first, and the first is revealed and demonstrated through it. A simple statement here would suffice, asserting that faith's premise requires uninquiring acceptance, superior to reason and beyond all human ingenuity. However, refusing to believe without human reason is contrary to faith's goodness. Believing solely based on divine decree, while also accepting reasonable demonstrations when available, does not detract from faith's merit. It is not among the utterly forbidden but neither required, nor should those using human reasoning in these matters be criticized if they come to love and uphold faith through it. This, I think, is also Paul's intention, advising readiness to defend our faith to those inquiring, which he would not have deemed necessary if it posed a danger to faith's esteem. To those inquiring about this matter and similar ones, we and any other rational person respond, maintaining the premises of faith and incorporating human reason, not as foundations or proofs of faith, but showing our strong love for it and desire to uphold it through all means. Accepting valid reasoning for its truth and firmness, and believing even the seemingly unreasonable more, as superior to what can be demonstrated.

7.But if another argument had been raised about these matters, either asserting their impossibility or denying their necessity altogether, which might come from some pagan disbeliever of everything, it would not be difficult to show the truth and certainty of our faith from common and universally accepted principles, convincing or at least silencing the most contentious. If someone, while accepting these principles, still questions why God became man not as one of the three hypostases, or why the Word of God rather than the Father or the Spirit became incarnate, we would inquire more genuinely why God became incarnate at all. It is because He willed it, and nothing is impossible for Him who wills it. Since He willed to become incarnate, it is evident that He did so in the manner He chose. Then, how did you learn that God assumed human nature? By what human reason did you come to believe this? None, but by the God who did these things. Believe Him, then, when He says these other things. Moreover, how could God have become incarnate except as one of the hypostases? What greater good would have come if not only the Word but also the Father and the Spirit had taken flesh and blood? Since the divinity of the Father and the Spirit was not separated from the Son, and the incarnate one could save the whole world. It would not have been fitting for them all to assume the same flesh as hypostases, nor would it align with their eternal personal distinctions. Otherwise, the divine nature would seem to be one person, only divided by name and conception. Nothing in the divine should change in appearance, which is a primary good of the economy, ensuring nothing is innovated in the divine. Besides, how could the one coming to save humanity and instill true understanding in human souls mislead them from the start when it was possible to preserve what was necessary everywhere? If it is a task for the mind to grasp how the divinity in the Son's incarnation did not cause the flesh to subsist in the hypostasis of the Father and the Spirit as in the Son, even though the divinity is the same with them, how could one believe that God exists in so many hypostases while only one person subsisted in humanity, or better said, one man assumed body and soul? To take this thrice, either being with each other or dividing the earth, is possible but unnecessary, considered inappropriate to God and the divine persons. The one must be unbegotten, even as human, while the others are either begotten of Him or proceed otherwise. This would be unworthy of divine wisdom and lead to similar absurdities. It would also contradict the divine purpose and fill

humanity with disbelief, confusion, and disturbance, betraying the true doctrine of one God and leading to disbelief in everything.

8.That the Word should take flesh is much clearer than what has been said. Since all things were made through the Word and the manner of the fall related primarily to Him, as disorder belonged to reason, the image of the divine Word in us, it was fitting for the Word to resolve the self-chosen bondage. It was the same Word who brought about creation, recalled the fallen, received satisfaction, and granted forgiveness. The eternal begetting must align with the temporal one, making the Son of man who was, and indeed is, the Son of God, preserving the sonship in every way unique to the Son.

9.If someone were to seek these matters along with those already addressed, and we, as far as possible, provided a complete explanation of these, we would eventually turn to those questions, and it would perhaps benefit us and the discourse, since the issues following logically from these would require fewer words and clearer exposition, having already dealt with the preceding points. But since the question is raised plainly, how, given the divine essence is one in the three hypostases, only the person of the Word became incarnate, while God is said to have become incarnate, and how Christ can be fully God if the Father and Spirit did not assume the same or similar flesh and subsist in it, we must consider this plainly, without seeming to address anything other than the given question. First, it must be examined that it should not be sought in this manner, but rather, if the essence of the Father, Son, and Spirit is one, what place does personal distinction hold within it, and what is the different reasoning of the hypostases? And if the divine essence is completed by the triad of divine hypostases, how is each hypostasis wholly the divine essence? The human reasoning demonstrating these, in any case, will also demonstrate those.

10.For if the divine essence is one, not all hypostases are the Son along with the Son, nor will the incarnate Son be along with the Son who did this. If the Son is fully God, being only the Son, not having the personal reasoning of the Father and Spirit within Himself, as He surely has His own, He distinctly differs from them. Even without them being incarnate with Him, He will be no less fully God. And if the Son's perfect divinity is not diminished by proceeding from the Father alone in eternal procession, or what is called generation, nor by being sent alone into the world, He will suffer no lack. If merely partaking of flesh would subtract from His divinity and essential unity with the Sender, much more would His eternal procession from the Father; it must be able to distinguish Him from the Father since the eternal aspects in divine essence can constitute what they do. The aspects relating to creation add nothing to the divine, nor affect anything in them, to avoid suggesting change, and nothing accidental applies to God.

11.Hence, considering all these later aspects in light of the divine essence, and our mind agreeing with them as much as possible, nothing difficult or impossible will arise from the incarnation if the assumption of flesh innovated nothing in the divine, nor otherwise affected it, but rather received from them. I see no difficulty arising from the flesh, provided those principles remain clear, and the flesh is believed to introduce no change by itself to those principles. This would be a matter of inquiry if the assumption of flesh distinguished the one essence in any contradiction from eternal distinction, which is not and was never the case. For if God was to become man in the manner He was, being one and subsisting hypostatically, He would have been incarnate in His single hypostasis without affecting it. There would be no question of personal distinction in the one divine essence. But now, even before the incarnation, the Son of God was distinguished from the other persons, and God was no less perfect, having the whole divine essence within

Himself, indeed being the divine essence, with each of the others holding the same manner of relation to each other and the Son, without detracting from what is common.

12.But certainly, someone inquiring might say: I am convinced by you, but resolve my difficulty from these premises. I now also think that if it is shown that the Word has nothing impossible or contrary to reason in fully possessing the divine essence, or rather being the divine essence essentially, while distinctly differentiated from the Father and Spirit, sharing nothing with them in what pertains to being the Son, then it would appear equally possible and reasonable that the Son, in the unity of essence with the Father and Spirit, could be in the assumed flesh, being the Son, and distinct from them, while they remain apart from it. So let us proceed to this point. The discourse has reached a most appropriate beginning.

13.God, therefore, possesses a certain likeness to creation insofar as He bestows upon all beings their perfections from Himself. Yet, He also possesses a far greater dissimilarity and unlikeness to creation, inasmuch as these perfections do not exist in Him and in created beings in the same manner. Rather, in Him, they exist as their simple and unified cause, whereas in creatures, they exist in a divided, composite, and manifold way, in a manner appropriate to their nature. Since it is necessary for us both to speak and think something about God, yet impossible to grasp His infinite nature in such a way as to define it adequately or name it properly, we approach an understanding of Him through His works, which preserve a certain likeness to Him. Yet, while we recognize this likeness, we simultaneously introduce the acknowledgment of His unlikeness. Thus, we attribute all perfections to God while maintaining, on the one hand, His own proper perfection, and on the other hand, our own deficiency, which stems from our created and material nature. Such a mode of speaking about divine things belongs not only to the terms we now employ when we conceive something about God and wish to express it, but also to every word of Christ that pertains to the knowledge of divine realities. For how else could He have spoken as a true man to men? Therefore, we must either refrain entirely from speaking about God or follow the method that has been set forth. This method is not only possible for us and the best we have, but it also truly reaches toward the truth concerning divine things and grants some participation in the divine mysteries, even if it does not provide us with a fully manifest knowledge of them. For instance, the concept and name of "goodness" was first known to us through things perceptible and familiar to our nature. Yet, when we apply the name "good" to God, we do not do so as though it were devoid of meaning, but rather, while separating it from the things from which it was taken and recognizing that it is superior to them, we still ascribe it fittingly to Him. Thus, God is called "good" in accordance with a goodness that transcends all reason and understanding and is superior to all created goodness—not merely in degree, but in essence. And although we truly know something about the divine goodness, we nonetheless remain ignorant of it in its fullness, just as we know something about the divine essence while ultimately being unable to comprehend it. The same applies to other divine attributes, such as Fatherhood, generation, and so forth. We may speak of them, but we do not possess them as they are in God. Indeed, knowing something about a subject and truly knowing the subject itself are not the same. It is evident that we know about something even when we do not fully comprehend it, for even when we are entirely ignorant of something, we still know at least that we do not know it. And in this way, though we do not know God as He is, we nevertheless know something about Him—perhaps even something significant—if by recognizing the infinite superiority of His nature, we come to understand that He surpasses all things beyond our comprehension. This mode of knowledge concerning divine things is called "analogical" by the

theologians. Since we speak of God, divinity, and personhood in the divine realm just as we do of other realities, it is necessary that these concepts bear a certain analogous resemblance to things within creation. Yet this resemblance is such that it also affirms their fundamental difference, due to the infinite distance between divine perfection and the deficiency inherent in created things. In this way, we may speak rightly about divine matters, without fear of departing from the truth, so long as we acknowledge that while there is a certain likeness, this likeness always retains a fundamental dissimilarity.

14. It is thus evident that when we speak of "God," we conceive of a particular existent being, whereas when we speak of "divinity," we understand a form/ a certain essence or nature. When we refer to the Son, the Father, and the Spirit, we conceive of a form subsistent and individual essence, which we call hypostasis —just as one might distinguish between "man," "humanity," and, for instance, "Socrates." Just as a man is a man by virtue of humanity, and something white is white by virtue of whiteness, so too is God said to be God by virtue of divinity. However, whereas humanity, as an abstracted essence, is singular and indivisible in itself but becomes multiplied accidentally by the plurality of the subjects in which it is instantiated, the divine essence does not admit of such accidental multiplication. If one considers the substantial totality of the essence, then all of humanity is fully present in any individual human being, such as Socrates, without anything being absent from it. But if one considers the numerical totality that results from its being instantiated in a multiplicity, then humanity cannot be said to be fully present in Socrates alone, for otherwise, the humanity of Plato would also be in Socrates, as well as that of all other men, which would imply that Socrates would be all men at once. Yet in God, even though there is nothing accidental, there is nevertheless a certain analogy to such a distinction, insofar as terms such as genus, species, universality, and particularity are used in divine matters only analogically, reflecting a likeness to created realities. However, in no way does the divine nature admit of a quantitative or numerical totality that would divide it, for it is not a composite whole subject to division. Rather, what is present in God is the relations (analogous to matter in creatures) that render the divine essence common to the three persons, while remaining in itself indivisible. Thus, nothing prevents us from attributing to these relations in the divine realm what in humanity belongs to quantity and numerical plurality. Therefore, if divinity is considered according to the totality of its essence, it is wholly present in each of the hypostases. But if it is considered according to the totality that numerical plurality entails, then divinity is not wholly present in each hypostasis, for otherwise, each person would be identical to all the others, which would align with the erroneous view of Sabellius. Consequently, the foundation of faith does not entail any impossibility or contradiction in reason. For it affirms that the Son, while distinct from the Father and the Spirit by relational or personal properties, is nonetheless perfect God in essence and identical with the divine nature itself.

15.If someone were to say that, if what has been stated concerning humanity were also applied to divinity, then necessarily there must be three gods, just as we speak of three or many human beings, and that this is absurd—then we would respond in the following way: Humanity does not exist as a separate form subsisting in itself, but rather it is inherent in its particular subjects. Hence, when these subjects are multiplied, the form is also multiplied accidentally, as has been stated, and for this reason, we speak of many human beings. However, in the case of divine realities, even if divinity is considered a kind of form, yet it subsists in itself and is conceived as such, just as each of the persons subsists within it. Consequently, it is not necessary that, when the persons are multiplied, the form itself is also multiplied. Thus, divinity remains one, and there

is one God, both in reality and in name. Now, if someone were to argue again that, in many places in Scripture, the Father is called "unbegotten God," the Son "begotten God," and the Holy Spirit "proceeding God," and that, since "unbegotten," "begotten," and "proceeding" differ in essence, they cannot be predicated of one another, then the same must apply to those of whom these terms are said, so that they also necessarily differ—if, indeed, these distinctions truly apply to them in reality—then, consequently, there must be three gods and not one, just as the things described as three are not one. In response to this, we say again: to call someone "God" and to call someone "unbegotten God" is not the same. The former signifies only essence, while the latter signifies essence along with a relational distinction. Therefore, if one were to say "one God" and then "another God" and "yet another," without any further qualification, this would necessarily lead one to consider three gods, distinct from one another in species, sharing in some common and homonymous divinity. But if one were to say "unbegotten God," "begotten God," and "proceeding God," then this repeated reference to "God" occurs because of the addition of "unbegotten," "begotten," and "proceeding." For without the word "God," these terms alone would not lead us to think of the divine essence any more than any other created or proceeding things in the world, or even of something commonly and abstractly called "begotten" or "proceeding," which in itself does not correspond to any real thing. Thus, when we speak of "unbegotten God," "begotten God," and "proceeding God," we nonetheless conceive of one God subsisting in essence, even though these added terms indicate properties that are incommunicable and constitute a real distinction. To make this even clearer, one might say that the Son, among divine realities, is called "begotten God" by virtue of His name. Just as He is called "God" by a certain divinity and truly is God, so too is He called "begotten" by a certain passive generation. However, the divinity that is spoken of and understood in an absolute sense is common, and for this reason, the Godhead of the Father is in no way different from that of the Son and the Spirit. But that which implies a relation and opposition to the active generation—whether one calls it "generative" or, if you prefer, "begetting"—belongs in particular and incommunicably to the Father, distinguishing Him from the Son, who is begotten, and making Him another in person from the One who begets. Since this is so, what is joined together can rightly be spoken of three times, but what is separated cannot. For, as has been said, relational terms by themselves signify nothing additional; but if one were to speak of "God" multiple times without reference to relations, a numerically distinct divinity would be introduced, which is utterly foreign to our theological principles. This becomes even clearer when we make statements about human beings, such as "this person is a good human being," "this person is a just human being," and "this person is a truthful human being." If, instead of saying this, we simply said "this person is good, just, and truthful," then in each case, "human being" would be understood by implication as something common in which each of these qualities is considered. Even though justice, temperance, and courage are distinct virtues, the one who possesses them does not thereby become distinct from himself in species, nor does he become multiple human beings. Similarly, while "human being" is truly predicated multiple times, it is false to say that the person himself is multiple human beings, since the same individual cannot be many human beings at once. Thus, since none of the aforementioned objections remain valid—nor, I believe, would any new ones that might be proposed—what remains for us is to conclude our inquiry into the essential unity of the divine nature and the personal distinction within it, taking our understanding from what is revealed about God and from the analogy of our own conceptual framework in relation to these matters.

16.It is furthermore evident that the likeness of the Trinity has been naturally implanted in the human intellect, and that the example of the human intellect is contained within the divine intellect. Just as in the human mind there is an intellect that understands, and an intellect that is understood—which is the intellectual apprehension of the intellect and is called the Logos (Word)—and an intellect that is loved in the will, so also, in divine realities, there is intellect, Logos, and Spirit. However, these exist within the human being as a human intellect, even if there is not here a perfect identity of nature as there is in the divine; yet still, they are three, insofar as they proceed from the intellect that understands. In the divine, therefore, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, possessing the same nature numerically, are nevertheless distinguished by their modes of procession, with the Logos and the Spirit being related to the Father as to the one from whom they proceed. And since God contemplates Himself entirely, and this contemplation is His Logos, it necessarily follows that the fullness of the Father is contained within the Logos, without the Logos ceasing to be in the Father. Just as in us, the nature of each thing that is understood remains in the thing itself, though our intellectual word (λόγος) apprehends its nature from the intelligible thing. Thus, the fullness of the Father is in the Son by generation in a manner that it is not in the Father, and the fullness of the Son is in the Father in an ungenerated manner in a way that it is not in the Son; the same must be said concerning the Spirit. Likewise, the fullness of the Father is in the Son, even though He is not the Father, and the fullness of the Son is in the Father, even though He is not the Son; and the same applies to the Spirit.

17. Moreover, God is not circumscribed by any place, but He Himself contains all things within Himself. Nevertheless, He is said to be in all things, wholly in each of them, and to fill every place. The first is due to His infinity, while the latter is due to both this same infinity and to His causal relation to each being, for it is necessary that the effects remain present to their cause. Even though it might seem that the same thing cannot both contain and be contained by the same realities, nothing prevents the divine nature—being numerically one—from containing the divine persons in a certain manner, as viewed according to essence, while at the same time being wholly contained within each person, as the underlying subject, with reference to the relation each has to the other.

18.Furthermore, as has been said, God is everywhere and fills all places. However, bodies too exist in their proper places. If, then, bodies—despite being so vastly inferior in nature to God—fill their respective places without hindering the divine nature from being everywhere and in all things, since bodies touch places through their own boundaries, whereas God penetrates the very being of all things as the cause of their existence and as infinite beyond them, how much more, then, will the distinction of the divine hypostases according to their properties not hinder the divine essence from being numerically the same in all the persons? Even though, apart from their personal properties, the hypostases are the same in every respect, or rather, they are identical.

19.Furthermore, if it is not impossible for multiple natures to exist within a single person—without the natures being mingled due to the unity of the person, nor the person being divided due to the distinction of the natures—then likewise, it is not impossible for multiple persons to exist within one nature, without the nature being divided due to the triad of hypostases, nor these being mixed due to the unity of essence. One may grasp a certain likeness of this truth from nature, and indeed from that which is most fitting, even if it does not always maintain perfect accuracy in relation to the archetype. For the human soul, created in the image of God, exists wholly in the entire body and wholly in each of its parts, retaining in full the

completeness of its essential perfection. It is united with the entire body and with each of its parts as its substantial form and actuality. Hence, when the soul departs, not only is the whole no longer called a human being or a living creature, but even the individual parts—such as the hand, the foot, or the eye—are no longer truly what they were, except in name, just as a painting of an animal may be called an animal only in a nominal sense. Yet, although the soul is present as a whole in the whole body and in each of its parts, it does not exercise its power in an undifferentiated way; rather, in each part of the body, it manifests a distinct function proper to that part. It is present in the eye as the power of sight, in the ear as the power of hearing, and in the other parts of the body according to their respective faculties. In this way, the divine essence is likewise wholly present in all the hypostases together and in each one individually. However, in each hypostasis, it is present with a particular property that does not exist in the others in the same way or primarily and essentially. I say "primarily and essentially" because, while the Father is wholly in the Son, He is in the Son together with His property of fatherhood and the act of begetting, which necessarily define His hypostatic existence and without which He would not be Father. Therefore, fatherhood and begetting exist in the Son as well, but not primarily and essentially, but rather insofar as they belong to the Father, in whom these properties exist primarily and essentially.

20.Now, concerning the divine union and distinction, which surpass all human reasoning, we have been able to articulate an explanation in human terms as far as possible. And having considered these matters, we will encounter no difficulty in understanding the Incarnation of the Word. If the Word had assumed flesh as an independent hypostasis within Christ, then we might need to elaborate further on the nature of the assumed flesh. But since He subsisted within the divinity of the Word, neither by a union of nature—such that the Word of God would function as the soul and intellect of the body, thereby dissolving the lesser nature—nor by mere indwelling or any accidental manner, for these are the errors of false theology and products of deluded minds, but rather in a single hypostasis and a single subject, in which two natures are united without confusion and without mixture, one eternally existing and remaining altogether immovable, while the other is assumed and truly subsists in its assumption—so that the Word of God is truly man, and that His body and soul are truly and properly His—then it follows that human nature in the incarnate God gained nothing of its own in terms of hypostasis. Rather, it is the Word of God who subsists both in His divine nature and in the assumed nature. It is thus evident that there is nothing further to investigate on this point; rather, whatever is contemplated eternally concerning the Word of God must also be applied to the incarnate Word. For if, due to the unity of essence, there is no need to innovate regarding the hypostases, and if in the person of the Son—though distinct from the others by His particular properties—there is nothing preventing the same singular numerical essence from being present, then likewise, when we consider the relationship of the other persons to each other and to the Son, there is nothing in this doctrine that contradicts reason, even if it wholly surpasses human understanding. For the same reasons, there is no necessity that the Father and the Spirit also become incarnate together with the Word due to the unity of essence, nor does the assumption of human nature by Christ impair His relationship with the Father and the Spirit. Just as the distinct hypostatic properties of the divine persons remain unchanged from eternity, so too, in the Incarnation, only the Son is made flesh, since He alone is Son. And just as the Son did not communicate His sonship to the Father, so too He did not share His flesh with the Father, but in His birth from the Virgin, He remained inseparably united to the consubstantial persons, just as in His eternal begetting

from the Father, He neither departed from the Father nor from the Spirit, but was upheld by both—if we may put it this way—and possessed both in unity. And since He became incarnate according to His own hypostasis alone, He remains wholly God, bearing the fullness of the Godhead, just as the Father, though proceeding and begetting according to His own hypostasis alone, lacks nothing of the fullness of divinity. Thus, as the chorus of the saints proclaims, divinity was united to humanity in one of its own hypostases.

21.What has already been said is sufficient; however, we believe that adding these further analogies will be beneficial to those who will hear them, making the subject more accessible while in no way altering the unchangeable incarnation of the Divine Word of God, nor the distinction and unity that He possesses with the Father and the Spirit. Rather, these explanations will in some way harmonize with these truths and will make what has been stated about them clearer and more comprehensible.

22.The human word, which exists within us as an image of the Word that surpasses all intellect and speech, remains in the intellect that conceives it. It is singular and possesses the simple essence of reason, which expresses the being of intelligible things. Yet, it takes on various external forms and becomes a spoken word without ceasing to be intellectual in nature. First, it is spoken aloud and is perceived by the ears; then, it is conveyed through gesture, moving the eyes; and further still, it is inscribed in writing, marked upon parchment. The first form—the one conceived by the mind—is internal to each person. The spoken word, however, is communicated between those who are present, while the written word is used to communicate with those who are absent. Now, the word that remains in the intellect is analogous to the Son of God, who exists within the bosom of the Father, inseparable from Him and the Spirit, who are omnipresent and fill all places. Similarly, the written word, which appears visibly on parchment and can be touched, corresponds to the Word of God, who was seen and handled by human hands when He assumed human flesh—by which He formerly possessed the earth and now sits at the right hand of the Father. The same Divine Word is also present mystically in many places, wherever His most pure Body is present under the natural dimensions and properties of bread, just as spoken words exist in human hearing and gestures convey meaning simultaneously to many. And just as the spoken and written word assumes a kind of body without harming the intellectual word, without altering its intelligible procession, and without necessitating that the mind be contained within paper or voice (though it is represented in them as a reflection), so too the Divine Word of God remains inseparably with the Father and the Spirit, filling all places while also being united personally with His flesh, which in no way shares in the divine nature. The suffering of the assumed flesh and its natural properties do not pass into the Divine Word, just as the cutting of paper does not divide or multiply the intellectual word that exists in the mind of man.

23.Furthermore, the light of the sun, shining in many and diverse places, though it appears to be divided and separated, remains one and indivisible throughout the whole world, proceeding from a single sun. And though it passes through transparent bodies, appearing to take on their properties, we often see rays of light reflected from glass, appearing yellowish or greenish, illuminating the space they reach with a similar light. However, despite these variations, such rays are in no way separated from the original light or the sun itself. Likewise, the light that has passed through glass retains the essence of light whole and undiminished, and the light that strikes the glass is not altered in quality by the light that proceeds from it. In the same manner, the Divine Word of God remains inseparably united in essence with the Father and the Spirit, while existing personally in the manhood of Christ alone. He has suffered no separation from the Father and the Spirit, nor

have they assumed the same flesh as He, for His human nature was united to the Word by nature, yet without confusion or division.

24.Furthermore, we often observe water springing forth from a source, flowing as a stream, and then gathering again into a lake. The water itself remains one continuous substance, maintaining its indivisible nature, even though we distinguish between the stream, the spring, and the lake. Often, the stream, if it flows through a narrow conduit capable of enclosing it, becomes, in a certain manner, embodied within it—such as when it is channeled through pipes. In this case, even though it remains the same water, as previously stated, whether in the spring, the stream, or the lake, the stream alone—or rather, the water of the stream—becomes enclosed within the conduit. In the same way, though the essence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one and the same, it is only in the Son that this divine essence is united with a body.

25.Many such analogies may be found in nature that illustrate the truths being discussed. While these analogies are far removed from the divine reality and remain bound to the material realm, they may nonetheless offer a certain consolation to reasonable souls who, before engaging in proofs and rational discourse, rest upon faith. One might accept such comparisons insofar as they preserve what is fitting to God —something that cannot be fully or purely discerned in any created thing. It would be a benefit to us if, within creation, we could recognize even a moderate likeness to the Creator. However, even if these analogies do not convey everything, they should at least safeguard the foundational principles of faith without deviation. It is with these foundations that one may properly proceed to examine the similarities, while carefully considering every place, time, manner, change, quantity, and quality involved. This is not only not an obstacle to understanding, but is, in fact, highly beneficial for attaining true knowledge. For the difficulties that arise from using images and all human language in reference to God can be resolved by introducing even a single one of the divine attributes into the inquiry—such as His infinity, His immutable nature, His perfection, and His absolute transcendence beyond all created things, which surpasses them in every way, particularly in what is most excellent and worthy of honor.

26.That, then, it is not at all necessary—because the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit share one essence—that either all the hypostases should have become incarnate or that none should have, nor, if one did, that this should in any way diminish it in respect to the divine nature, would become entirely evident to anyone who carefully considers what has been said. And indeed, if one approaches this inquiry without faith, they will gain nothing. For just as human reason and intellect fall entirely short in grasping the divine reality, so too do our words and thoughts fall behind in every respect when speaking about these matters. Yet, if anyone should attempt such discussions, even if they err in nothing regarding the truth, they must always speak with God's help and with the reverence that is required when handling such sacred subjects. If, then, it had been possible to say more than what has already been said by those who have spoken with the guidance of the Holy Spirit, yet to us, it seemed inappropriate to speak at greater length—not because the matter does not deserve further discussion, but because a longer treatment would exceed the present necessity and might appear burdensome, not only by exceeding the proper measure but also by aspiring beyond what is needed. Perhaps, too, the present occasion did not permit a more extended discourse, for even what we have already said has been spoken under some degree of compulsion. Nevertheless, our discourse, having returned to its starting point like a circle, will now come to rest. Above all, then, one must first and last understand this: that concerning all matters handed down to us in faith, we humans do not possess knowledge of them as though

it naturally belongs to us—such that we could attain it through toil, diligence, and study—but rather, it has come to us from above, revealed by God Himself through His assumption of flesh and through His disciples, whom He left in the world in His stead when He had to depart bodily. Therefore, just as it was granted to us simply to know these things, so also it is necessary for us to inquire into their manner of being. For no knowledge of difficult matters will bring us benefit unless it is able to demonstrate the superiority of the truth over its opposite. That knowing how something exists is more difficult than knowing that it exists is evident in itself, but it is also shown by the majority of things in existence, of which we often know that they are, but not how they are. Thus, it is necessary to take refuge in Him and in those who belong to Him, and to seek knowledge of these matters in the same way as we do in other divine things. Yet, that He did not reveal the precise manner in which these things take place is clear from what He has spoken. However, just as He has poured out the grace of the Spirit and appointed certain individuals after Him as teachers of life and doctrine for the world, whenever they have had to speak on such matters, they—upon reaching this point—seem to leap away as though from a precipice, fearing that they might unwittingly transgress by applying human reasoning to things beyond human comprehension. Thus, proceeding carefully through all else, in this alone they stop altogether, preferring the safety of silence over words that might be suspect. And yet, even they had every reason to inquire into such matters, all the more so because they were more capable of doing so—being pure and free from attachment to the present world. Indeed, they were able to perceive more than those in our time, since the grace dwelling in them proclaimed all things. Nevertheless, recognizing their own weakness and their complete inability to undertake divine things, they refrained, though they longed to know. And they consoled their longing with firm hope that they would one day attain full knowledge, when they would be with Christ and encounter the Pure One in purity. If, then, this was their judgment regarding such matters, how much more is it necessary for us to hold the same opinion, being so far inferior to them? And even if we were in no way lesser than they, still we ought to adopt their same disposition, using divine teachings as our standard for every thought and word—saying only what they allow and remaining silent about what they have left unspoken. Regarding all these things, therefore, which faith has given us as the foundation—both that they exist and how they exist—it is necessary to trust those who have spoken, and to guide human reasoning on these matters only within the bounds of immovable principles, taking every thought captive to Christ. And we must continually turn our love to Him, not so that we may simply agree with others, for there is no great danger in this, nor can we suffer harm in any matter of faith by doing so. But without faith, neither those who inquire nor those who give an account will gain any benefit—just as one without wings, trying to imitate eagles, cannot leap from the highest heights.

THE TITLE OF SERVANT

2. On the Title of Servant Given to Jesus Christ (1464).

† Response to a friend, resolving a question concerning the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ.
From the Monastery of the Precious Forerunner, on Mount Menoikeus, during the third departure following our third forced ascent to the city. And thanks be to God, who has delivered us from there.

† Gennadius, the least among monks, to the most excellent, wise, and learned man, Lord Theodore Branas, our dearest son in Christ, greetings. †

Some days ago, a certain monk, one of those who seek piety, approached me and inquired whether a Christian may rightly call our Lord Jesus Christ a servant of God. As for me, having long refrained from engaging in such discussions and being occupied with other concerns more fitting for a monk devoted to solitude and daily expecting death, I sought to avoid answering and referred him to others better versed in such matters than myself. For I have come to the realization that I have already forgotten even what I once knew. However, as he pressed the issue and we could not evade his insistence, we answered thus:

1.The divine Apostle, brother, Paul, in his Epistle to the Philippians, says that "our Lord Jesus Christ, being in the form of God, did not consider equality with God as something to be grasped, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant." Therefore, from eternity, He possessed only the form of God—that is, the divine essence and nature—being solely God and Master. But when He undertook the salvation of humankind, He also assumed the form of a servant—that is, the essence of man. Just as He was eternally true God, so, in time, He also truly became man. If, then, the true God, in the person of Christ, was the Master of the true humanity in Him, and the true man in Him—whom Paul also calls a servant—was indeed a servant of the true divinity within Him, then it follows that true human nature must necessarily be subordinate to and subject to true divinity, whether considered separately or united. This subordination occurs immediately upon the union, as it was definitively realized once and for all. When this is correctly understood, it leaves no room for the heresy of those who regard Christ as a mere man and not true God, nor for the heresy of those who claim He was only true God and man only in appearance. It also refutes the heresy of those who confuse the two natures in Him, for they err more grievously than all others, not only speaking falsehoods but also asserting what is impossible. Moreover, the subjection and servitude of the human nature in Christ to the divine nature in Him is itself a source of glory for the humanity of Christ, being understood and spoken of in reference to Him. Indeed, as we shall soon explain, He received the glory which He later supernaturally attained through obedience, and He was exalted through it. And if the body is the servant of the soul, serving it as an instrument, how much more was the humanity in Christ the servant of the divinity in Him, having been assumed into service for the fulfillment of the divine mystery? In the case of man, both soul and body are created; but in Christ, the divinity is uncreated and eternal, while the humanity was created in time and brought into existence.

2.This is, simply and naturally, the truth; and it is this that the blessed Paul intends. He establishes this as the foundation for the subsequent exaltation that he describes. And we cannot, in distinguishing the two natures in Christ as distinct by nature, fail to affirm the divine Logos in Him as Lord and God, and the man

in Him as man and servant of God in relation to the divinity. For in this way, the divine economy is rightly preserved in accordance with every foundation of our faith, every heretical false opinion is refuted, and every stumbling block for those still in doubt is removed. Therefore, even in our discussions with them, we must proceed along this path, as we shall explain more clearly later. However, though this is true in itself, we nevertheless cannot say that Christ is a servant of God, and this for two reasons. First, in things composed of different elements, which stand in a causal and hierarchical relationship to each other—one being superior and the other subordinate—when it is necessary to name the whole, we do so from the superior part. This is both true and reasonable: for instance, in a thing composed of matter and form, we name it from the superior part, that is, the form. Thus, we call a bronze sphere a "sphere," not "bronze"; we call a house a "house," not simply "stones and wood." Likewise, in man, who consists of both soul and body, we name him after the superior part, which is obviously the soul. We even call him "rational" and "the image of God," attributes that belong to him because of the soul, not the body. When we say "Jesus" and "Christ," we are not referring to the divinity alone nor to the humanity alone, but to both together—the subsistence that consists of both, that is, the God-Man. Therefore, we must name our Lord Jesus Christ from what is higher and call Him "God" and "Master" because of the divinity in Him, rather than "man" and "servant of God" because of the humanity in Him. And this is all the more necessary in His case than in others, as has been demonstrated, not only because of the infinite superiority of one subsisting nature over the other—namely, the divinity over the humanity—but also because, whereas in other beings the material part exists first and then receives its form, in this case, it was not that Christ's human nature pre-existed and the divinity later dwelled in it, as Nestorius claimed. Rather, it was the divinity of the Logos that brought into existence His human nature, uniting it personally to Himself. Thus, the entire hypostasis of Christ exists through the divine Logos.

3.Therefore, one who calls Christ the servant of God, either speaks of the servant of God or of Christ as a mere man; and this, in a more general sense, must be maintained in accordance with the common usage of language and aligned with the other established expressions. But in the special consideration concerning the humanity of Christ, a distinct separation is affirmed. For the discourse regarding the humanity of Christ is not the same in every respect, but rather, it is different in the three divine and holy stages of His existence. I assert that, in the divinely ordered economy of His humanity, the threefold grace of God is revealed: the grace that was conferred upon it through the assumption of the divine Logos. For the truth of nature abides in it perpetually, and the Lord Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man after His incarnation. One discourse, then, concerns His humanity immediately after His conception and birth. Another pertains to the time of His manifestation, when He visibly grew in age and grace, according to the written account. A further discourse applies to the period of His perfection, when, being baptized, He received testimony from above, having advanced in maturity, and the divine manifestation appeared in Him. For it was then that His humanity became glorious, although it was not yet fully glorified, as it is written that Jesus was not yet glorified at that time. A third discourse concerns His humanity after it was glorified, following His passion and resurrection, when His glory was revealed with great signs and demonstrations. For, even in His humanity, divine grace was revealed in a triple manner, in terms of the species and time, after the assumption of the divine Logos. This grace is active in those who believe and live rightly, working in them according to a divine order. This success, after a long period of adversity, is guided by the man who has become our ruler in Christ, because, having

assumed humanity, He became the guiding force in bringing about the triple grace in us. These matters are of a more precise nature and are being more fully clarified by those who are theologians, and for this reason, a more thorough discussion is required. But it is sufficient for you to know that we can in no way call or praise our Lord Jesus Christ as the servant of God, even though He assumed a servile nature. Rather, He is the Son of God, God Himself, the Lord of the world and of all creation, not only according to the earlier, truest discourse, but also by a special discourse fitting to Him, after His glorification. For when He rose and said to His disciples, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to Me," He clearly indicates that this authority was granted to His humanity. For, as the Logos of God, He was the Creator of heaven, earth, angels, and all of creation, and to receive all authority in heaven and on earth, though it was a gift, is divine and belongs to a nature that transcends all created beings. Therefore, it is true to call Him the Lord and Master, both in terms of His divinity, as was previously understood in the context of His glorification, and also according to His divinized, supernaturally elevated humanity, which has been glorified by it. In regard to the culmination of the union, that is, the time of glory, we should not focus on the beginning but on the glorified state, and this glory is signified by the divine Paul, who declares that He sits at the right hand of the Father's throne.

4.It is both true and just for us to praise our Lord. However, in our discussions with those who differ, we should only proceed with the necessary order. We must follow the path of the economy, if we are to fully achieve something or at least seem convincing to them. For the construction of the truth of the divinity we believe in concerning Christ requires that we demonstrate through all possible means that the same Jesus is both God and man. It is indeed necessary to divide the two natures in Christ with the help of reason, and first to place His human servitude as acknowledged in the appearance of Christ, which in turn allows us to demonstrate the Lordship of His divinity in one and the same person. We try to present this argument through words that have the appropriate weight, though this connection has yet to be fully realized, so that we may show Him as the Lord in both aspects. For, if God has wisely arranged the improvement of the nature He assumed, how much more should we dutifully present the glory of the truth to those inquiring about it. This too serves the purpose and goal of the discussion.

5.In the same way, the divine Paul writes to the Philippians, stating that although Jesus was in the form of God and truly God by essence, He did not consider His divinity to be something to hold onto as a prize or to equalize Himself with the Father and the Son. Instead, He, being fully complete and lacking nothing, willingly chose to take the form of a servant, meaning a human form with its true nature, so that He could truly become human and be found as such. In this way, He was truly God, and according to the divine plan, He appeared in human form, becoming subject to the will of God for the purpose of our salvation. Though He, in His divinity, could have concealed Himself from those seeking Him and remained hidden, He chose to reveal Himself for the sake of the divine plan. Therefore, His humanity must be aligned with the will of God, as His obedience and humility brought the remedy for the entire human race. Through this union, He became truly human and was fully capable of saving humanity, since His divinity was closely attached to His humanity. And so, God, the Father, exalted Him in His humanity, even though He had been already exalted in His divinity. It was not that the Father exalted Him according to His divinity, for He was always exalted in it, but rather according to His humanity. Thus, the Father exalted both the human Jesus and the divine Word that had united with Him, as the Father and the Son were together in this exaltation. Through this, the divine

Jesus was glorified, and every knee in heaven and on earth now bows to Him, confessing that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father. This will become more evident in the future, when He will be revealed to all, even to the unbelievers, though now He is only manifest to those who are enlightened by faith.

6.These truths are grounded in the power of the apostolic words. Just as the blessed Paul clearly articulated the path of divine economy to the Philippians, so too we must follow him and the truth. In this same manner, we must theologize the mystery of the economy, and in this way, approach those who differ from us. Whenever it is necessary, we must proclaim the truth of our faith to the glory of that faith. We are obliged to speak freely and logically, following the road of words. However, simply speaking, it is neither right nor true to call our Lord Jesus merely a man or a servant of God. This is not only untrue by the very words spoken, but also it is false both in us and in those who contradict these words. Indeed, some wickedly forcefully try to call Christ a servant of God, denying Him as God and reducing Him to nothing but a mere man. Such a statement must be resisted with all vigor, for we must proclaim Him as both God and man, the Son of God, not a servant of God, but our Lord and Master.

7.You have, my friend, a very brief and clear solution to your question, to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and Master of all creation, who is the one Master with God the Father and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

8.Upon hearing this, the monk was glad and gave thanks, and he was greatly relieved. We thought it good to share this with you, our dearest friend, as we send it to you. When you see us, as you wish, and God willing, we will say more about the monk and the cause that moved him to raise this question, which he did not speak of, but we, divinely inspired, shared with him. You will weep and laugh greatly upon learning of it. For we too, in the same manner, do both, as you see the misfortune of our generation and the end of all things. As you see, this will only be more evident in time. Repent and be well!

MIRACLES TODAY

3. On the Rarity of Miracles in the Present Time.

† Of Gennadius the least; and this was written on the mountain in the monastery of the Forerunner.

1.Some seek to understand why, in times past, God performed miracles in such a way that He led those who did not believe to faith, confirmed the faithful in their belief, and protected them from dangers, all while working through the miracles. However, nowadays such things do not occur. Therefore, those who are drawn to the truth and passionately pursue such matters, we will briefly address this question, as it is likely that many are consumed by old age and illness.

2.The question at hand in any science or method would be resolved if one were to begin with the foundational principles of that science and apply them to the seeker, provided they are familiar with these principles; otherwise, one cannot resolve the issue. To dispute or dismiss the fundamental principles is to dismiss the argument altogether. Similarly, the matter of our sacred Christian theology, built upon the foundational truths that we hold, is easily answered by those who do not dispute these truths and is truly resolvable. Knowledge of the principles concerning each matter and belief in them can be attained by the educated, yet it is the precise application of these principles that belongs to those with thorough expertise. From this, those educated in each specific discipline may offer solid solutions to their inquiries, while the wise may provide clear answers. In this, we too shall follow and resolve the matter under the guidance of God. That sacred Christian theology is indeed a science of sciences is clearly shown through its power to transcend and conquer every supernatural force, while retaining the rational coherence that is shared with the earthly nature of man. This truth is plain to those enlightened by God, who clearly see it, while it is easily demonstrated to those who are ignorant or doubtful. However, now we shall focus solely on the matter being sought.

3.Let then the foundational principles of the faith in the present time be established, based on what Moses taught concerning the creation of the universe and the origin of humanity. Through the Creator's grace, everything proceeded in a splendid and fortunate manner; however, from human ignorance, all things went astray. This was not only true for him but also for his descendants, who, though they spread across the entire inhabited world and lived for a long time, were subjected to the greatest misfortunes, especially the fall from divine love and the divine purpose for them, which led them away from the eternal life and heavenly bliss they were meant to attain through faith and virtue. Let us also recall what has been written concerning the Jews, the only people on earth who believed in the one true God, but who also transgressed His laws. And despite the many divine teachings and gifts bestowed upon them, as would be fitting for children of the Heavenly Father, they either chose to live prudently or hardened themselves in their disobedience. Upon this, the most loving plan of God for the salvation of His children was put into action, a plan carried out through the co-eternal and consubstantial Word and Son, through whom all things were made. He accomplished this plan with extraordinary and supremely good methods, not only for those alive at His coming, but also for those in Hades, who had been under its power from the beginning of time. He freed all from the burden of ancestral sin and made atonement for all by His humility, even to the point of death on the cross, thus fulfilling the divine purpose from the beginning. For those in Hades, if they believed, He would grant them the same rights as the righteous who had lived on earth. As for those still living, if they lived by the law and

faith, they would enter the gate of eternal life, clothed in the symbol of faith through baptism, and would ascend to heaven with wings of salvation. Let us also consider what has been said concerning the fulfillment of human affairs in this present life and what will be given to those who live here, whether rewards or eternal punishments. The Lord, our Jesus Christ, has clearly outlined these matters in the Gospels, showing that the works of the apostles in their journeys, with divine assistance, were the means by which the world was transformed through their supernatural preaching. Through divine inspiration and the miracles performed by the apostles, those who were worthy of good things received them, striving toward eternal life with great effort. The life itself, driven by the faith in the truth, continued, and it was through this faith that all of creation was spread throughout the earth, with much boldness and brilliance, exposing the multitude of polytheistic errors. All of this was done to make known and glorify God, who was working in everything.

4.Therefore, when all these things and their associated elements have been set forth, and while they are superior to all number and discourse, as the holy theology of our Christians proclaims clearly every day, this should also not be disregarded: that, in submission to these foundations of faith, the greatest divine economies, the most profound wisdom of the Greeks who inhabit the lands and speak the language, according to human wisdom, have emerged, a wisdom which the nature of man discovered, still shining with a spark of knowledge about the things that exist even after the fall. (For God did not entirely extinguish this spark, so that it would not even be capable of igniting again in their diligent efforts.) They learned a little through instruction, but much more was illuminated by their individual discoveries. Those who, toward the end of time, became the wisest among the Greeks, improving upon the wisdom of the Egyptians, also received from the Jews a more perfect understanding of the key matters, so that, through divine inspiration—without which it would be impossible to proceed beyond the initial stages—they were able to make progress, not so much through their own exertions and labor as through the divine aid and efforts transmitted to them by the Jews. They, having gained such wisdom, would have progressed beyond natural philosophy and the theological mysteries only as much as they struggled and as much as they were granted in their pursuit of truth within the vast, universal delusion. A truth which was not even fully grasped by others, many of whom, in their ignorance, served the false gods instead of the one true God, to whom they were being led. Thus, the salvation that was proclaimed to the whole earth—those Greeks who were the wisest before the ignorant masses—found belief among the many, as the leaders of those nations, stirred to faith, eagerly embraced it. They believed in one God, in the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, in the creation of all things by God, and in everything that pertains to divine providence. They also understood that human beings, the highest of all visible creatures, were made in God's image, and that their ultimate purpose is the fulfillment of this image. The condition of mankind, bound by passions in this life, is directed by divine purpose, leading those who live with reason and virtue toward God. The end for humanity, a twofold end, one according to nature and one according to divine purpose, was a fundamental point in their philosophy. The ultimate union with the divine and the knowledge of truth is the greatest gift to the soul, for there is nothing more blessed than receiving such a gift from God. However, the opposite end, outside the natural order and contrary to God's plan, follows justice, involving eternal separation from God and the suffering in Hades. Such things were only obscurely grasped by the wisest among the Greeks, who, as expected, did not fully comprehend them until after the divine truths had been revealed, and even then, they were gradually brought to full understanding.

This was especially true for those who, despite being in proximity to the truth, were hindered by their lack of clarity in the faith.

5.Having established these premises, we now approach the resolution of the matter at hand. As for the miracles recorded in the Old Testament, since their discussion would require a lengthier treatment, we shall pass over them for now. Instead, we will focus on the divine economy and those aspects that are most relevant to resolving the question we seek to answer. Among the miraculous works performed by our Lord Jesus Christ, what could be more wondrous than those works of His, given the multitude of them and their great renown? Yet, while the Pharisees and scribes slandered Him, the common people believed and reverently approached the one who performed these miracles, recognizing Him as having come from God and as working all things through divine power, at least for a time. But later, these same people were the ones who, to Pilate, demanded that He be crucified. They did so not out of malice, as the Pharisees did, but persuaded by those who believed themselves to be guardians of truth and what was best for them. Thus, they later claimed ignorance of what they had done, and, in their confusion, wished to receive forgiveness, asking for this through the Father, showing that this was part of the divine order. For, although these miracles were far inferior to the resurrection itself, they did not serve merely to glorify the doer of them but were meant to be perceived through the judgment of the beholder, all pointing to the same goodness and power of the one performing them. Therefore, in the eyes of many, and especially in the view of those who wilfully sinned—the scribes and Pharisees—it was said: "An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and no sign will be given to it, except the sign of the three-day burial and resurrection." Since they had rejected the other signs, He did not answer them with those but pointed to the sign of His own resurrection, a sign so profound that even those who were hostile could not deny it. For, while He performed the other signs visibly, living among men and sharing the same human life, it was in His death that He truly revealed His power, showing that He would rise again. This revelation was not as a mere human, nor did He rise by a power greater than that which resides in humanity, but through divine power that remained hidden in His human form. Furthermore, while He did not predict other miracles with the same clarity or with the same length of forewarning, He clearly foretold His death and resurrection, with such precision that it was even more remarkable than the sign of Jonah, which had long been a precursor to the greater miracle.

6.That the signs previously performed by Him were more than sufficient to compel belief in Him, and that the Lord Himself had such an opinion of those signs, is evident from His statement, that if these things had been done in Sodom, the most wicked of all people, they would have repented and would not have perished. In contrast, the people of Sodom, without such signs, had numerous other divine revelations by which they could have been saved if they had chosen to repent. Those who rejected these revelations did so justly and perished. The signs performed by the divine Word for the Jews, however, were not done for the sake of their own merit, but because of the entire world, so that through the preaching of these signs, those sent to proclaim them would be in agreement, and the whole world would be led to faith. The sign of the resurrection, though greater than all others in terms of combating disbelief, was not given solely for the purpose of convincing the world to believe in the divinity of Jesus, though it certainly revealed His divinity in a most paradoxical and evident manner. But it also brought many other significant benefits, as the divine Word assumed such an economy. Two of these benefits should now be noted. The first is the resolution of the ancestral and natural punishment, which was in accordance with divine goodness, and it was so managed

by His justice that those who believed and chose to live according to His laws would find forgiveness, and this forgiveness would be like the planting of seeds in place of the fall of the first human beings, offering a philosophy that led to the death of the flesh. The second benefit was the clear demonstration of the resurrection of the flesh in Him, the firstborn from the dead, who, as the precursor of those who would follow, gloriously ascended into heaven in both body and soul. This was appropriate to Him, who had assumed such a state and had been sanctified by it in a theologically fitting manner. Furthermore, He wished to assure His followers that their bodies would also be resurrected in a greater, more glorious state, an assurance made through the resurrection of His own body, which would offer eternal life to those who believed in Him.

7.But although the other signs were silent on the part of Jesus, who spoke neither to the Pharisees nor to the scribes, and though He only spoke of the resurrection, a matter that transcended all others and was beyond human understanding, those who saw it and who could have been convinced justly and transformed remained obstinate, as though they did not heed the greatest of signs, the resurrection. Instead, they even sought to undermine and slander it, and even after many evidences had been given, with clearer and more evident manifestations of the truth, they remained even more hardened in their minds, as though their hearts had become iron. And while the Lord could indeed have changed their minds, as He later did with Paul, still, what happened in Paul's case is a matter unto itself, bound to the rare judgments of God. For Paul's zeal was not rejected, nor was he unworthy of the enlightenment that followed. For when another life, even one who zealously followed the truth, might fail to see what was right, human reasoning and transient gain would accomplish nothing in such zeal. Just as the Pharisees, who prided themselves in the hollow glory of the masses and common people, pretended to defend the divine laws, they lived outside the true spirit of those laws, in their own selfish ways. But Paul's ministry of the Word, more likely to persuade others with his zeal, was not coerced by any necessity or persuasion except by the divine will alone, which had transformed him.

8.Therefore, it should not be sought in Paul's case to pull people towards the truth through compulsion. For the God who became incarnate for the salvation of the world, improving both belief and life, would not have made the best of human nature to be nullified by coercion towards truth or goodness. Nor would He have, logically, crowned them and deemed them worthy of eternal life, for the sake of which He Himself endured so much labor. For even now, on a single night, it could be possible for all people to be lulled to sleep by various dispositions and religions, yet to rise with one accord in faith and life, awake from their slumber. However, it would not make sense for God to do such a thing, nor would it be just for us, if such an act had not been made, to blame those who act with evil minds and chosen malice. Nor, then, would it have been right to bring the Pharisees towards goodness, either earlier or after they had experienced that extraordinary glory which still blinded them, even though they willingly chose blindness. Similarly, those who were led by the apostles and those who received them would have been brought to the true life. For those who desired salvation had to be guided towards life, following those who led them, and those who wished to remain in error would be left to abandon the truth until the end. Thus, the miracles of Jesus and those of His heralds did not compel those who saw or benefited from them to the present life; instead, a certain practical and irrefutable defense of the divine plan was given to those who reasonably paid attention, in order that by believing in it, they might improve and be saved. And for those who stubbornly resisted, their ignorance

would be without defense in the divine court, having no refuge to turn to, for such a plan, which was transcendent, was established through divine signs, harmonizing with the right measure of God's greatness.

9.Thus, the gift of tongues was given to the apostles (what could be a greater wonder?) not to amaze people by speaking in a language they did not understand, but rather to enable them to minister effectively in fulfilling their calling. Without this, they would have been powerless. For how could they have spoken to many different nations in their native language? How could they have gone from one place to another without the ability to communicate? Furthermore, the interpreters would have been poor, and it would not have been easy for them to faithfully translate to those still bound by their native errors, or to the entire nations which were then held captive by such errors. The gift of speech, then, was not for their own glory or for the sake of the speaker's advancement, but so that they could effectively bring the gospel to all, not only to individuals, but to all who would come to believe, overcoming by the strength of the divine Word. And in conjunction with the gift of prophecy, they were empowered for the proper guidance of the faithful, and everything opposing them was brought to dissolution. Not only could they foresee events, but they also penetrated deeply into the hearts and minds of men, for the Word of God, coming from above, was directly implanted in their minds. They, therefore, adorned themselves with these gifts of the Spirit solely for the work of preaching the Word. And they applied themselves only to this. But those who were not disposed to listen to the divine Word, though they had knowledge, were not only disobedient to the truth but also attempted to add wonder to their words, teaching by methods that could not otherwise convince anyone without the divine power. Thus, their preaching became more glorious. But those who remained unworthy, because of their great wickedness, were made to be in darkness by the light of the divine Word, and they were destroyed by their native errors. Even those who worked against the apostles were considered enemies, and this was a second step in the chain of their chosen disposition.

10.The situation of Christ's disciples was thus among themselves: when the word of truth, having been sown by them, grew in each of them, the rulers of the earth, both through their own power and the governors sent by them, endeavored to bring about a change in the people from the delusion to the true knowledge of the divine glory and its true worship. Even though they thought otherwise, they displayed not only robbery and cruelty but also a culinary severity toward the bodies of those who were brought to the faith and through whom they were brought, as they were paradoxically delivered from death by the power of Jesus for a long time. Until they would reach that point, through their endurance in suffering and the paradoxical works which were accomplished in them, they were quickly drawn toward the true faith, either when they applied themselves in peace to the teaching of the Word or over a longer period. And through the struggles of one person and through many mighty miracles performed on their behalf, a great number of people were brought to the faith in Christ, not only those from outside, who sought after such things, but also those serving the commands of the rulers. Many of the rulers themselves also believed after they were converted, and they endured trials through the tortures of the executioners. For it was impossible for those who previously enforced the necessity of idolatry to not themselves fall under its trials, now converted to the good. Thus, to those who were speaking boldly on behalf of the faith and those believing and being dragged along in such a manner, there were many torments carried out by the tyrants. These torments led to death for those who endured them. But those who endured were saved, being free from the terrors that could not be avoided. The faithful were delivered from life's troubles as they overcame them, receiving the crown from

their good choice. The spectacle of those attempting to hinder the increase of truth in the hearts of men through the most varied forms of cruelty turned in the opposite direction, for those who sought to kill them, instead made them stronger. And when those who tried to display the vain thoughts and delusions in the hearts of the worthy souls, the truth, which is divine, showed itself as being sent by God and testified to. Their ancestral delusion was dissolved, as God had willed this, to free them from that erroneous economy. And those who engaged in the struggles of Christ's martyrs and the remarkable events in them were recorded by the imperial scribes. They were sent to the governors everywhere, so that no governor, by pretext of violence, would be held responsible for the destruction of many by the change of the rulers from the ancestral polytheism. And so, Roman authority would be diminished. Nor could any of them accuse the governors of acting unjustly, as though they had taken possession of something unlawfully, nor of mistreating the bodies under pretense of change through faith. These others were justly punished for their wrongdoings. Thus, in the transfer of glory, they were questioned and asked to give their names, their places of origin, and their occupations, as well as what they had heard from the governors who counseled or threatened them. Then they would answer, and their imprisonments were based on these answers, followed by further questioning and responses, then ideas of punishments, and the signs of the miracles that followed, through which they were freed from harm. Finally, when they remained unwavering, they suffered death.

11.Such records of martyrdom were placed in public archives in the libraries in Rome, as they were brought by the royal scribes when they came to Rome to meet the governors. And when the great Constantine, after meeting the one who had revealed the truth of Christ, Lactantius (who himself had been instructed in the true faith by Crispus, the son of Constantine, and had led many others to the true faith of Christ after renouncing polytheism), and many others were moved by the divine guidance, he confirmed the truth of the faith and ordered that the glorious deeds of the martyrs be published. It was from there that the faith in Jesus was proclaimed, and the glory of His name spread through the believers, even in the days of the tyrants who had previously resisted. Thus, the great Constantine, once confirmed in this faith, through his imperial authority, gave strength to the truth, showing it openly. The public confession of Christ, together with the marvelous signs of the martyrs, stood as a testimony, confirming the truth of the Christian faith and ensuring its triumph in the Roman Empire under Constantine's reign.

12.I say then, returning, that our Lord Jesus performed miracles for those in need, not for everyone, but for those worthy to receive and for those who approached Him with faith. Moved by compassion, He did not use these miracles to display the apparent greatness of His hidden majesty. For He was not unaware, even with such miracles, of the ultimate and terrifying end He would face, the tragic death that preceded it. He did not physically manifest Himself for the sake of the world's salvation. Therefore, He did not grant a sign to those who sought it, as I said earlier, declaring that no sign would be given to them except that of His death and resurrection, which was determined by the necessity of the divine plan. Yet, even in those signs, nothing was granted to them, for how could He give them something when they were unbelieving? If they had believed, they would not have sought another sign, for they would have passed beyond the signs of earthly matters.

13.But the miracles—raising the dead, opening blind eyes, making the lame walk, and performing other wonders—were an incidental expression of His compassion for those being helped by them. For it was necessary for them to come with faith, worthy to receive, and not to return empty-handed, nor would it have

been possible to free them from their afflictions without such miraculous actions. But for the disciples, He did not perform miracles merely to astonish them. Knowing the virtue of the soul, which He later revealed in practice, He called them to follow Him and inspired in them a righteous desire to believe. He urged them to leave everything in their hands behind and to follow Him. Thus, He blessed Peter, and through him, the others, because none of them was considered to have faith or knowledge of the truth about Jesus based on human understanding but rather through the revelation from heaven, which the Father sent to Peter's soul. Therefore, He called the last to serve in His ministry, while for others, He reserved more wondrous aspects of the divine plan. Yet, for the soul and will of all, He had chosen those who would take the prize of faith and virtue and the surpassing grace of righteousness. In the face of the Lord's suffering, the disciples did not falter in their faith, but instead remained steadfast, foreseeing the divine purpose that was to be fulfilled. They knew they had been chosen for the salvation of the world and diligently worked to save themselves with understanding, not testing Jesus, but being delivered from the dangers that threatened them. The divine will for the future was always at work with them.

14.Not only did Jesus perform miracles in this way, but also the disciples of Christ, delivering those who came to Him in faith from evils, not harming those who opposed them. For He, too, had the power to do those things, but neither did the Teacher Himself perform such acts, and although He was fully capable, He did not wish to employ such paradoxical instruments. However, if it was necessary to punish wickedness for the sake of the correction of others, and to bring those who had grievously sinned in this present life to judgment, it should have happened very rarely. Just as our Lord dried up the fig tree because it bore no fruit —not to punish the tree, but to show the superiority of strength against those who act unjustly and live without fruit, so also He did not demonstrate this against any individual. In His infinite patience, He was more willing to use the fig tree as a symbol of fruitlessness, which could not even feel His judgment. Truly, the disciples performed miracles, delivering those who believed from evils, but it was through them that He worked miracles in a more excellent way, for He sent them to this noble service. Through them, He performed extraordinary works, delivering them from dangers and protecting their lives as long as it was needed and as long as He willed. None of the evils that arose against them could overpower the divine promise, which He had promised to them, that He would deliver them from all evil. After having accomplished these mighty works and having served well the divine purpose regarding mankind, they should have been rewarded with crowns in due time. Thus, the purpose of the miracles was not to demonstrate power, nor to impose faith on people by necessity— for if it had been necessary for the divine to impose belief in this way, there would have been many other means by which this could have been achieved, as I have already mentioned. Instead, through the way of life, the Lord led those who were already inclined to the true faith in Him, using their own readiness to understand the truth. He was guided by divine love and wisdom, with the aim of leading them to the knowledge of the higher truth. His divine mercy, as shown in His dealings with Cornelius and others who had shown faith in the divine decree, was a preparation for them to receive the great gift of faith.

15.Therefore, the cause of the miracles was not the unbelief of people, but rather the Lord's philanthropy and the faith of those who benefited from His love, which moved them. The discourse regarding the tongues and miracles is not the same; the guidance towards faith through miracles is as if it were the ultimate result of the miracle, but not everyone is benefited by it. Only those who, living justly and

purifying their souls according to their will, and who had not yet been illuminated by the knowledge of the transcendent truth, but were nevertheless ready and willing to believe, were benefited. These, either persuaded by the words of truth, being wiser, or paying attention to the miracles, saw the divine grace at work in these signs, which established justice and righteousness in them. However, for the unbelievers, who were twisted in their will and lived in wickedness, the miracles served as a punishment, as they did not wish to be helped by them to turn from evil or from error to the truth. For this reason, the Lord said that it would be more tolerable for the people of Sodom on the day of judgment than for the Jews, because greater miracles had been performed among them. And although He wisely told those who sought a sign that none would be given to the unbelieving, even the miracles performed would not benefit them. Those who were meant to receive no benefit from them, He said, would be judged for them, and justly so, as we have already noted.

16.Now, concerning those previous matters, this is the situation: Since piety boldly arose under Constantine and continued thereafter, and everyone, in the name of Jesus and with faith in His laws, turned to Him universally, the delusion of demons has been scattered everywhere, without even gaining any form of leadership. There was no need for proclamation, nor were the tyrants defending the faith; nor was there any necessity for extraordinary signs for the salvation from dangers in defense of the truth. Miracles were performed solely by the pastors of the Church, those who led the Christian peoples, who lived in the deserts and endured long years in peaceful martyrdom for the love of Christ. In the name of Christ, they delivered those who were badly disposed towards Christ, so that they might come to the faith. Their faith was derived from the fervor of those who approached them, and their other virtues arose from their faith, for there is no genuine belief without the other virtues. Thus, they received divine revelations of His grace. Therefore, those who were encouraged to live by Christ in their struggle for freedom, Christ Himself granted both of them this grace, honoring the virtues and faith of both, in a just and loving manner. The writings about such miracles were full, containing many testimonies of the truth. Not only did the faith of Christ flourish, but having arisen from Jerusalem, it spread over the entire earth and captivated souls everywhere by the beauty of piety. Moreover, the life according to the Word and the law, both voluntary and involuntary, was impressed on all human beings. For according to the Gospel law, many lived lives of perfection, in the mountains, the plains, the islands, the cities—everywhere on the earth. It seemed as if there were almost no other people anywhere else, unless some could join those of other regions in the manner of good conduct. Those who led a life befitting the human race and the laws of man were not concerned with nation, city, place, age, profession, wealth or poverty, or life and death. Everything human had been brought to a precise and proper order by human laws. In this way, their beginnings were found, and their fulfillment came gradually, so that the weight of the books regarding these matters became great, requiring careful transmission of written documents.

17.What then must be said regarding the ecclesiastical canons? These, in many private synods, and in seven ecumenical ones, were found and recorded by several patriarchs, and were not without imperial collaboration. The sacred life had to be regulated by particular orders, and more importantly, according to the entire community, thus needing further regulation. This was not only for their own benefit, but also for those who wished to live piously, guiding themselves to a life of reverence, wisdom, and temperance, all while seeking a divine life full of grace. Oh, the beauty of those times! The glory of the life of humans at that time was splendid. Faith flourished, and in every battle against those who opposed it, it miraculously triumphed, as

Christ willed. Multitudes of people, in every place, were carried into the heavenly realm, bearing witness to Christ with honor. The falsehood of polytheism was extinguished and gradually receded, leaving fewer souls behind each day, until it was completely uprooted and driven away, so that no trace remained. Anyone enlightened by the Spirit of Christ rejoiced, and after seeing so many struggles, they observed the true faith advancing and the purpose of God's economy being perfectly fulfilled. Even what seemed sorrowful to the tyrants, was brought upon the pious as part of their pursuit of truth. These tyrants, having turned away from their former delusions, found the truth in this way, and by embracing this divine life, they were enabled to live it with joy. Who would not have prayed at that time, among the beloved, that no one would be excluded from the great celebration of the saints, whether those with joy were partaking in it, or those who saw others partaking, not from afar, but intimately and closely, even among their very relatives?

18.But after these things, the peace of faith conquered that joy, and grace was greatly measured. And it was seen instead of the ungranted beginning of paradise, that the whole earth had become a paradise. For everywhere the natural law of it shone forth, and the law of the Scripture, sealed with the law of grace, was magnificently inscribed. The preachers fulfilled them in action, and those taught by them were receiving their instruction. And the hymns concerning the first seeds were sung by us, before we had to suffer that terrible thing from them. With their fruits, the whole earth bore an abundant harvest, full of addition. And the spark of the graces in those people was kindled, and it reached to the heavens in beauty and brilliance, such that there was no excess of beauty that could be conceived, for it added nothing more. For virtue conquered nature, and in religion, it was the greatest thing for them, both day and night, throughout all the time. And the zeal and earnestness concerning the festivals, as much as was in the sacred precincts and groves of the holy places, this work of the earlier one, most gloriously arranged, was truly a heavenly work. And wisdom, for those who had well exercised the servant and minister, as those who had attained this alone, but for the ruler and heavenly one, when adding something small from the angels, it made those who had achieved this well appear less than the smallest of them. To say it simply, the nature of all divine grace was perfected in human nature, and the divine purpose concerning it was excellently fulfilled. And the fruit of His economy was such that it was impossible to conceive of anything better, as the fulfillment of the purpose worked together and cooperated. And a great multitude from the whole earth was elevated to the heavenly realm, and the bloom of such beauty and brilliance, with the perfect boldness of faith on earth, did not last for fifty years, not for four generations, nor even for such a long time, but only as long as the greatest number of people persevered.

19.There was also a time when all things had to be turned to the opposite. For since the Lord had foretold the eventual end of those good things, it was necessary for them to come to pass. And since the event was about to happen, it was necessary for Jesus to prophesy, not out of boastfulness, but to prepare those who were to be saved, strengthening and preparing them to be watchful as they approached the completion of those good things. And if the nature of the event should be examined, it is well for the work of the proclamation of the good to be understood. For He took the beginning in a small portion of the earth, but then it was extended over the entire earth. Then, it will be left in only a few places. The opposite disposition had to occur in response to the event, and unbelief and wickedness would cease, starting with the smallest origin. Then all would be loosened, and again, over time, would be spread over all the earth, advancing the purpose of God's will concerning the good, though necessitated by the increase of evils. And that this is what happens according to the nature of things is well known, and anyone who knows the works

of nature is not entirely unreasonable in these matters. And that much is evidently worked by divine providence in the world, even when it is violently constrained, and nature is not entirely destroyed. God established this order, and this is clear. Thus, even the brilliance of human life according to faith and conduct paradoxically maintained its beginning, and it flourished according to nature, using noble and strong principles. And as time passed, the human disposition slowly aged. If, however, someone deviates from the nature of the event and looks to divine custom, this is the same in an individual, a city, or a nation, wherever it may occur. For as long as someone diligently attends to the good, it leads toward its fulfillment, with the heavenly orientation attached, and it relieves the difficulties encountered in the event from much compassion. But when the exactness of life gradually weakens, not only does it fill up with wickedness, but it also becomes susceptible to a change of direction, becoming worthy of it. Such, too, has happened to us. They began to turn the great happiness to wickedness, and grace no longer remained. And as this grace withdrew, they became worse, until they reached the final destruction, filled with all manner of deformity, which is lamented in many words, and is clearly described in the accounts of those things. And it is not necessary now to dwell on such matters, especially since they are already evident in the historical accounts concerning them, where it is shown that kings had fallen, and the later ones always followed the wickedness of the earlier ones, just as the patriarchs also committed similar wrongs, contrary to the laws, as did those from both sides who received the example of wickedness and permission, working together, from two sources of evil, running through all the orders in Asia and Europe.

20.Let us therefore leave aside any further speculation concerning such matters. But the Lord Jesus Himself most clearly affirms the conclusion of the generation of mankind in the increase of wickedness, and asserts the distinction of places of life for those born, according to their will in life, to be manifested at His second coming. In the last days, the Antichrist, He says, will lead men into the desires of his will, contrary to the good and divine, and will exert control over those rejecting them. He predicts many other things clearly in the Gospels regarding the last days—things which, even at a distance from those days, appear to be rapidly unfolding. Blessed Paul similarly recounts the totality of wickedness in these days in his second letter to Timothy, where he states, "having a form of godliness but denying its power." Thus, even though many signs of the end times have been foretold in Scripture, the question arises—how, indeed, could the divine Word ever be refuted concerning the conclusion of human affairs on earth and the ultimate end of all things? How could life be renewed by miracles, as if the end spoken of had not been clearly proclaimed? Indeed, the signs of the cessation of life are now being clearly enacted before us.

21.With all of these things, then, taken into account, I inquire of those pondering these matters for a clearer revelation of the truth. What signs would you prefer to be shown to us? To the unbelievers? But indeed, even if signs were to be given, they would not believe. For they, who have no true glory of Jesus, like the Jews, and who have no deep confidence in the laws of their forebears, are so deeply averse to us Christians. Yet, those who have already been enslaved to these powers continue in their servitude, while others, attempting to subjugate, seek to take over the land, using weapons against those who resist. Or indeed, even against their own co-religionists who oppose them, they do all that they can. Thus, these actions are not done out of zeal for their own faith, nor out of a desire to fight for Christ's faith and eliminate it, but rather they do so to increase their power and magnify their rule. Consequently, they permit Christian subjects to perform all acts of their faith, acts which even free men could lawfully perform. Indeed, they were never free;

they were always in servitude, paying taxes and enduring the burdens of their lords. Now they are enslaved, similarly, to the earthly rulers, yet they do not resist them because of their faith. They would rather submit to them than suffer. They are more tolerant towards their subjugation in all things, as long as the methods they employ are prudent and their behavior towards others, including their masters, remains humble. They go about the time in peace, as they had before, boasting that they would not rise up against their masters. Thus, they themselves are the cause of the many ills that arise from their current situation.

22.But how will they be attracted to our faith by signs and wonders, when every day we see many people swearing by it and turning towards it? And here I mean those who, through some shameful disregard or through either fraudulent or baseless accusations from their enemies, seem ready to turn away, though they have not only fled from our Church but have also been led by Latins from other regions, driven by desires for wealth and honors. How then will they, who are children and have their consciences seared, as the Divine Apostle says, call for miracles? They are not ignorant of what is due to them, nor are they turning away from the glory of their forefathers, nor are they unable to choose the better path. Yet they have been violently torn from their families and are still enslaved by their youthful desires, either having been seized by force or having submitted to the wickedness of their rulers, which in turn increases the strength of their military forces. Then, accustomed to luxury, robbery, power, and wealth, they become worse than those of their own lineage. For many of them, who once herded cattle or farmed with their fathers, are now forced to lead armies and take on leadership roles. How can those who are descended from ancestors who were wise, yet who have condemned our faith and glorified the teachings of the world, seek miracles? Some, who have been forcibly converted, now fear the fire, and yet they are afraid to escape from the worldly desires that pull them towards their former way of life. These desires keep dragging them, and many of those who were once Christians now carry the same burdens. Therefore, we shall not confound them with newer and more perplexing doctrines, so that they may be persuaded by miracles, nor should we think that they need signs, since their love for the truth is already replaced by their desire for vain and fleeting pleasures.

23.But let us pass over these matters and avoid allowing them to remain unaware of the true teachings of Christians, as if they were newly discovered. Just as the preaching of the Apostles once appeared to those who were slaves to their delusions, so too should they now abandon the opinions they had previously embraced. And indeed, there are some among them who are able to use words to defend their positions, but they are still subject to the truer opinions. The others, who are ready to change, would be easily swayed by signs and wonders towards true piety. So, who among us is capable of doing such things now, knowing or able to do so? Who possesses the apostolic disposition? Who is equipped with the gifts of the apostles? Or who is worthy of them? But on the whole, it would be better to remain silent about such matters, and only mention the urgency of truth, which demands our immediate attention.

24.We observe the Christian people, living carelessly and completely engrossed in the laws of Christ, and utterly indifferent to the apparent religion, living in no way rationally, but worse than any other. I speak, however, of those who occupy the pastoral office everywhere. And shall we teach these foreigners? Of Christ's sheep, those adorned with His seal, those who are said to be shepherding them, they neglect utterly, so that they consume only their milk and cover themselves with their wool, making great speeches, with many people seizing their pasture and carrying it to their own houses. But as for serving Christ truly, and living according to His laws, both in word and deed, they have no care, but instead, by their faults and the devils'

influence, they hand them over to the wolves. These ministers of the faith do not care for the true children of Christ, and will they attempt to bring others to Christ? Or, when tested, will they confirm the divine will and adorn their words with their signs? Will they give an account which they do not possess from their own homes? They sell the priesthood to the unworthy. They do not care whether some are elevated to the office honorably. They sell the temples. Certain shameless thieves leap upon the churches, eager to seize, add, and use the things they have stolen, doing nothing sacred or Christian. Regarding their own faith, they act out of greed, turning a blind eye and neglecting it, some even serving with blindness, not relying on the glory of Christ or the beauty of the faith, nor the piety of Christians, but adorning their bodies as though they were worthy of such a world. Most of them, coming from the land of Scythians and digging their way into this presidency, tend to such things. And will they teach the common people about what they should be concerned with? And what will they teach, when the drunkard will not inherit the kingdom of Christ, choosing by his own will the irrational life, despite being honored by the gift of the Word, made in the image of God? Will they teach that the greedy are idolaters? That no one should hate their neighbor, for one who does so hates God, as the common Father of all says: "The blood of your brother cries out to Me"? And other such teachings, will they teach to prevent the flock from falling into such evils? But they will say to him: "You do these things first, and by your life rather than your speech, you will guide the people, not by the left hand leading them toward good, but by the right, which you yourself revere, you avoid, and send toward your own life." Is it not true that, instead of turning away from evil in speech and teaching, they lead others to it by their example? Thus, the true children of Christ, who are not making a word, will attempt to bring others to Christ? Those who, by purchasing this presidency for money, join with those whose souls are in the worst state, will they lead them to the true faith? But those who assume some religious position or form, showing disdain for the episcopal office, will they gather the people into the temples? Will they teach, advise, and correct those who disobey? Do they know what to teach? Or will they choose to teach the very things they themselves neglect? Will they forbid the very things they are the first to tolerate? If someone reproaches them, they make the choice of the shepherds and their life an excuse for their shameful behavior. I wish to examine other classes involved in divine matters, especially those who seem to be devoted to them, for I do not wish to correct others when I am responsible for many of my own faults. But for the sake of the Word, it is enough to merely hint at it. For they will testify, through their lamentations, the necessity of such things, just as Jeremiah once spoke of those evils. Perhaps, however, the most kind God, out of His great mercy, will not strictly judge the life of the laity according to His laws, but allow them to be saved through the trials for the faith, more so than through any other form of faith, rejoicing. I say that some will not fall into great sins, being ignorant and having no one to teach them. And as for those who are ready to die for the faith, I am well persuaded that even among the laity, many will be saved through the grace of the mysteries, who, despite the irregularities and deficiencies of the clergy, will not be deprived of the benefits of the mysteries. Those who worship according to their own whims, and whose mysteries do not operate according to law or word, but only by chance, will find themselves excused, as long as they praise the suffering of the poor, and gather them into their homes. Thus, as for the laity, as is fitting, they will hope that God, in His divine philanthropy, will save them. Woe to those who neglect the souls of Christians, thus rejoicing in the decay of faith.

25.This was the situation for us as well, with regard to the resolution of the matter at hand. For our unworthiness in assisting with divine miracles was added, in a manner not expected, to something greater

than the truth—proof from an excess of evidence. And if anyone now desires to witness miracles, let them indeed see those which are truly Christian, given daily, as I say, by Christ Himself, by His apostles, their successors, the martyrs, the saints, and later, in the times of peace. Let them rejoice in these as present and visible. Let them be content with these, and let them assign to these the happiness which has been granted through the seals of Christ. As for the rest, let it be left to divine judgment, as God might wish to act in that matter, leaving it to His own discretion.

26.But even now, no miracle would occur through the apostles, or martyrs, or holy men who serve God with witness, if it were not for divine intervention. For while such miracles could occur among those who are of other faiths, for those within our own faith, the mourning rituals are sufficient. However, our Lord Jesus, from heaven, performs many and great miracles every day, which only a brief enumeration can capture. For what could be greater than this miracle—that our wickedness is borne by Him? First, the time of completion is put forward, the time which was set by divine foreknowledge far in advance, for the testing of the elect. Some may be brief, but even they will become still shorter, and through this trial, their faith will be strengthened. Then, it is not according to our own intentions that our life is directed, but rather Christians, differing from us in certain matters of faith, are compelled by their own beliefs and are far from the truth, even though they seem to be bringing about a better order. These heavy-handed rulers, having no common ground with our faith, either claim authority over us, as if they were improving us through the greater truths, or leave us to act freely in the times of happiness. Let them speak as they wish; they must leave us to our faith in peace.

27.And why should we enumerate these things, through which, as if in adversity, we are fortunate—some of the evils are from our own house, as divine justice judges, and some of the fortunate things are granted from heaven, as divine goodness generously bestows them upon such people? But if something else arises from these evils, it will be the fruit of our incurable wickedness, though not without some benefits, for those who are able to understand these things well and give thanks. But truly, someone does not know the many marvelous things which have happened in our times, things which those forced to swear an oath to do, and through not wishing to be burned, Jesus has shown very brightly, and nothing less than what has been given. The tyrants were astounded, but as for the causes they gave, none of them could be attributed to their faith. Therefore, it is neither necessary nor reasonable for such things to occur now, nor for us to seek them, nor for our opinion to be disturbed, since they do not happen.

28.Just as I would add a seal to the word, so I would also desire that our generation would long enjoy this blessing of divine miracles, this inheritance of our race. But as our wickedness grows and our baseness continually increases, so also the strength of our faith is diminished. For now, most of our outward forms of piety remain, but its true power is denied. As the blessed Paul prophesied to the Lord and Teacher, in agreement with Him, after also listing both the kinds of evil in part and in general, all necessity increases our temptations, and adds our own wickedness to them, as well as the fruitfulness of the spirits of the earth. This situation becomes so narrow, like a fig tree which at first yields many figs, but in the end produces only a few, and these not even in their full size and beauty. If this happens, the tree must be cut off entirely. Why then should the earth remain corrupted? And we believe, with many signs, that this will soon be the case. I speak of the generation of men and their relationship to heaven and the spirits that are from the earth, which in the past was barren, but now may become fruitful again. The majority of the world is now under the sway of

unbelief, among both nations and those scattered among them, and the parts of the earth serve different heresies. Everyone else enjoys the apparent happiness of this world, except us—who are truly of the faith, and for this reason bear fruit for a long time, receiving divine grace along with spiritual goods, while bodily comforts are also granted in due measure. But those who began in foolishness are severely struck by the flood of unbelief, and now, because of our wickedness, we are overwhelmed by calamities from all sides, far worse than before, and external misfortunes continually add to our own.

29. And the Antichrist, having begun to plot against the fruits of the divine economy from the very time of Christ, was weak at first, and for a long time remained so, then, all at once, was extinguished. Even if there seemed to be some life in him and he appeared to grow for a while, this was only in the splendor and beauty of piety, which was hidden before it could be clearly seen, so that it did not even seem to exist, or if it did, it was only in appearance, without the genuine struggle of true piety and the endurance of those who uphold it. But the inheritance of Christ, alas, having begun to deviate from the Father, became more and more deluded, even as it was diminished, and though he sought fewer things, he still gained them. He, however, seized the whole world, making use of worthy ministers and of the justice of God's providence. Some he led into unbelief, some into heresies, and others into wickedness. Even though these alone remain orthodox, as they are faithful to the true faith, they still transgress, hearing and obeying his will, and for this reason, they are justly found worthy of the arrogance of the Father. Thus, the trials of God's true children increased greatly, so much so that even the elect are now led astray, which was foretold long ago. Indeed, this confusion, in which no miracles are being performed in this such error, is part of this great delusion. For if someone were to inquire about the unbelievers, there is no reason to be surprised, as it was shown. But if it concerns the faithful, this part should be examined thoroughly—how and why certain miracles are no longer manifested, and for what causes, and yet, still, we do not become better in this state. But if someone doubts the miracles that have not been manifested, those which would have clearer proof of light, they would wish to see miracles worked now, so that they might become more faithful in their understanding. Regarding the words of our Lord, it would be fitting to speak of the parable He told, as it was said to Abraham concerning the one who provides for his brothers in the afterlife, that they should be taught to change their lives for the better, for even if they do not hear Moses or the prophets, neither would they believe even if one rose from the dead. But we, who are present and attentive to what is shown, hold fast to the faith, and are ready to die for it, through the grace of Christ, even if, in life, we are far from conforming to the perfect beauty of this faith. But you, O Christ the King, take away the veil of our hearts, that we may be enlightened by Your light and drawn to Your love through deeds, which is the knowledge and perfection of faith. For to You belongs glory, and to the eternal Father, and to the life-giving Spirit, as to one God by nature, forever and ever. Amen.†

ON THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST

4. On the Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ.

† Gennadius Scholarius on the On the humanity of Jesus Christ.

1. Some inquire how it is that our Lord Jesus, in His humanity, endured the punishment for all on behalf of mankind. For this reason, we believe that the Divine Logos became incarnate and that both these realities —the Lord Jesus Christ—are truly God and truly man, in other words, both fully divine and fully human. For it was fitting that He should take on the fullness of humanity, in order to serve as the advocate for all humanity, and to pass through the entire human condition, assuming the complete reality of mankind in the act of His saving work. However, this seems impossible: for humanity, as a reality, either exists as something distinct, separate from matter according to the Stoics, or as an abstract form or concept, a product of the mind, and not something actual, according to Aristotle and the sacred truth. If, then, the former is true, it is not the true humanity in Christ; rather, it is humanity transformed for the worse, one that has passed from being completely separate and ideal to becoming, by necessity, linked with the material world in part. Thus, true humanity could not be found in Christ in its entirety, nor could the whole of humanity pass through the transformative process of suffering and purification that the suffering Christ underwent. But if the second is true—if humanity is understood as a simple abstraction—then the Christ would be a mere fantasy of a human being, not a true reality, as some misguided thinkers have falsely asserted. Yet, if Christ's humanity were truly assumed from our nature, namely, from soul and body united, then He took up human nature fully. Thus, it would be possible for Him to take on a part of humanity as an individual, for instance, like Peter or Paul. But how could the passion of such a human being, and His voluntary suffering, be the means of freeing mankind from sin and the punishment for it, as if a single individual could bear the weight of the entire human race's sins and its atonement? Moreover, how can there be one single person and one individual subject in the Lord Jesus Christ if the Divine Logos, while subsisting as God in Himself, also assumed a distinct human nature, a specific individual human person? For if this were true, there would be two distinct persons, and this would bring with it numerous theological difficulties.

2. Therefore, in resolving this difficulty, it must first be stated that the need for the divine economy, through the all-good Creator, was not only to resolve the common penalty for sin, but also for many other reasons, both accompanying and preceding this need, which cannot even be numbered or fully understood by those who are not enlightened by God. Even those who are enlightened cannot fully grasp the radiance of this mystery; they are unable to comprehend in a truly divine and exalted way the knowledge of humanity in the One who triumphs. Moreover, in addressing the resolution of these matters, it is necessary to understand that it is certainly true that the whole of humanity is in Christ's humanity, to such an extent that it follows, with reason, that all of humanity passes through Him, due to the economy accomplished within Him.

3. Neither did He assume a distinct form or idea of humanity; for such a form does not exist. Even if some have thought it to be very false and deceptive, it is not the whole idea, for there is no inherent thing such as this form, but it exists only according to our conception, formed by our intellect, made by abstraction from the particulars, and only constituted in human thought. And I speak here in wisdom, for this idea, as it turns back upon itself, encompasses all the particulars. However, in actuality, it exists only in each individual element, and in each individual, the whole is contained; and it is not more in one than in another. For each

individual possesses the entire humanity, not as it is part of many individual elements, in terms of reason and concept, but as it is enclosed in each of these elements, both in its action and according to its nature and existence in reality. Therefore, we do not say that the divine Word assumed the idea of humanity or the whole conception of humanity, but that He assumed the whole humanity in Himself, as we think and speak, first in the unique union of such an essence. For each of the individual components not only is whole and is spoken of as possessing the form of humanity, as in the case of Peter, for example, but also, by itself alone, it possesses this form, not as sharing in it, as is the case with others, but as being the whole form itself. Just as the sun is both the sun itself and the nature of the sun, so it is with Christ's humanity. Since our Lord Jesus Christ, by the unique union with divinity, was fully human, no one else, apart from Him, has become or will ever become such a person. And He was the whole of humanity, possessing the entire essence of humanity, so that even though He was born according to the human nature, the result was that humanity would cease immediately, and only He would remain human, not as one individual person, but as the whole of humanity.

4. The same applies to the salvation of the other individuals. It is not by a mere numerical addition or division that they are saved, but by the superabundant order of the whole, which preserves them. It is fitting that the virgin birth, without corruption, contributed to this unique union of humanity with the divine Word. For the true human was born, separated from all defilement, and born for the sake of the human race to serve as a mediator. Therefore, through the dignity of the divinity of the Word, which personally unites with Christ's humanity, the superiority of humanity was realized in Him, transcending the entire nature. For this reason, He offered the penalty for all humanity in His own suffering, being both the giver and the receiver of that penalty. For He gave it as a human with a divine virtue that surpasses nature, and He received it as God with a divine goodness that transcends human understanding. And the same humanity in Him both suffered and gave the penalty for all. Since God was in Christ, the ruler of all creation, and the humanity joined to Him was theoprepe (fitting for God) because of the union with God, it is logically fitting that His human nature was the counterpart and equal of all humanity, and His great and theoprepe virtue was manifest in His voluntary punishment for the whole of mankind.

5. Not only did the entire human nature participate in Christ's humanity, but it also rose with Him, was glorified with Him, and was taken up with Him, so that all of humanity, through Him, might be made capable of crossing through Him to salvation, as His creation. For those in Hades, all who were molded through faith and virtue by the twofold path to happiness, the ancestral shame had drawn them there, and they were detained. They were released through the death of Christ as their own, and they paid the penalty for the debt they owed for their offenses. For they too wished to give their own penalty briefly, if it were possible for them to be freed, realizing there the true cause of their misfortune, and instead of the hopes for happiness which they lived by in this world, they found that it was impossible for them to attain any reasonable hope. Then they understood the manner in which they were released from their bonds, and how only through Him alone they were able to be freed. And for the unbelievers who lived with virtue and the potential of faith here, they found the reward of justice in the illumination of their understanding, and through Him, faith, and they too were released along with the former, leaving only those remaining in Hades who were similar to the latter.

6. Christ came not only to remove the ancestral barrier for those in Hades but also for all humanity, especially for those who were living at that time and for those who would come afterward. For He came to satisfy divine justice on behalf of all. However, for those who came before, it was sufficient that He paid the

penalty Himself, even though He owed nothing, so that He might make the good of faith and virtue fruitful for them, once the common and natural barrier had been removed. This He accomplished as the counterpart of all, being by nature the same as all of them, yet surpassing all in personal dignity. Through this dignity, He filled the deficiency of nature, making amends for the debt of sin. For those who were living at that time and for those who would come afterward, such a benefit could not be given entirely freely and as a gift, as it was for those who came before. Rather, it was necessary that some righteous act from them should precede, so that the door to eternal life might be opened and the ancestral barrier removed. This was especially for those who, in the time of their struggles, were able to recognize divine providence toward them and were both obligated and capable of understanding it well, if they so desired. This was to be accomplished for those who believed and were baptized into His death on their behalf. Yet, it was also necessary for them to strive personally to complete the race toward that life. For if they neglected this or walked the opposite path, it would not be possible for them to enter through the gate, even though it was open. Instead, they would rightly be barred by the obstacle of their own choice, replacing the natural and original barrier that had been removed. To achieve this, there was a need for a most perfect law, teaching, example, and every kind of guidance, due to the great difficulty of living a virtuous life and the narrow and constricted path that leads to true life. Just as the first man, being the seed and origin of human nature, would have passed on to his descendants the rewards of divine obedience along with the other good things implanted in his nature—which was indeed the divine purpose for him and for all—so instead, he passed on sin and its penalty to all his offspring. In the same way, divine philanthropy, aiming to heal all things in a timely and God-pleasing manner (as many true arguments demonstrate), required that a seed of human righteousness and the happiness that follows it be raised up according to the original purpose for humanity. This seed was to be a teacher of truth, a lawgiver, and a model of righteousness, leading not only by word and life to faith and virtue but also by extraordinary miracles and signs. In this way, He would conform to Himself those who were to be saved and scatter the mist of unbelief and wickedness from the whole earth, shining the light of truth. This was not done by force or by overriding free will, but by removing the ancestral barrier through faith and baptism, while actively preventing personal sin through the observance of the laws given for this purpose. These were the fruits of divine proclamation. The natural seed of humanity was sufficient to produce a mere man, as indeed it did. However, the spiritual transformation and way of life, through which the path to the promised happiness was to be accomplished for those who chose it, needed to have great superiority and power, befitting a spiritual seed. For the matter involved the greatest difficulty, as the whole world had gradually turned away from God from the beginning and, in the end, had completely fallen away from Him. Thus, it required either total abandonment and destruction or the greatest and most divine philanthropy and economy, suited to the extremity of evil, to prepare the remedy. This, indeed, came to pass, and for this reason, it was necessary that the one who accomplished these things be both God and man.

7. Now, the humanity that was personally taken and united to the divine Word in Christ, cooperated and worked together with the divine Word in such a way that the balance of the entire humanity might be restored. For this reason, it was assumed, in order to become such, and being such, it was possible to destroy the many evils and to be the origin and seed of such great goods. Therefore, if the first man, formed from the earth, as the divine Apostle says, spread sin and its punishment to those born from him by natural descent, why should we marvel and be perplexed at how the second man, from heaven, has shared with all

human nature his spiritual seed and helped them in their nature? The humanity in Christ did not first exist when the Word of God, the one who sustains all things, became incarnate and then united to it. Rather, it both sustained and united itself to the humanity in such a way that neither the humanity became united with the subsistence of the Word of God by composition, nor were the two subsistences separated, but the human nature in Christ was in union with the divine subsistence of the Word, being united to it personally and essentially. As the cause of this union, the divine nature is the true subsistence in Christ, while the human nature is more in its essence and is not considered a separate subsistence. In this way, through both, the reality of the one divine person, as a true unity, exists. In these matters, the answer to the question is sufficiently given, and if a more thorough explanation were needed, we would proceed, but we will stop here.

8. The Word and Son of God, while aiming at God the Father, is naturally said to be the image and likeness of the first mind who begot him, as well as his image according to nature. In regard to the things made through the divine Word, he can be called the image of all that exists, but a transcendent one, for as the cause of all things, he also has the specific cause accompanying him. For nothing is made without an image; however, in other things, these images are various and distinguished by different kinds of distinctions, but the cause and image of all that exists is the same: a transcendent one, having the power to create as he wishes and not needing any external help. Therefore, the image is simple and exists in the divine Word, both in relation to the created things and in its own existence. For the Word contains within itself all the various reasons of beings, being the principle of their nature and power, as the simplest form of his divinity, which he shares with the Father. The first mind of God and the Father is manifest only in itself, as it is the natural image and essence, but the things made through him are external and thus less perfectly like the divine Word, differing from each other in their own degrees of excellence, though all are traces of likeness, according to the similarity of will and nature. The image of the divine in humanity, however, is more excellent, being a more direct and distinct reflection of the works of the Holy Trinity, and is a true representation of it.

9. Therefore, this divine Word of God, through whom all things came into being, the creative and simplest, most wise, and infinite form of all that exists, having assumed humanity, was not separated from it, just as He originally created man and those who would descend from him. Rather, as the instrument of His divinity united to Him, He did this for the purpose of the divine economy, for the salvation of the creature. It is appropriate to say that the one who was united to Him in this way as man is the same one who created man altogether, since He is personally united with the divine and transcendent pattern of humanity, the model for all creation, not by nature, but by participation in the transcendent. Hence, the man united to the divine Word is not merely an image and likeness of God, as other human beings are, but also an instrument of the divine Word's own personal work, as He is personally united to Him. In this way, the man in Christ becomes an image of all that is created, as He embodies the divine essence and His form, particularly and in a transcendent way, exists in Him.

10. Let us then praise the other glory of the humanity in Christ, which has been glorified to a greater degree by our Lord, who was highly exalted through His struggle on behalf of humanity. This glory is higher and more truly fitting for God, as He, the one who was united in glory, is one with the divine in a manner beyond the previous glory. Such is the man in Christ, endowed with vast dignity and power, who upholds and encompasses the entire nature of humanity and has become the true man as the source and origin of all. He, having shared the same nature with all mankind, has logically become the mediator, reconciler, and deliverer

of humanity, uniting humanity personally to the Son of God and through Him to the Father. He is the one who, through His suffering, paid the full price for the justice owed to humanity. He is the spiritual seed of true humanity, the image of the humanity that is formed and shaped by His laws, the one who is conformed to His passions, the firstborn from the dead, the forerunner to heaven for the worthy, the provider of aid for those who are following Him, and the guide for all those who are called by the divine economy. He is the unceasing giver of blessings from above, the righteous judge when the time for the completion of the world arrives, granting the heavenly joy to those who are justified. He is the benefactor and sharer of all things, and as a father to true children, He prepares their banquet and counsels them. To Him, the God-man, our Lord Christ, be glory forever and ever, Amen.

5. On the Progress of Angels in Beatitude.

† That the angels do not advance in beatitude after having been confirmed in it, although they do partake in a certain kind of progress.

1. It might seem that the blessed angels make progress in beatitude. For if earthly happiness does not lead to satiety for those who partake of it, then all the more should those who have once attained the vision of the intelligible strive for progress in it—since it is established that this vision is capable of infinite increase, given that the object of contemplation and the ultimate truth surpass every created intellect infinitely and innumerably. And if they necessarily desire such progress, they must necessarily also attain it infinitely, for it is impossible for them to desire it in vain, so long as they are truly blessed.

2. Furthermore, if they were to remain in an unchanging state, content with the knowledge of divine realities and of being itself that they already possess, it would mean one of two things: either they have grasped the infinite truth itself in their contemplation and thus enjoy it as if it were enjoying itself, which is impossible; or, if this is not the case, then either they remain unaware of what is lacking in their knowledge, in which case they are incomplete in their understanding of the good appropriate to them, or they recognize it but do not entirely long for it, in which case they are deficient in their desire for the good. In either scenario, they would not truly be blessed. Since, as has been shown, it is impossible for the blessed to remain in a state of self-sufficiency without further longing, they must necessarily desire to advance. And if they desire it, not in vain, then they must indeed make progress.

3. Furthermore, beatitude consists in the enjoyment of the desired good. And the greater the good desired, the greater must be the enjoyment of it. If, therefore, the angels advance, they rejoice in the hope of that which is not yet fully attained; and as they continually receive more, their enjoyment increases proportionally with the greater reception of the desired good. Thus, they must necessarily become ever more blessed. This in no way contradicts the divine goodness, so long as through this continual increase they never attain the fullness of the infinite, which would indeed be contrary to reason. Therefore, nothing prevents them from becoming ever more blessed.

4. Furthermore, if nothing prevents one angel from being higher than another by means of a greater understanding of the infinite truth, then nothing should prevent any one angel from becoming ever more blessed through an increase in knowledge.

5. This is also evident from Scripture. For the blessed Peter, in his first epistle, states that even angels long to peer into the divine mysteries. And since they do so, they fulfill their longing and thus make progress.

6. From considerations such as these, one might conclude that angels continually progress in beatitude. However, this is impossible if we take "progress" in its strict sense. For progress is not merely the acquisition or reception of something additional, but rather a movement closer to the final goal that is appropriate and natural to a being. It is possible, therefore, for those who have already attained their proper end not to make progress toward it in the sense of moving closer to something not yet reached, but rather to receive something that follows from their very perfection. In such a case, they would not properly be said to make progress, as those do who have not yet been perfected.

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7. Furthermore, neither the use of a habit nor the continuous operation according to it can properly be called progress for those who already possess the habit in its perfect form—whether as something naturally inherent to them or as something acquired through frequent and precise exercise to the point that it can no longer be further perfected. Rather, we properly speak of progress in the case of one who has not yet attained his proper end but, having grasped some things that lead toward it with diligence, is eagerly advancing toward what remains, so that by passing through all stages, he may at last reach that which is closely connected to the final goal and thus attain the very end he seeks. Once he has attained it, however, he is no longer said to progress but rather to have completed his course, to have been perfected, to have come into being in the fullest sense, and to truly exist—just as not yet having been perfected is a kind of becoming, and becoming is not yet being. If, therefore, we take progress in its strict sense as the ordered and earnest movement of the incomplete toward its proper end through successive stages, then it is false and impossible to say that angels progress in this manner. For they are not travelers on the way toward their end and the beatitude appointed for them, but have already attained it.

8. It is necessary to understand that, according to Holy Scripture, the ultimate end of intellectual nature is twofold: one aspect is given to it in accordance with its nature by the First Cause, while the other is supernatural, granted as a reward. This truth applies both to the incorporeal beings—namely, the angels—and to human souls, though in each case it is realized and considered in a different manner. However, since our present discussion concerns angels specifically, we shall limit ourselves to them. For the angels, who are intellects by nature, their natural and proper end is the contemplation of intelligible truth, especially that of the divine and first Truth, by which, in knowing it, they know all things as they exist in their principle. Furthermore, they also contemplate the truth inherent in all beings, not only by knowing their cause but also by a direct knowledge proper to themselves. They perceive divine truth within themselves, not as something contained within them but as existing independently in itself and infinitely beyond them, though it illuminates them first by being impressed upon their very substance as an image of divine perfections. Through this image, they perceive God intellectually—not in His essence nor in a comprehensive manner, but in a more limited way, as one might see a reflection in a pure and highly transparent mirror. Additionally, they perceive divine truths through certain intelligible emanations of divine forms, by which they know all things as the intelligible representations of these forms. For they do not acquire knowledge of things by receiving forms externally but rather possess them inherently in their nature, as we shall soon explain more explicitly. The angels contemplate the truth of beings and of divine realities differently, not in the manner of their mode of understanding, but in the measure of their comprehension. And this measure is determined by the measure of the intelligible forms within them. Since the principle of intellectual activity in every intellect is the intelligible form itself, as every act of understanding is accomplished through some form, those intellects endowed with a greater number of forms have a more extensive knowledge. This differentiation in the intelligible forms they possess determines the varying degrees of their contemplation and, consequently, the varying measures of their natural beatitude. For, as stated before, their only natural perfection and beatitude consists in beholding the First Truth and, through it, perceiving all other truths. This differentiation in contemplation and beatitude was present in them from the moment of their creation, not as something acquired by chance or through practice, but as something inherent in their nature. To understand this more clearly, one must recognize that, since angels are devoid of matter—which alone would have caused their

individual differentiation—it follows that they are distinguished specifically rather than numerically. Each angel possesses his own individuality by virtue of his unique essence, just as if there were two instances of whiteness existing apart from any material substance, they would be distinct only in form and not in number. More precisely, each angel is not a species but a complete actuality (entelechy) in himself; he is neither a part of a composite entity nor something that receives further determination by external form. Rather, he is himself formed by the intelligible forms inherent in him, which are naturally united with him and through which he possesses both being and perfection. It follows, therefore, that angels exist and are multiplied according to the number of such intelligible forms within them, some being illuminated by a greater, others by a lesser degree of essential radiance. From this arises their immutable hierarchical order; for if each angel is distinguished by his very being and his own actuality, and if this actuality consists in the fullness of intelligible forms within him, then it is reasonable that their hierarchical differentiation and order should result from the varying degrees of this intelligible fullness. All these attributes—belonging to their natural perfection and beatitude—were given to them at the moment of their creation, and they remain such now and will be so forever. It would not be fitting for them to attain their intellectual and natural perfection through time and effort, as is the case with human souls. For human souls, since their very being and natural end are bound to the body and its union with it, attain intellectual perfection through time and diligence, mediated by the body and its sensory faculties, by processes of addition and subtraction, composition and analysis, and by such means shape knowledge within themselves.

9. The angels, upon their creation, received their initial and natural blessedness as an inherent state. However, they did not immediately attain the transcendent end and reward, for this required, as in a contest, a demonstration of their goodwill toward their Creator, who is also the giver of rewards. Yet, having once established their natural existence and shown their goodwill through action, those who remained steadfast in their original blessedness and placed their hope solely in divine grace—as was proper, with humility—were granted the ultimate beatitude and perfection as a reward. Consequently, the true progress of the angels, from their natural good state to their supernatural and ultimate perfection, occurred within an exceedingly brief interval between their creation and their confirmation. Those who advanced in this way, having done so once, were immediately and permanently established in their perfected state, beyond which no further hope or acquisition is possible; for hoping and attaining belong to those who are still on the journey and advancing. Therefore, it is impossible for the angels to progress further, as such a notion contradicts the foundations of faith and is entirely unreasonable. Since that time, the angels have come to know many things through divine revelation, either concerning God's general or particular providence over humanity—whether directly or through the service of the celestial bodies and all created things, which exist for the sake of humankind. However, this new knowledge and the joy it brings do not constitute progress in divine beatitude, nor do they make the angels more blessed. For this knowledge concerns matters naturally unknown to them, pertaining to the divine economies directed toward lower beings, and serves as an occasion for wonder and joy, rather than actual progression. Such revelations, though new to them, are entirely encompassed within and follow from their established perfection. Hence, if it were not necessary for them to occasionally learn of things previously unknown—especially concerning future events as they are in themselves, rather than in their causes, or the thoughts of human hearts, or the mysteries of grace, which are known only to God and revealed to the angels only when and as He wills—it would make no difference to their supernatural

perfection, which they possess both by nature and grace. Just as the perfection of humanity would not be hindered by the fact that human beings are not immediately made equal to the bodiless powers, so too, even more so, the angels' perfection is not affected by their ignorance of what is known only to God. Likewise, their inferiors' ignorance of what is known to their superiors does not diminish the superiors' knowledge. Thus, it is reasonable that the angels, when certain matters naturally unknown to them are revealed, gain knowledge of them because they are called to serve the divine economies concerning these matters. Yet, this does not constitute progress or an addition to their own perfection. For the divine providence does not ordain such revelations for the completion of angelic perfection, but rather for the salvation of those in the world—whether in general or in particular—through the angels as instruments. Hence, those who are being perfected and benefitted by these divine economies rightly rejoice in them. Likewise, the angels, who naturally rejoice in human salvation and behold the ever-increasing and unceasing divine philanthropy, also delight in these divine economies, in which they serve. However, their participation in these divine enlightenments—whether directly or through the hierarchical order of higher angels illuminating the lower ones—is not because their own beatitude or perfection lacks anything. Rather, it is an expression of the fullness of their already perfected blessedness. For having been made perfect once and for all—by both nature and grace—above all created beings, second only to the first Cause of all things, they serve God's supernatural and ineffable providence over the rest of creation. The joy that comes to them from this service is regarded as a consequence of having already attained their proper end. They therefore rejoice in these matters as incidental additions to their blessedness, while also sharing in the joy of human salvation out of goodness. As the blessed Dionysius affirms: "They are said to rejoice with God at the recovery of the lost, according to their divine ease and the abundant, beneficent joy they take in God's providence and the salvation of those who turn to Him." Thus, they do not rejoice as though they themselves are improved thereby—otherwise, even God, in whom they share in joy, would likewise be improved, which is unthinkable—but rather because it befits their nature, as beings from God, to rejoice in such divine blessings, as has been previously stated. Consequently, their own blessedness remains eternally the same, while the additional knowledge and joy they receive concerning humanity is only for the sake of human salvation and will cease when that purpose is fulfilled. In their own blessedness, they are rightly distinguished from one another in orderly fashion, for they differ in accordance with the varying intellectual forms by which they are shaped according to their causes. Yet, in the knowledge of divine mysteries, they are not distinguished—except insofar as they receive this knowledge in an orderly manner, descending through the ranks from the first to the last in hierarchical succession.

10. However, even if, for these reasons, it is impossible for the angels to progress in beatitude, it is possible to speak of their progression in a figurative and not a proper sense. This is first understood in relation to their own blessedness, as if they were in some way passing from potentiality to actuality. For even though they possess knowledge naturally, they do not always contemplate in actuality, since they cannot perceive all things at once but rather transition from one object of contemplation to another. The ability to comprehend all things simultaneously belongs to God alone. That the manner of transition in their intellect differs greatly from the transition occurring in human souls here below is not the occasion to discuss at present.

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11. Furthermore, even in the knowledge acquired through revelation, their intellect is in potentiality in a certain sense, though not strictly speaking. The angelic intellect is not truly in potentiality for this reason, but only by a certain faint resemblance. For to be truly in potentiality means not yet to possess that which one is naturally disposed to have. But for one who already possesses knowledge, not to always make use of it simultaneously but rather in succession, or to extend the existing abundance and power of knowledge according to some divine economy even towards objects neither natural nor fitting to them—this is not properly called being in potentiality. Thus, their "progression" is not properly such, whether it concerns a new mode of acting upon the same realities or engaging with new ones that nevertheless follow from their natural perfection. If, then, some of the saints speak in this way, they do so not with precision but by way of accommodation, wishing to signify the perpetual and uninterrupted nature of angelic contemplation, its ceaseless and exalted character, as if they never rest nor take pause from their intellectual activity. This is what the holy Dionysius calls an unceasing motion and an ever-moving rest when speaking about them, as well as an unending ascent. Just as he illustrates their supreme fulfillment in being perfected, established around God, and made heirs of divine joy—the higher ones being so in a more excellent manner, and those beneath them through an intellectual transmission—so too are they made partakers of divine knowledge and filled with the corresponding perfection of their order. By all these things, he shows how they are ultimately bound to their own proper end and attain supreme beatitude by participation. By the term "ever-moving rest," he aptly signifies both the continuity of their contemplation, as they are always in motion, and the completeness and fullness of their blessedness, as they are established in it. Moreover, by "unceasing movement," he means that they always revolve around the same divine realities, just as their unceasing ascent and elevation indicate the supernatural and ineffable apprehension, granted to them unceasingly by divine grace, of things surpassing all created intellect. Their continuous fulfillment and perfection do not mean they are ever lacking or imperfect and thus ever being completed—such a notion would be neither reasonable nor consistent. Rather, it means that they delight continually in their fullness and perfection, being perpetually filled with joy as they unceasingly engage with divine and intelligible realities, forever experiencing the pleasure derived from them, as befits beings of a supernatural order who never grow weary.

12. A faint image of this may be found in our experience of contemplating the sun. For if we were always to behold the sun at its zenith, and if we were not merely sustained by its rays for the necessities of life but were instead required to fix our gaze upon it intently and to live solely in this way, we would continually lift our eyes toward it, as if it were always above us in its proper place, and as if our contemplation of it were never-ending. We would not simply lift our heads or our sight once and thereafter perceive it while remaining stationary in body and vision. Nor would we ascend toward it, nor be displaced from our proper place. Rather, as long as we were seeing it, we would perceive it in this manner: looking up as if to something higher, yet being filled by it as befits our nature, so long as we continued to behold it. And if it were possible, we would see it perpetually. However, due to the necessities imposed by nature and our individual circumstances, we are hindered. Even now, we are filled by it when we see it—not in the sense that we would be filled by it even while not looking, but only insofar as we actually behold it. We also progress in seeing, in the sense that we always perceive it insatiably and unceasingly, but not as those whose vision is weak and who regain their natural capacity little by little through artificial aids. For such an impairment is merely an accidental deficiency, which has no place in the life of the blessed. Therefore, while distinguishing between

what applies and what does not in this analogy, the rest must correspond appropriately. For when God, who is established in His own proper glory, shines upon the angelic intellects as they lift their noetic vision toward Him, while at the same time each retains and preserves its own place both in relation to others and to God Himself, the angels thereby possess the same, continuous, and insatiable fulfillment in the One who infinitely surpasses all conceivable beauty. They also possess an unceasing longing for this fulfillment, not because they are progressing from imperfection to perfection, from deprivation to acquisition, or from an incomplete potency to actualization—for such a process necessarily occurs only in a temporary and relative manner among both angels and all created beings, though with great distinctions, as has been explained. But if this were to occur continually, it would be utterly irrational and impossible.

13. From all these considerations, it is evident that it is impossible for angels to progress in beatitude, for progress, strictly speaking, applies only to those who are still journeying, who are imperfect, and who have not yet attained their final and proper end. In response to the first opposing argument, we say that those who are deceived by the false semblance of earthly happiness and are fixated on sensory things desire to progress within that domain. However, those who are truly wise do not even tolerate the thought of pursuing or embracing such happiness when it is offered to them. Therefore, it must not be used as an example of the true blessedness of noetic creatures. If the First Truth is infinite and can be contemplated in infinite degrees, this does not mean that each created intellect can attain the highest degree absolutely—for this is impossible—but rather that each attains its own highest degree appropriate to its nature. Hence, it is impossible for them to desire to advance indefinitely, for if they truly desire to be perfect, this necessarily implies that they have already attained their proper perfection.

14. Regarding the second point, the truth is rather the opposite: if they do not perceive themselves as being filled with the order appropriate to them in the vision of God, then they are incomplete in knowledge. However, if, while perceiving it, they still strive for something greater, they are deficient in their will toward the Good. At the same time, they also desire what is impossible, just as an excessive desire was the cause of the fall even for the wicked. But those who are wise and good, possessing within themselves the fullness of wisdom—not in an absolute sense of perfection, but in the sense that it is perfect within each according to his nature—understand their own perfection and consider themselves to be fully blessed. They believe that they lack nothing for complete beatitude, and thus they are self-sufficient and at peace. For they do not judge either concerning their own good or about those things known to them before ensuring that they remain within divine order. And this is the cause of their being free from error and truly blessed, just as for the wicked, the cause of their error and wretchedness is that they have turned their minds away from divine wisdom and its order.

15. Regarding the third point, it is not when someone desires an absent object of enjoyment that he is blessed, but rather when he actually enjoys it in its presence. Hence, among the blessed angels, that which is desirable, that which is enjoyed, and that which is present are one and the same. For they do not desire the Good and the True as something absent, but rather, they rejoice in it as something present. And just as they possess knowledge of these things naturally from the moment they are created, so too do they possess love for them naturally from the beginning, and the same holds in reverse. Their knowledge and desire thus advance perpetually, but not in the sense that they increase in these things, nor in the sense that what is naturally and properly known or desired by them has not yet been attained, as if it were still possible for them

to acquire it. For if that were the case, they would be in a state of true progression. Instead, they already possess all these things within themselves simultaneously, though they do not contemplate all of them at once, as was said earlier. And their transition in such knowledge is not from principles to conclusions, nor from the universal to the particular, as is the case with humans here who advance in wisdom by progressing from potentiality to actuality. Rather, their knowledge advances from principles to principles, and from forms to forms, whereby they know all things that they are naturally capable of knowing. However, knowledge of the divine economies, being granted by revelation and belonging to a distinct order, has been previously determined. And for a more precise understanding of the truth, one must recognize that the fullness of knowledge granted to each angel is sufficient for their perfection, as it constitutes the ultimate measure appropriate to each. Yet, in relation to the infinite Good and the hierarchical order among themselves, there is no ultimate boundary. Thus, due to the excess or deficiency of the forms within them in comparison to others—which alone is the reason for their orderly distinction—those who have less do not grieve, nor do those who have more become arrogant. This is not only because they rest in the divine judgment due to the innate and most perfect wisdom they have received from God, as was previously stated, but also because each is filled and has attained his own proper end. In another way, however, such fullness is also their participation in the infinite; for either it is altogether impossible to attain the Infinite, or, if one truly attains it, he attains the Infinite itself, even if not in an infinite manner. And though many partake of it, all participate in the Infinite, even if not all in the same way. This is also what the divine Dionysius indicated when he said that the whole of divinity is wholly participated in by each of those who share in it, just as rays extend from a center or impressions are stamped from a seal, even though the mode of participation differs.

16. Regarding the fourth point, divine truth, being infinite, can be contemplated in many degrees and measures. Hence, there exist numerous ranks of the blessed angels, and within each rank, there is a distinction between the first, the middle, and the last, encompassing all. If there were more beings than currently exist, there would likewise be more degrees of blessedness among them. Yet within each of these, divine truth is perceived in a limited manner, in accordance with the measure of each one's vision, as has been stated—each intellect is receptive to it only to the extent that its nature allows, as it was originally created. And if the idea of an infinite progress in beatitude were indeed true, this would add nothing to the angels, for their advancement would be perpetual, with each progressing only in accordance with the divine order given to them, since all partake of the Good equally, in proportion to the grace granted to them. For they would remain in the same relative distinctions and subordination among themselves as they were created in from the beginning. Thus, any progression among them in relation to one another would be of no consequence, and even more so with respect to the First Truth, which is impossible ever to fully attain. Rather, they are perfected according to the measure that belongs to them, and not according to an external standard. Once they have been completed according to their own measure upon coming into being, they are full, blessed, and united to their own proper perfection.

17. Regarding the fifth point, if this statement refers to the natural knowledge of the angels, then the desire to "peer into" these things should not be understood as arising from distance from their goal or from any incapacity of angelic vision to grasp it, but rather from the difficulty inherently associated with contemplating what is beyond nature—even though divine grace resolves this difficulty for those who are made worthy of it. But if the reference is to new revelations, which they receive from God as is fitting for the

divine economy, then it is even more appropriate, especially concerning the mysteries of grace, that they are said to desire the revelation of such things, thirsting for the salvation of humankind that is accomplished through them, because of the burning divine love within them and their zeal for God's philanthropy, as the holy Dionysius has shown. They desire to "peer into" these mysteries, not because such things are completely inaccessible to them, nor because they lack all knowledge of them, for they do indeed participate in divine knowledge and discernment. Rather, they come to know them only to the extent that they are meant to serve as ministers of what has been revealed. Such knowledge, being episodic and temporary, as has been stated, is only capable of increasing until the time of judgment. It does not add to their degree of blessedness, which has been sealed by the transcendent reward. Therefore, they neither grieve over not possessing it continuously —just as they do not grieve over other forms of knowledge—but receive it only when it is revealed and for a determined period. Nor will they be grieved when such revelations cease entirely, since they will have attained their ultimate end and blessedness. This necessarily follows, for if such knowledge had increased their joy by virtue of continued progress, then its cessation would have been a cause of sorrow. However, because it was only ever attached to their own proper perfection, which is established and awaited, it did not function as an additional acquisition but as something revealed only as needed.

18. The points concerning this question that are in harmony with Holy Scripture and the most authoritative teachers are those we have set forth, and we follow these as the most reasonable conclusions, in accordance with the proper rule of doctrine. But the precise truth is known to God alone, as well as to His holy angels—and blessed also are those from among men who now share in their knowledge, and even more so those who will come to know it more perfectly in their final completion.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF ANGELS

6. On the Twofold Knowledge of the Angels

† Concerning the knowledge in angels, which is called morning and evening. By Gennadius.

1. Among the divine providences governing human life, some pertain to the day and others to the night, as it is written: "Day unto day pours forth speech, and night unto night declares knowledge." It is therefore fitting that the angels, who serve these divine economies, receive knowledge both morning and evening. This knowledge is considered to be added to them in two ways: first, insofar as it concerns the miraculous works of God that occur beyond the established order of created beings—works which they could not foresee unless they were revealed to them; and second, inasmuch as it pertains to the knowledge of the future of the whole order of things, which they are not capable of comprehending as a whole at once, but only through successive revelations over time. This mode of knowledge will cease with the completion of creation.

2. The existence of created beings flows from the First Principle, the Word, and is determined within the nature of each thing. For the angels, their knowledge of beings is twofold: first, they possess a simple and immediate knowledge of them, insofar as they perceive their existence in the Word, which is their ultimate cause; second, they know them as they are found in their inherent forms, whether by considering them in their origin or in their final completion. This distinction in their knowledge is analogous to the way that each day's good begins in the morning and ends in the evening. In relation to our human mode of knowledge, when the day begins, all things that are visible become manifest through light, while in the night, things exist only in themselves, not being revealed by light. Similarly, angelic knowledge of divine mysteries through revelation is called "morning knowledge," while that which they possess innately, by their natural intelligence, is termed "evening knowledge."

THE FREEDOM OF THE WICKED

7. On the Freedom of the Wicked

† A Question and Resolution Concerning Whether Those Who Commit Evil Do So Willingly or Unwillingly

1. It must be examined whether those who commit evil deeds do so willingly or unwillingly, for both possibilities seem to have a claim to reason. Indeed, choice (προαίρεσις) is the selection of one thing over another when both are set before an individual. Whether one chooses what is good instead of what is evil, or the reverse, the act of choice remains voluntary, as it constitutes a deliberate assent of the will toward one alternative rather than the other. Thus, those who perform evil acts do so willingly, having chosen them in preference to what is good, just as those who perform good acts do so willingly by selecting them over what is evil.

2. However, the will naturally inclines toward the good as its proper end, just as the intellect inclines toward truth. Every being desires that which is good in relation to itself, and in a universal sense, all desire the good absolutely. If, then, those things that direct one toward the good are themselves good, and the will is naturally inclined toward them, how can it be that one willingly falls away from his proper end by choosing evil? Would it not be more reasonable to say that one fails to attain his proper end unwillingly and thus commits evil acts involuntarily? At first glance, both positions seem to hold a certain logical plausibility. Therefore, it is appropriate and reasonable to investigate this matter further. As far as we are able, we must define the truth concerning these things, considering what is truly good and evil, since these pertain to moral disposition (ἦθος), and since virtue and vice, along with their corresponding actions, belong to this domain.

3. Since we are engaged in an inquiry concerning the voluntary and the involuntary nature of human action in the case of those who commit evil, it is fitting to begin by examining the role of the will, which is of primary importance to human nature. For the involuntary is known in relation to the voluntary, as is the case with all things that stand in opposition to each other. That which is voluntary, for any agent, is that for which the principle of action lies within himself—namely, that which he brings about according to his own will and intention.

4. In human beings, who are by nature endowed with will (θέλησις) and the capacity for choice (προαίρεσις), the will is singular in each individual, being considered according to its potentiality. However, its operations are diverse, since all that is willed falls under two fundamental categories—good and evil. The will, while remaining in potentiality, is inclined toward both, but when brought into actuality, it moves decisively toward a particular object of willing. It is directed either toward the good, which is properly the true object of the will, or toward its opposite, for it cannot simultaneously be operative in opposing directions. Although it belongs to the will's nature to be capable of both, it is determined in action toward one. By nature, however, it is ordered toward the good, and this is its proper and natural operation. When guided by reason and firmly oriented toward what is noble and good, toward which reason itself naturally moves in conjunction with a sound will, the will is upright and acts according to nature. Conversely, when it is distorted, it becomes subject to the passions of the soul, being drawn into subservience by sensory impulses. These two aspects—the rational and the passionate—do not exist in perfect harmony within man. Rather, reason properly belongs to the intellect (νοῦς), which is the spiritual and immaterial aspect of the soul, whereas the passions, which include both spiritedness (θυμός) and desire (ἐπιθυμία), stand as an intermediary between intellect and

sensation, being positioned as opposing forces. This is clearly expressed by the blessed Apostle Paul, who declares: "The flesh desires against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; these are opposed to one another" (Galatians 5:17). If it were possible for the passionate aspect of the soul to be entirely governed by reason in all human beings, so that it desired only what is superior and was angered only by what is evil, then it would be rightly ordered according to true human nature. However, if it instead follows the contrary path, binding itself wholly to irrational sense-perception, then it departs from its proper order. The will sometimes aligns itself with what appears most immediately desirable, since sensation is nearer to it, and when it distances itself even slightly from reason, instead of being elevated, it is dragged downward, degrading and corrupting itself. The passionate aspect of the soul does not, however, move toward what is better or worse apart from the mediation of the will. For God has given reason natural authority over the passions, though this authority is exercised under the impulse of the will. Thus, if the will chooses, it can follow the opposite path, leading man toward what is worse, subjecting him to the dominion of sensation rather than obedience to reason, in a manner more resembling a populist rule than the sovereign authority of reason. That human nature must necessarily exist in this way—being composed of both soul and body, and bearing all that follows from this union—belongs to a higher wisdom. These matters, requiring much discussion, we shall set aside, remaining focused on our present inquiry.

5. Thus, the impulse of the will in man, when directed towards reason and guided by it, renders the will righteous within him, as has been stated, being shaped by reason into the true form of man. However, when it turns entirely towards the passionate aspect of the soul without reason, it distorts the will to such an extent that it can no longer properly be considered will at all. Hence, the one who adheres to the order of nature and maintains his will in submission to reason in all things is truly a human being. Conversely, the one who abuses his will towards disorder does not live a human life but rather an animalistic one, as he becomes enslaved solely to the irrational desires of the soul. However, animals are compelled by their nature to have such a soul and lack reason to govern and guide them—in other words, they are subject to necessity by nature and no other cause. In contrast, man undergoes this willingly, and thus, the one who does so of his own accord becomes worse than the irrational animals. From this, it is evident that the discourse on the will in man is twofold. In some, the will is free, being in harmony with reason and shaped accordingly, and for this reason, it employs the passions toward what is better, benefiting both itself and the passions. But in others, it is constrained, being enslaved to sense perception and the passions that follow from it. Now, the freedom of the will belongs to its nature and to the cause and origin of that nature; whereas its unnatural slavery arises when it is inclined toward what is inferior and servile. The former is properly and truly human will, as it belongs to the one who truly lives and conducts himself as a human being. The latter, however, is not properly so. Likewise, true choice exists in man as a part of the will, when it is directed toward what is better and tends towards the good. The one who possesses such a disposition is truly one who chooses rightly and deliberates well. But the one who delights in what is base is mindless and without counsel, so that he does not even truly possess choice, and choosing what is evil is nearly equivalent to not choosing at all. This twofold account of the will is affirmed by the great Paul, who states: "For those who are sound in mind and follow the spirit entirely, they will will that which is truly desirable with such a will; but those who, in the opposition of the flesh to the spirit, are more inclined to the flesh, will no longer be able to do what they would will if they were rightly disposed towards the good. Instead, they will will that which is evil due to their sickness and

corruption. And thus, they will do evil willingly, in the sense that they act by their will, but at the same time unwillingly, since they do not act by their own proper, natural, and free will. Only those who do good act with a sincere and free will."

6. When someone has once perverted their will—or, let this also be acknowledged, has been disciplined for it—they commit evil willingly, as if choosing this in place of what is truly bad. Yet, they also act unwillingly, since they do not perform such actions with an authentic and sovereign will. Such a person should neither be classified among those who are utterly depraved, nor should one consider their conversion to the good as hopeless; for they could easily refrain from being wicked and, from that point forward, will the things that are good. However, the one who has repeatedly inclined toward the same evil deeds is difficult to turn toward the good and to the reasoning that leads to it. For such a person has, through frequent wrongdoing, acquired a habit of wickedness and subsequently rushes heedlessly toward his accustomed depravity. No longer does he act with any resistance from reason against sense perception, nor does his will struggle against the worse inclination as it did at the beginning; rather, his will, once made familiar with passion, immediately obeys and conforms to it. Such people, then, commit evil in a manner that is, in a certain sense, involuntary. For by having voluntarily, at the outset, subordinated their will to the flesh instead of to reason—and then repeatedly choosing to commit evil—the accumulated habit, as has been stated, appears to compel the one who possesses it toward further evil acts. This is because habit is the principle that governs subsequent actions arising from and following upon it, not those from which it originally came into being. On this matter, the blessed Apostle Paul speaks, carefully regulating his discourse by referring to his own person with humility. He declares that he has been "sold under sin," as one who has been altogether enslaved to it through sense perception and the passions therein. Thus, he neither knows nor wills to commit evil any longer; for truly human will and knowledge do not, in any way, accept evil. Even if one is at some point ensnared, they immediately free themselves through sincere repentance and return to their proper liberty. But the one who has become accustomed to evil through choice and action, Paul says, no longer acts as himself, but rather, "it is sin dwelling in me that works this evil"—that is, the habit of wickedness, which, through much familiarity, has become a cohabitant of the soul. And yet, he continues, the right and natural will remains present within him—a will that desires only the good. Likewise, the good itself is present to his mind, known and recognized by it. However, having been blinded by long-standing practice in evil, he is unable to perceive it clearly, even though it is close at hand. For, he says, "my mind does not depart from understanding what is true concerning good and evil." Yet, his sense perception, having enslaved his will through repeated voluntary engagement in wickedness, diverts him from the noble obedience and servitude owed to reason, rendering his intellect idle and powerless to employ its natural faculties. Therefore, only the one who continuously aligns his will with reason and intellect—and in such a way directs himself toward choosing and doing what is good—can truly be said to think rightly and to will truly. As a result, such a person does all things well and commits nothing wicked. This is also what the Prophet David expresses, with a more theological rather than ethical understanding, when he says: "I set the Lord always before me, for He is at my right hand, that I may not be shaken." For the one who beholds God closely as the guide of all that is good, and who sees the good itself standing near, remains firmly and immovably fixed, never turning toward what is worse. Furthermore, to give full attention to reason, which stands on the right, is the same as beholding God at one's right hand. For the natural reason within us is the law implanted in us by God—a

portion of the eternal and divine law. It is the image of the Divine Logos, and through it alone, the rational principle within us has been given the dignity and name of being in the image of God.

7. The blessed Paul rightly says that those seized by the habit of wickedness do evil unwillingly. He says this to deter us from the grave danger and keep us from even the first consent of the will to sin, out of fear of the ensuing additions and the resulting corruption of our good and natural will. He does not mean that all who do evil do so unwillingly; he speaks only of those entrenched in wicked habits. Nor does he absolve them of blame, as he does not intend that they do evil entirely unwillingly. Before being seized by such habits, they willingly chose to harbor the habit of wickedness through constant and irrevocable practice of evil. Therefore, their forced actions add to their guilt and punishment rather than excusing them. They are the cause of their own necessity by not ceasing or repenting once or twice, but making such folly a principle of life, often willingly indulging until they unwillingly and compulsorily suffer this state. Similarly, the habit of virtue in those who practice good through it does not diminish their praise and rewards but rather increases them justly. One acts virtuously and very willingly, kindling the natural spark through learning and effort toward the love of the good and diligent pursuit. Through frequent practice, the habit is acquired in the soul, becoming the source of individual good actions, making it seem effortless to perform good from the habit. It does not overpower choice but supports action through practice. Thus, one is the cause of the habit and the resulting good. Likewise, the one unchangeably doing evil from a wicked habit is the cause of that habit and the resulting evils. Therefore, one who once delights in not acting as they do in individual cases rejoices and prospers in their many actions, which formed the habit, while the other makes the leisure from deeds a source of misery, detesting the memory of foolishness until acting again and doing everything with the same wickedness, or worse.

8. Many who are seized by the habit of wickedness and, because of this, seem to do evil unwillingly, recognizing this violence and defeat late, immediately freed themselves and transitioned firmly and unchangeably to a natural life. They did not fully escape or flee from reason but rather endured the violence from passions silently, though unwillingly. Thus, before reaching such madness and savagery, they could have struck down the violence of evil habit, much more so than after serving it often and for a long time. Therefore, before being entirely under such violence, they could have avoided being swept away by a right will. They willingly sold themselves under sin, and for those sold, it was easier to serve rather than rule.

9. Since it lies within our power never to become wicked initially, nor to yield weakly to wickedness, nor to be utterly driven to savagery, and to return again if affected by any of these, the divine apostle wisely records and elsewhere sensibly advises us to live our lives guided by the spirit and not by the flesh. For the former is life and peace with God, while the latter is eternal death and enmity with God for those who obstinately adhere to it and live by such a mindset. He advises us to run the course of the spirit in this stadium as long as we live, practicing self-control and restraining the desires of the flesh under the bond of reason. We must desire the eternal crowns as our proper end, for this purpose we are placed in this stadium. It is necessary for those who wish to be crowned to contend and for those who contend well to exercise self-control in all things, never loosening the bond of self-control.

10. Hence, it is clear that the one who does evil from a more vicious habit seems to do so out of necessity, as the habit necessitates the action like a root produces its own fruit. Yet, he acts very willingly when considering the beginning of the matter. Each thing is judged more by its beginning. The immediate

beginning of evil actions in those who act in this way is habit. The primary and foremost cause is the weak and wicked inclination of the will, which caused the actions that formed the habit. This applies also to the innate power in the soul to overcome the violence of habit in evil and to return to a rational life with resolute and firm repentance. Many have shown and continue to show this power practically in themselves, escaping the beastly deception and returning to their proper order. Regarding the many and diverse divine graces assisting in adhering to virtue and continually progressing in it, or in returning to it for those deemed worthy of such cooperation, and the suffering of those deprived of divine grace in the opposite condition, these are evident and deserve separate consideration. We do not discuss them now.

11. The external wise men agree with this sacred delineation regarding the matter in question, each expressing the truth partially rather than wholly, hence seeming to disagree with each other in some respects. Some say those who do evil act unwillingly, attributing the necessity to their vicious habit. Others say all who do evil do so willingly, considering the primary cause of actions—the distorted will, which established the habit in the soul of the doer through frequent desire and action of evil. Some claim the wicked act unwillingly, deprived of the right and free will, which is naturally human. Others assert that even those who act with a corrupt will still act by their will, just as humans are called rational by nature, though not choosing to live rationally. This makes them more blameworthy, living such a life willingly and, though rational by nature, acting contrary to reason willingly.

12. Thus, the question is solved easily and reasonably. However, to ascertain the truth more precisely, we must distinguish those who do evil (for not all are the same) and examine the violence or ignorance they claim as an excuse for their wickedness. Some do evil not out of weakness or by preferring evil over good due to passion, but because they consider these the only goods, acting out of insensibility and making sensible and irrational pleasure their end, regardless of its sources and means. These are those who neither fear God nor regard humans, the foolish ones whom David calls particularly foolish and atheistic, driven uncontrollably to the precipice of wickedness by this belief in atheism. Concerning such individuals, both rare and extreme, it is unnecessary to inquire deeply, as it is with those who are insane and beyond all reason. For those adhering to divine and human laws, knowing the outcomes of living rightly or wickedly before God and humans, both here and even more in the future, yet seem to do evil through weakness, no one can justifiably claim to do evil by force. A firmly strengthened will towards good cannot be overpowered by any such violence. Reason is sufficient to help those who wish to live temperately dismiss and overcome internal violence from passions, as it is divinely ordained for this purpose. Thus, submitting the will to passions against nature makes one a voluntary doer of evil. Even external violence should be mastered by one living according to reason. Nothing external could overpower such a soul to forcibly lead it to do evil and enslave it. Death is the most fearsome and ultimate of earthly fears. A soul that knows philosophy and is well guided by reason could endure countless deaths rather than submit to false belief or evil action out of fear, disregarding the God who oversees truth and virtue, thus forfeiting future happiness, the natural and proper end given by the Creator, and enduring the penalties assigned to such actions. Therefore, those who resist violence without yielding are praised, choosing to die rather than do evil out of fear, knowing well that living in the flesh temporarily is trivial compared to the eternal death of the soul. Those who forfeit eternal goods out of fear of temporary and seemingly grave matters are blameworthy. If someone does evil constrained by inescapable force without consenting to the act, they are not only blameless but also praiseworthy for resisting fully, to the

point of preferring death rather than doing evil under compulsion, judged not as a doer but as a sufferer of evil. Those who compel others are the doers. Such cases are rare but recorded. Others, not commendable or willingly, do some actions out of necessity, choosing lesser evils over far worse alternatives. Those unexpectedly forced into such necessity are excusable and not judged as choosing evil simply. Faced with two options, they choose the lesser and thus better evil. They would rightly be crowned for choosing to die rather than do either evil, and those who place themselves in such necessity are not blameworthy if they philosophize to prefer death, thus avoiding both true evils. They would be rightly praised. Much can be discussed about evils seemingly done by force, but concerning moral matters, as we intended, it suffices to note that what seems forcibly done is not simply unwilling.

13. Additionally, the evil done through ignorance is not entirely unwilling for the doer. Someone who, through ignorance of some particular aspects of the action, does something wrong because he does not perceive it, and the truth of the matter is hidden by external causes, so that even an educated person could not grasp it, truly acts from ignorance. Had he known, he would not have done it. Therefore, upon learning the truth, such persons are remorseful and distressed by their actions, worthy of forgiveness because of this. This kind of partial ignorance mostly pertains to actions considered accidental, and this is its primary cause. Hence, it is rare for something evil to be done through such ignorance. Some, however, enslaved by common preconceptions or misled by false beliefs about the supposed goodness of certain things, mistakenly choose evil as good and act accordingly. Such people, even if they wished to know the truth, could not, either because it is entirely beyond their reach or due to a lack of true and fitting instruction, or both. These individuals are more excusable. For such persons, ignorance is mostly involuntary. In contrast, most people are willingly ignorant, refusing to learn in general or even when necessary. Many, while not entirely ignorant of what is naturally good and just, nor of the opposite, and understanding these distinctions, fail to learn what is specifically just according to the laws and thus violate them. When caught, they face the penalties prescribed by the laws for willingly doing wrong. Just as one who learns does so willingly and diligently, so too, those who do not learn and thus remain ignorant are judged willingly ignorant for not wanting to learn. Consequently, the evil done through ignorance, if the ignorance is voluntary, is willingly done.

14. These things, then, concerning the doing of evil either through violence or ignorance, by those who believe and say such things, shall suffice for now; for it is not our aim at present to give a precise distinction of them. But concerning the definition of the matter at hand, it has been assigned to us, that those who do evil are neither simply unwilling, nor simply willing, but rather they may be unwilling in one case and willing in another. The power of willing is far more potent in those who perform actions, in various ways, as has been demonstrated. Therefore, they are rightly blameworthy and worthy of punishment, both by divine judgment and by human, except for a few cases in which the evil done is truly unintentional, either due to violence or ignorance, driven by external forces, by those who are helpless and who cannot pretend otherwise. And the fact that the action of doing something evil, and the doing of it repeatedly, or even the doing of it once or more often in a particular way, makes a great difference in relation to the reasoning of wickedness, and also to that of will, is evident. Furthermore, the search concerning those who do evil is more relevant to those who, repeatedly and noticeably, do the same evil, or even more so in a particular form, than to others. Therefore, the definition was also concerned with this matter, as it has been sufficiently summarized in the points made previously.

FAITH WITHOUT WORKS

8. The Sterility of Faith Without Good Works.

† Concerning the works in accordance with virtue, without which faith is unfruitful for those who believe.

1. Faith, according to the divine Apostle, is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen. And there is one true faith concerning God and the divine things, which is the faith of Orthodox Christians. This Orthodox faith, we Christians are obligated to confirm with a second kind of faith, that is, with certain conviction and without hesitation or doubt regarding the things to be believed, as they are truly divinely inspired and divinely taught. When the blessed Peter had not yet acquired this faith, he was reproved and heard: 'O you of little faith, why did you doubt?' And following this, there is also a third kind of faith, namely, the confidence placed in the God who is to be believed, following the fulfillment of the works of virtue according to the divine commandment: 'For your faith has saved you,' He says; 'go in peace.' And again: 'Let it be done to you according to your faith.' And with such confidence and faith, the increase of virtues happens by divine grace. And for this reason, the Apostle rightly says: 'Faith without works is dead.' And 'Show me your faith by your works,' as works are also dead without faith. For man is endowed with two wings, which he has received from God, to rise up towards heavenly life and eternal blessedness, which is his end and the purpose for which he was created, by faith and by works. Therefore, when one of the wings is broken, it can no longer fly. Indeed, the true Christian's faith is active through works of virtue. And the true leader and teacher for us in virtuous works, both by word and by life, is our Lord Jesus Christ, who, having accomplished the foreign and most compassionate economy, says: 'The one who does not obey me will not see life, but the wrath of God will remain upon him.' And again: 'Amen, I say to you, if anyone keeps my word, he will never see death.' And He further makes clear the truth of faith through works, saying: 'Not everyone who says to me, "Lord, Lord," will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only the one who does the will of my Father in heaven.' And again: 'You call me Lord, Lord, and do not do what I say.' And the Apostle agrees with this, saying: 'They confess to know God, but by their works they deny Him.'

2. Let us, therefore, briefly and in summary discuss the works of virtue, by which faith becomes fruitful for those who believe, confirming them through the few words of the Lord's teachings drawn from many. It is the same thing to say that the works of human virtue are the commandments of our Lord; for the natural preparation given to humanity from the beginning for the performance of good works, so that they may receive eternal rewards, is through struggling well in this life, as in a race. This preparation, having been extinguished by sin, with only a spark remaining, our Lord came to rekindle it, like a lamp, first through faith in Him, and then through the partial guidance He gave, leading us to the appropriate way of life for mankind. Therefore, we must keep and do these works, which are naturally suitable and proper for us, as those also decreed by the Lord. In narrating these things, we will not adhere to the order of virtuous works in relation to one another, according to which some are given precedence over others; for this is a matter of greater concern and requires more careful study. Rather, we will set them forth only in the most general way for the safety of the majority, presenting this as a common starting point for all, whether in terms of commandments and laws or virtuous works, that the Christian, as a disciple of the Lord, is not only sealed in His name, but must shape his will and his life in accordance with that which was seen by those who were with the Lord at that time and heard Him, and which is now manifest to us believers. For He says: 'You call me

Teacher and Lord, and rightly so, for I am. If I, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you should do as I have done to you.' And again He says: 'Learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart.' For our Lord did not teach us only by word, but also by His life, showing us the way of salvation through works accompanying faith.

3. Having set forth the most universal commandment and law, we now move on to the other matters individually.

4. Therefore, the true Christian must fear God, who is believed in by him; for the fear of the Lord is pure, and the Lord honors those who fear Him. Nor is there any lack for those who fear Him. Indeed, one can fear God rightly who always contemplates Him before himself, knowing that He is at His right hand, so that neither his thoughts, words, nor deeds are shaken. For he who contemplates the Lord at His right hand fears Him; but in his right and good actions, he remains unshaken, not falling into evil and left-handed ways.

5. Furthermore, it is necessary to love God; for He says, 'You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength, and with all your mind.' And God is loved by the one who keeps His commandments; for He says, 'He who has My commandments and keeps them, it is he who loves Me.' And again, 'He who does not love Me does not keep My words.'

6. Furthermore, one must love one's neighbor as oneself. For this is the commandment of the Lord: 'Love one another as I have loved you, and by this, all will know that you are My disciples, if you have love for one another.' In agreement with this teaching of the Lord, the Apostle James also says: 'If anyone says, "I love God," and hates his brother, he is a liar.'

7. Furthermore, one must love even those who hate us, not only those who love us.

8. For He says, 'If you love those who love you, what reward have you?' For even the worst do this, such as tax collectors, who, seeking the favor of those in power, briefly serve them for their own advantage. And again, I say to you, 'Love your enemies.'

9. Furthermore, it is characteristic of a true Christian to be humble. For humility is the foundation of virtues, their form, their perfection, and the closest fruit of love. Therefore, the humble especially have a place in the heights of the Kingdom of Heaven, as it is justly returned to them in response to their intense humility. The Lord says: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven'; and, 'Everyone who humbles himself will be exalted, and whoever humbles himself like this child is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven.' And again, 'If anyone wants to be first among you, he shall be your servant, and whoever desires to be great among you shall be your deacon.'

10. Furthermore, it is necessary to break one's mind and mourn whenever one violates even the smallest commandment. For one who is grieved and sorrowful over a small transgression is not permitted to fall into greater sin, but instead receives greater divine consolation. For the Lord says, 'Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted,' and they will be comforted by God. There is also another kind of mourning, greater than this one, which is filled with even greater divine consolation, and it is known and experienced by the few among the perfect.

11. Furthermore, it is necessary to be gentle, unangered, and patient. For blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth, the heavenly homeland, and they will also receive the duration of earthly life, living in well-being, without danger, and even after the separation of the body, their fame will continue without end.

All these things bear fruit from God's continuous care for them, for the Lord says, 'On whom will I look, but on the meek, the quiet, and those who tremble at My words.'

12. Furthermore, it is necessary to be righteous, not with the common and worldly justice, which is maintained in transactions between people living in society and according to reason, but with the high and universal justice, which the hungry and thirsty for righteousness are blessed to attain. These are the ones who pursue with insatiable desire the commandments of the Lord, always striving for the greater good. For they will receive as their reward a far greater fulfillment of their thirst and desire, in abundance, from the grace of God.

13. Furthermore, it is necessary to be merciful. For blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy from God, both here and in the life to come, as they will enjoy the divine reward for their acts of mercy. There are seven corporal works of mercy: to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to welcome the stranger, to visit the sick, to ransom the captive, and to bury the dead. There are also seven spiritual works of mercy: to console the sorrowful, to counsel the doubtful, to teach the ignorant, to correct the sinner, to forgive the one who has sinned, to endure the rough and difficult, and to pray for everyone.

14. Furthermore, it is necessary to purify the heart. For 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.' And, 'If our heart does not condemn us, we have confidence before God,' seeing Him and acting according to His will. Here, the heart is purified by hating all worldly and transient things, and by a perfect turning of love towards God alone, through love and a resolute focus upon the Lord.

15. Furthermore, it is necessary to be a peacemaker. For 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God,' in zeal or in likeness to the power of the eternal Son and Word of God, who, through His incarnation, broke down the wall of hostility and reconciled us to God the Father. Therefore, He left peace as the seal of His other gifts to His disciples and apostles, saying: 'Peace I leave with you, My peace I give to you.' Now, to be a peacemaker is the ultimate fruit of peace. For one who has rightly achieved peace within himself can, even if he sees two brothers at odds, reconcile them and make them friends. But how can one who does not possess peace in himself first bring it to others? How will he succeed in making peace with others?

16. Furthermore, it is necessary to be ready to be persecuted for righteousness and virtue. For 'Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven,' and those who are persecuted by evil men for the sake of righteousness and virtue will be eternally received by the good Father and Lord.

17. Furthermore, it is necessary to be courageous in times of trial, knowing that the Lord is present and governs all things for our good. Therefore, He says: 'Do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul; rather, fear Him who can destroy both soul and body in hell.' The fear of God, then, strengthens courage in the face of human fear, enabling one to disregard those who threaten or even seek to kill, for God is able to either free us from those who desire to kill or, by allowing us to die with virtue, to reward us with eternal life in Heaven as the prize for our noble struggle.

18. Furthermore, it is necessary to endure reproaches and unjust and false accusations from the wicked and evil. Such endurance will become the greatest cause of joy and gladness, and they will receive a great reward in Heaven for their perseverance in the truth, which is Christ, our Lord, who is rightly glorified here below.

FAITH WITHOUT WORKS

19. Furthermore, the one who has become accustomed to this virtue, bearing insults and abuses from others, will not himself revile his brother. For this must also be guarded, as it is the cause of much condemnation. 'Whoever says to his brother, "You fool," will be liable to the hell of fire,' for he has insulted the image of God.

20. Furthermore, it is necessary not to resist the one who has wronged or harmed you, nor to repay evil with evil, nor to stand against the wicked at all, but rather, if someone strikes you on the right cheek, offer him the other also, and if someone wants to sue you and take your tunic, let him have your cloak as well, and if someone compels you to go one mile, go with him two.

21. Furthermore, it is necessary to pray for those who persecute you. For, as He says, 'You must pray for those who persecute and oppress you, that you may be sons of your Father who is in Heaven,' imitating well the patience of the Father. For the Son and Word of God, having become man for the renewal of His creation, prayed for those who crucified Him. And again, He says, 'When you stand praying, forgive whatever you have against anyone.'

22. Furthermore, it is necessary not to offer an unyielding prayer. For He says, 'Do not offer your gift, unless you first reconcile with your brother.' And again, 'Let not the sun go down on your wrath.'

23. Furthermore, if your brother repents and seeks reconciliation, you must immediately accept him from your heart, forgiving without malice, even if he sins seventy times seven, and repenting. For He says, 'If you do not forgive others their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses. But if you forgive others their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.'

24. Furthermore, it is necessary not to judge your brother. For He says, 'Do not judge, that you may not be judged. For with the judgment you pronounce, you will be judged.' And again, 'Who are you to judge another's servant? To his own master he stands or falls.' But if you wish to correct your brother who is sinning, first correct yourself of whatever fault you have, and only then correct your brother. For He says, 'First remove the plank from your own eye, and then you will see clearly to remove the speck from your brother's eye.'

25. Furthermore, it is necessary not to speak ill of anyone, for this is far worse than judging. The one who judges harms and wrongs himself; but the one who speaks ill of another deprives him of his honor and good reputation, and sins even worse than a murderer, for he takes away the temporal life of another.

26. Furthermore, it is necessary to treat every brother as you wish others to treat you, and not to do unto others what you would not have them do to you.

27. Furthermore, it is necessary to cleanse oneself of all forms of greed. For He says, 'Take care, and be on your guard against all covetousness, for a man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions.'

28. Furthermore, it is necessary to give to everyone who asks, even if they are of any sort, showing compassion even in distress, and not to turn away from those who wish to borrow. You must lend freely, without interest, and for the sake of pure love.

29. Furthermore, it is necessary not to reproach anyone for any good they have done to you. For He says, 'What do you have that you did not receive? And if you received it, why do you boast as if you did not receive it?' And again, 'No one can receive anything unless it has been given him from heaven.'

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30. Furthermore, when you do something good, such as fasting, praying, or giving alms, do not let it be known to others, but rather, if possible, let even your left hand not know what your right hand is doing. As it is written, 'Let your left hand not know what your right hand is doing.'

31. Furthermore, it is necessary not only to refrain from making visible any good deeds done by you, but also to say, 'I am an unworthy servant,' even if you do everything that has been commanded. And not merely to say this, but also to think it, for the one who speaks this without the corresponding thought is doing so more out of show than out of humility and lowliness.

32. Furthermore, it is necessary not to say or do anything that causes scandal to one of the brothers justly and reasonably. For He says, 'Whoever causes one of these little ones who believe in Me to stumble, it would be better for him to have a millstone hung around his neck and to be drowned in the depths of the sea.' And again, 'Woe to the man through whom the scandal comes!' Therefore, as the blessed Paul also said, 'If food causes my brother to stumble, I will never eat meat again, lest I cause my brother to stumble.' But if, in doing what is right and proper or in speaking what is true, some are scandalized, you should do what is good and not worry about them; leave them to it, for 'they are blind guides of the blind.'

33. If anyone causes you to stumble spiritually, and instead of helping you in your union with Christ, harms you, you should separate yourself from him, even if he is a relative or a friend. Even if such a one is in the place of your eye, you should cast him out and cut him off. For it is better for you, as in an illustrative saying, to enter with one eye into the kingdom of heaven than with two eyes to be cast into hell.

34. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider and regard as true family not those who are related to you by blood, but those who do the will of God, even if they are not your blood relatives. To them, you should give all your charity as to your own kin. This is especially so when it comes to showing kindness and care to the true family of God, even if they are not of your flesh. But as for a father, mother, or brothers, if they live in opposition to the divine will, you should not yield to them but rather wholly distance yourself from them.

35. Furthermore, it is necessary to be innocent and simple as little children, for without such a disposition, it is impossible to enter the kingdom of heaven. And while securing yourself against wickedness by imitating the serpent, you should emulate the simplicity and sincerity of the dove in your conduct.

36. Furthermore, it is necessary not to look upon things curiously. For he who looks at a woman with the intent to lust after her has already committed adultery in his heart; and he who looks upon something with the desire to seize it, if he could, has already taken it in his heart. Similarly, in all other cases. And if we must guard against the curiosity of the eye in relation to desires, knowing that even the thought of sin in the heart has already taken root, much more should we guard ourselves from those evil desires that follow in their wake, as they are foreign to our salvation.

37. Furthermore, it is necessary not to engage in idle talk. For every idle word that men speak, they will have to give account for it on the Day of Judgment. And let no corrupt communication come out of your mouth.

38. Furthermore, it is necessary to swear oaths truthfully, and not to lie, or even to swear at all, but to let your words be simply 'yes, yes,' or 'no, no.'

39. Furthermore, it is necessary to ask of God that He might give to you, and to seek that you might find. For everyone who asks receives, and he who seeks finds, and to him who knocks, it will be opened. But you must seek with perseverance, reverence, and earnestness. And if men, though they are evil, give good

things to their children, and do not ask for things that are harmful, how much more will your Father who is in heaven give good things to those who ask of Him!

40. Furthermore, it is necessary to ask of God for nothing transient or bodily beforehand, but rather to seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness. And the Lord Himself will add the other things to you, without your seeking them.

41. Furthermore, it is necessary to continually remember death and the Judgment, and to be vigilant in such meditation, for no one knows at what hour of the day or in what watch of the night death will come, seizing a man just as a thief takes his goods.

42. Furthermore, it is necessary to be subject to the governing authorities, in all matters where the commandment of God is not hindered. For the Lord says, 'Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' God desires the existence of the authority of Caesar. As the Apostle Paul writes in his epistle to the Romans, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God.'

43. Furthermore, it is not proper to stir up strife or to slander. For the Scripture says, 'Do not speak ill of anyone, nor be contentious, but be content with the things you have.'

44. These are the fundamental principles of true human life, the life which our Lord came to re-ignite, as has been stated. These are the principles that He established through His teachings in the Gospels. Therefore, all who have pledged themselves to Christianity in baptism are obligated to fulfill these commandments. Should anyone fail in this, they must repent and return to the path of righteousness without delay. As it is written, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' The law of our Lord Jesus Christ is indeed difficult and hard to fulfill for those who are outside and perceive the difficulty of such virtuous struggles. This is because they are still bound to temporary things and to the desires of the flesh. However, for those who have entered the door of this way with a fervent desire and who look steadfastly toward the end of the path, with eagerness and urgency, it becomes easy and attainable. It is not only natural to live according to the divine purpose of human life, but it is also in accordance with the divine Logos. The Word is the advantage of human nature, and it helps us greatly through the divine grace that precedes and follows us, dissolving every difficulty we encounter, comforting us with many words of encouragement and consolation. Therefore, our Lord spoke, looking toward those who follow the way, saying, 'Narrow is the way that leads to life,' and, regarding those who persevere, He said, 'For My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.'

45. All Christians are obligated to observe and act upon these principles, submitting to the natural and divine laws. Those who aspire to a life of perfection are under greater obligations, having greater responsibilities. For our Lord says, 'If you want to be perfect, go, sell what you have, and give to the poor, and come, follow Me, and you will have treasure in heaven.' And again, 'If anyone desires to come after Me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow Me.' Glory be to our Lord, for the ages of ages. Amen.

THE GLORY OF THE BLESSED MOTHER

9. That Our Beloved blessed Mother Mary is more glorious than the Seraphim

† Concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary being incomparably more glorious than the Seraphim:

1. Some say that the term "incomparably" does not belong when speaking of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but rather it is enough to say that she is more glorious than the Seraphim. For it is only God who is incomparably above the Seraphim, as He is infinitely higher than them. He alone possesses an infinite essence and power, whereas His creatures, no matter their order, are finite in both essence and power. Theologians, praising the infinite transcendence of God over His creatures, do not only place God above them without limit, but also describe the immeasurable and infinite greatness of His supremacy by adding the expression of this boundless excess. Therefore, when we understand the term "incomparably," they say that only God is incomparably above the Seraphim and is more glorious than them, even though the Seraphim are greater in their order among God's creatures.

2. However, we believe that the term "incomparably" is not used merely with regard to God alone in comparison with His creatures, but is also sought and used in regard to His creatures themselves. It is, indeed, more appropriate to speak of this in relation to God, as this is clearly evident in itself and does not need further elaboration. But when speaking of beings, that is, the creatures of God, it is customary to seek and use the term "incomparably" when comparing them to one another. For some of them are equal to each other and are spoken of as such, while others are superior or inferior in comparison, with some being incomparably higher due to the surpassing excellence and the great difference between them. Just as we say the heavens are incomparably superior to the earth, even though both are finite and have their own defined measures. Likewise, when comparing numbers, we might contrast thousands with hundreds, saying that one is incomparably greater. But how can we compare myriads or multiples of myriads to hundreds or tens? Therefore, such comparisons are said to be "incomparably" superior, even though they both belong to a finite measure. This is the language we use when describing the superiority of one thing over another, especially when we speak of human advantages. For instance, we may say that one person is incomparably wiser than another, not thinking of an infinite wisdom in the wiser person, but rather pointing to the surpassing difference between them. Similarly, we often use this expression in a general way. The term "incomparably" is applicable because it refers to that which is absolutely unmatchable, and this is why it is used only for God in the context of His works, while "incomparably" applies to the comparison of entities that are markedly distinct from one another.

3. Therefore, the one who composed this hymn was wise not to think of the term "incomparably" in the sense of its relation to the infinity of God, which only belongs to God, but rather in the more general sense applicable to all.

4. It is truly fitting that the Blessed Virgin, the Most Holy Theotokos, is more glorious and blessed than the Seraphim. Even those who are blessed on earth surpass certain other angels in glory because they are positioned higher than others in the celestial order. The doctrine of sacred theology firmly teaches that the blessed ones from earth are numbered among nine orders, just as angels are, not separately, but as part of these nine angelic orders. Even those in the eighth rank of angels are more glorious than those in the ninth, and this continues up to the first order, the Seraphim. It is reasonable then that the angels in the eighth order,

those from earth, will be more glorious than those in the ninth order, and likewise for those in the first order of Seraphim. Only those who belong to the Seraphim will be superior to all others, but they themselves, by nature, do not surpass the Seraphim in glory. The glory of the Seraphim over other angels is given not according to their nature but according to the divine tasks they are entrusted with. Thus, those who are lower in rank by nature possess the same essential dignity and order, differing only in the level of divine grace bestowed upon them, which manifests in their respective positions. If, therefore, some of the blessed on earth surpass many angels in rank, except those in the first order of the Seraphim, it is not surprising that the Most Holy Theotokos, who is placed above the first order of the Seraphim, is incomparably more glorious than all other blessed angels and humans. As for the other saints, it is appropriate to make comparisons between them and the angels, as some angels surpass others, such as those in the eighth order surpassing those in the ninth, and the seventh surpassing those in the eighth and ninth, and so on, up to the first. In the life of this world, many struggle in the name of virtue with the hope of future blessedness, and some surpass others in their virtue, obtaining greater happiness as a result, according to the judgment of the Father and the Divine Judge. But the order of the Most Holy Virgin, the Ever-Virgin Lady, in this world surpassed all human and angelic orders; for even before her ministry in the divine mystery, her conception, birth, nurturing, and upbringing were all beyond nature and greater than any other human, as they were accomplished by the divine will alone. Since she was predestined to assist in the salvation of humanity, all the glorious things fitting for such a role were granted to her by God, as they were proper and fitting for her.

5. Therefore, the Most Blessed Virgin is incomparably more glorious than all the blessed on earth for this reason: How could she not be more glorious than even the first angels, she who was deemed worthy to be the Mother of their Creator and Lord according to the human nature He assumed from her? This, indeed, was a marvel of divine providence. And even if nothing could be more intimately associated than a mother and her son, there is no greater honor after God than that of the Blessed Virgin, who was deemed worthy to become the Mother of God. There is no one more glorious than the Seraphim after her, and she is incomparably more glorious, for there is no comparison between her union with God and the union God shares with the Seraphim, both in her soul and body. She alone possessed this, surpassing all comprehension and explanation in the marvelous way this miracle occurred. Therefore, we hymn her as incomparably more glorious than all the Seraphim and all the blessed. For the servants of God and His children are all made so only by His grace, but the Word of God made her, by nature, His Mother, for from her He took on human nature in time, personally uniting it to His eternal divinity.

6. Some among the blessed are more glorious than others in certain respects, but she is incomparably more glorious and blessed than even the first angels. For her divine progress and the blessedness granted to her by God transcend all created happiness and are beyond comparison. She is immediately placed under the blessedness that is proper only to the God who is by nature the only truly blessed one. To Him be the glory!

10. Superiority of Saint Paul over the Other Saints.

† Proof: That Saint Paul is greater than all the saints.

1. Behold, he says, with my own hand I have written to you in large letters. For as I have been blameless in the many things, so here I also have been authorized, using fresh ink; for there is nothing dark or obscure in him, nothing human. He has transcended every nature, leaving behind the created order, deeming it fit only to converse with God alone. Rather, I am persuaded that this is the one whom the Lord spoke of when he said, 'The least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John, the greatest of the prophets.' For he did not say, 'Born of women,' but 'raised up.' For to be born is different from being raised; for birth is clearly from a woman, while resurrection refers to being promoted, either to a kingdom or to a position of leadership, or to some such thing. For when one says, 'The one has been raised as a king,' and 'The other as a leader,' the Lord, foreseeing that the Apostle was to rise and bear his name, carry the cross, and preach him to all the nations, says: 'Why do you marvel at John as being great? There is another greater than this one, who has not yet believed, who has not yet risen to preach. He has not yet been ordained as an Apostle; he has not yet seen me as the one who pursues him. But indeed, in the act of pursuing, he will be. For with regard to the truly risen ones, he is greater than John, but with regard to the one who is to rise, he is the least. For the least here is greater than he in the kingdom of heaven, and the one who is to be greater among you must be your servant and the least.' Let us then see who is the least and the last of all, that we may also recognize the greater, since the least is in some way instructive of the greater. What then does the Apostle say? 'And to me, the least of all saints, this grace was given, and to the last of all, as to one born out of due time, it appeared.' Therefore, if he was shown to be the least and the last of all, it is evident that he is greater than all, since he has declared the Lord in this manner. Not only is he greater than John, but also greater than all the saints. They are Hebrews, and I am too; they are the seed of Abraham, and I am too; they are servants of Christ, but I am more so." What is clearer than this? And as for the Hebrews and the Israelites, he became the least, in order that none might say that one of them was greater, while these were equal. But by saying 'more than all,' he has added the greater, in order to make the issue indisputable. Again, in order that it may not seem that time is being given for a boast of truth, he immediately writes the reason, why he labors more than them all, in stripes more abundantly, in death and danger more often, and that, if anyone will receive his reward according to his labor, it is clear that this one will be honored more than all, since he has labored more. What could be more glorious than this?

2. If you desire, listen also to another such proof: Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the foremost. And for this reason, I was shown mercy, that in me, as the foremost, He might display His great patience. How was this shown to him, as the last, if not according to time? For before him, to the disciples, and before the disciples, to the prophets, and after them, again to those in the world before those. Therefore, how was he first, unless it was because of his first place in honor? Just as John was the last in time of the prophets, but greater in honor, so also the Apostle was the last of the Apostles in time, but first in honor of all the saints. But if you are not convinced by the truth, be persuaded even by the type prefigured concerning him in the recognition of Joseph's brothers, how each of the brothers, according to their seniority, was embraced by Joseph, but the youngest, Benjamin, last of all. And Joseph increased his portion

fivefold compared to the portion of the brothers, which is a type of the future. Joseph represents the Lord, and the ten remaining brothers, the disciples; but Benjamin, the Apostle, as he himself testifies, saying, "From the tribe of Benjamin," and there, Benjamin is depicted as younger and in ecstasy. The younger because of the last place, and in ecstasy because of the vision on the road. He was astonished by both the earthly and the heavenly matters, as well as by the bodily matters. He considered everything rubbish in order to gain Christ. Therefore, be persuaded that this younger one, the last-born, the foremost of all the disciples, the outcast among all, the filth of the world, will be honored fivefold by the Lord, just as Joseph honored Benjamin, who did not participate in the act of his brother's betrayal, who did not join the others in agreeing with their brothers, but always remained faithful to his father, without causing him any grief. Similarly, this one will not be honored by grace, but by obligation, as he labored more than all, as he remained with God and the Father, as he did not join in the betrayal of Judah. For he became blameless by law and incomparable among the apostles. "For I fill up in my flesh what is lacking in the afflictions of Christ, for the sake of His body, which is the Church, of which I became a minister," as He wills in you. Do you see how he speaks? How he bears witness to himself? How in what sufferings Christ lacked, he himself filled, saying, "I fill up the deficiencies of Christ's sufferings"? This means: Christ's law is fulfilled, and I fulfill the sufferings in abundance, in necessities, in hardships, in labor and toil, night and day, as he himself enumerated, saying, apart from those things which come upon me daily. Who dares say these things? The same one said, "I do not know anything against myself," and becoming blameless, so that He might show us to be great in not knowing anything against ourselves, and secondly, speaking about the one who is seeking, saying, "But I am not justified in this"; and again, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. Finally, there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give to me." He did not say, "He will give to me by grace," for to give is grace, but "He will give," for to give back is what is owed. For the crown is not given by grace, but by the obligation to those who have lawfully contended. For if anyone competes, he is not crowned unless he competes according to the rules. Who of those who have gone before, or who will come, will speak these things? "I have finished the race, and He will give me the crown as a debt," and He will make up for the deficiencies, and I labored more than all, and "I am a servant, as I am." Therefore, it is not without reason that he was called a vessel of election, as a servant, like Moses. Not faithful as Abraham, not innocent as David, not blameless or pious as Job, but as a vessel of election, He has called him. And the election shows the greater honor, for no one who is chosen is chosen for a lesser purpose. For He chose us, He says, "Before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blame before Him." Therefore, of the elect, the chosen one is the Apostle, for these things, he says, "I endure for the elect, that they may also obtain salvation," and "imitate the Lord, who for us endured the cross, that we might obtain salvation." Therefore, it is justly stated, "If you become imitators of me, just as I am of Christ." Do you see a good confidence of a good soul? Do you see the elect as more elect, the last of all the preaching, but first of all? The last in the world, the first in the kingdom; the last to believe, the first to be saved and crowned? It is just to say, "The last shall be first," for he did not fall short of those who labored abundantly in the apostles, I dare say; I now dare to speak the word, not because I lack proof, but because the time and the following of the word do not allow me to speak more. He is not only above all men but also above every rational creature. The creation is first in honor, but of the elect, the more elect.

ON THE DISTINCTION OF THE DIVINE PERSONS

11. On the Distinction of the Divine Persons (1464).

† Gennadius. In the third ascent to the city by violent means.

1. † Thomas, the foundation of the Latin addition, is that the divine persons are distinguished by their causal relational oppositions. And for this reason, he says, unless the Son and the Spirit are distinguished by this distinction, they would be one person. But this is false. For, while the Son and the Spirit are indeed distinguished from each other and from the Father in this way, they are not distinguished in the same manner from each other. For the Son proceeds from the Father by generation, and the Spirit proceeds by procession, that is, both are from the same essence, but in a different manner. Therefore, this distinction clearly separates them both from the Father and from each other. The Father's distinction is not based first on generation and procession, but on their essential causality, since each of them is from the Father as from a source and origin. By this distinction, though they both have the same origin, their modes of proceeding and their relations are distinct. Thus, while both proceed from the same origin in an essential manner, they are distinct in their relation to one another, for if the Father had not distinguished them, they would not have been distinguishable from each other, and if distinguished, they would have proceeded differently. Hence, the distinction between them is not unnecessary; rather, it is the only rational and essential distinction. There is no need to seek another distinction, as this one is sufficient and rational. Moreover, nothing in regard to the divine should be thought of as superfluous or inappropriate.

2. It is indeed astonishing and impossible, as the Latins ignorantly assert, despite their wisdom. For the Son and the Spirit, existing inwardly in the divinity from the beginning with the Father, are also outwardly directed toward creation, and the beginning is one with the Father. And this does not imply any addition or further qualification. However, inwardly in the divinity, how can it be that the Father is the cause, while both the Son and the Spirit exist with him, or that the Spirit and the Son are equal to each other in their relation to the Father, since they proceed from him differently, one proceeding by generation and the other by procession? How, then, can the Son be the cause of the Spirit's existence in the Father? For outwardly there is nothing preventing both the Son and the Spirit from being regarded as one cause with the Father. But inwardly, in the divinity, such propositions do not suit wise men. For stating such things leads to many absurdities, and indeed cannot be reasoned out, except by those who are trying to be wise by sophistic reasoning, as we have already demonstrated with the two arguments above.

3. They are deceived by the idea of calling the Spirit the Son's Spirit. However, the teachers of the Church mean that the Spirit is called the Son's because it subsists from the Father, but is consubstantial with the Son. The Son, although not called the Spirit of the Father, is understood in this way to prevent the idea that the Spirit is generated. Furthermore, apart from the teachers of the Church, it is clear that all that belongs to the Father also belongs to the Son, but not in the same manner as they subsist in the Father. These things are not properly ascribed to the Son (for this would be impossible), but they are ascribed to the Son in that they are received and held by him from the Father. This is the same as the Father's action of giving these to the Son and the Son's receiving them. Now, if the Spirit is in the Son, the Son would not be the cause and origin of the Spirit, as they claim. For, in this case, the Son would be the cause of his own being, which is impossible. Similarly, the Spirit is not in the Father as the Father's Spirit in such a way that the Son would be

the cause of the Spirit. This would imply that the Son is the cause of the Father's own Spirit, and this is logically incoherent. For when something is the cause of another thing, it must be the cause in the same simple and absolute manner. Hence, they are mistaken when they say the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son.

4. Moreover, they are deceived by the idea that it is said that this comes through the Son from the Father. The teachers, however, sharply distinguish this notion from the Latin position, as we have demonstrated in the two books mentioned above. And while they are forcibly attempting to align the beauty of divine order with their own position, they bring back the condemned heresies of Apollinaris and others regarding the order, even though they do not wish to. Such positions, however, serve more as a presumption than as something logically consistent or coherent.

5. To claim that the Father is the source, cause, and hypostasis of the Son and the Spirit, while these are their own causes within the divinity itself, and that neither the Father is subject to counter-causation, nor the Son or the Spirit to one another, is not only untrue in every way but also more harmful to Christian belief than any opposing falsehood. The truth of the Christian faith is best preserved by rejecting such errors and acknowledging the proper theological distinctions between the divine persons.

6. It must be noted that, when two sons proceed from the same Father, their unity in nature is considered in relation to the Father's essence, with the Father possessing this essence, holding it, and bestowing it upon them. However, the sons are distinct from each other and from the Father in that each has the same essence but in different individual properties, which they inherit from the matter of their being. This distinction exists because of their procession from the Father and their subsistence in Him. Such a distinction would still hold even if they were not in material form. Furthermore, they are distinctly differentiated by their individual properties. Were it possible to be without their essence and existence, they would not be distinguishable by their origin, since it would be impossible for one to proceed from the other in such a manner. It would be impossible for one to proceed from a brother and yet not be his son, while both share the same father. Likewise, it would be impossible for two sons to proceed from two fathers, one from a common father and one from a different one, and still have the same father. Therefore, it is necessary for there to be a manner of distinction that would preserve the integrity of their being both together and apart, maintaining their natural unity and personal distinction. It would also be impossible for them to share the same father and yet be united and distinct from one another unless they took the same nature from the same origin. And thus, having this shared nature, they would require no other distinction than that which arises from their subsistence in the Father.

7. Thus, even if the two hypostases, in one divine essence, receive the same essence according to a distinct manner from the same and one hypostasis, they can only have a cause for their respective distinctions based on their common origin and the same divine essence. They cannot have another cause. As long as they are such, they progress and are united by their origin, while remaining distinct and differentiated in their manner of procession. In this way, they are united with each other and distinguished, as they differ in their personal properties while still sharing the same essence. To posit something else or introduce any further speculation would be to undermine the entire subject, which is the very thing that the proponents of Greek philosophy, and later heretics like the Arians, Tritheists, and Semi-Arians, would have preferred. Therefore, it is dangerous to introduce such ideas. It is better to adhere to the ancient confession of the Church, which universally acknowledges that the Son is begotten from the Father, and that the Spirit proceeds from the

Father. In this manner, the Father is recognized as the sole source, the Father alone being the generator and the cause, the Son as the only begotten, and the Spirit as the only proceeding. In these distinctions alone, the three persons are differentiated, while in their essence, they are one.

8. The Lord knows, for all these things I heard while in a dream, being spoken to me there in the wretched city. And having awoken, I wrote them down, and I recounted these things to many, and I have read them now. †

THE ONLY WAY OF SALVATION

E. Apologetic Works

I. Apologetic Address to Muslims

1. The Only Way of Salvation

† Gennadius the monk and patriarch of the poor of Christ of the world, Scholarius, on the only way to the salvation of humanity. This was also written and translated into Arabic and given to those who requested it, following the discussions at the patriarchate on the second day.

1.The path to human salvation leading to the eternal end set before them may vary according to their works, yet it must conform to a universal rational and legal standard. For this reason, different individuals choose different paths of rational life, as it is impossible for human weakness to suffice for every virtuous path due to the necessities of human life or other causes. Nevertheless, all attain salvation and the end of their works; yet, in faith, there is only one and the same path. Therefore, people must urgently seek out this sole path of salvation, for without it, it is impossible to reach the end, which is the immediate attainment and knowledge of God, in which human happiness consists, no matter how one may excel in works. For without correct faith, it is impossible to please God. In this life, some believe their chosen path to be the way of salvation, others another, and yet another, each thinking themselves alone in the true path, while others are misled and unaware. The coming day will reveal the truth to all of God's creation. Thus, in this discourse, we, fulfilling our duty to the known path of salvation, which we hope and believe to be the sought-after and not another, aim to reveal it to those who have not yet understood it by responding briefly to your inquiries about it.

2.Every thing exists for some end; thus, man also exists for some purpose. The end of everything is appropriate and fitting to its nature; thus, due to the differences among beings, their ends also differ. Since man is not for the sake of the body, but for the soul, and the soul of man is something spiritual, immaterial, enduring, and incorruptible, it is reasonable that the end of man is also spiritual and eternal good. This is the enjoyment of God, as has been said, for He is the eternal and ultimate good. Man can enjoy this through the mind, for the mind, being the highest power in the human soul, is naturally capable of knowing the highest intelligible, which is God, who is the ultimate good, as has been said. It is impossible for man to reach this end without certain activities similar to the end, performed in this temporal life, for this life must be a path either to the hoped-for life, that is, the blessed life, or to wretchedness, depending on how we move ourselves in this life. Human activities resembling the end in this life, and therefore leading to it for those who will eternally prosper, are of two kinds: true doctrines and good works. Since God is the ultimate truth and the ultimate good, true doctrines lead the human mind to the ultimate truth, and good works guide the will

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This was given to the Sultan who requested it after the discussions held before him at the Patriarchate. Later, a shorter version was issued, both of which were translated into Arabic and given as such. Written by Gennadius Scholarius first for the glory of God, then in obedience to the great Sultan, as the inscription read. The title that once appeared on the Iberianus 386, reading: of Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople and New Rome, Scholarius, after his resignation from the patriarchate; on the path of salvation of men; given after the discussions and in response to the requests about our faith and its main points, which were discussed before the Sultan with his teachers, written in the Monastery of Pamakaristos and translated into Arabic, and given to them

towards the ultimate good. Man lives and acts through these two faculties, mind, and will. Since his movement is voluntary, some move towards the end rightly and from correct will, while others mostly turn away from it due to moving perversely and from a perverse will (for the will is what moves the desire and the mind, as a general motive), it was necessary to give the human will a law, through which his voluntary conduct might be rightly governed towards the end. For this reason, God first gave man the natural, unwritten law; this consists of certain principles placed in the mind or desire of man, from which he might naturally move to think or act.

3.But this law could not properly align human actions with the end so as to enable one to attain it. For it could not direct the mind towards finding and understanding the truth, nor the will towards choosing the good, except in a few people and even then, faintly. These individuals barely managed to grasp some semblance of truth and goodness. The weakness of the natural law did not stem from the law itself (for God did not give it in vain), but from the passionate condition of humans, which they justly acquired after sin. For it was not possible, once the will was corrupted, for the mind to be well illuminated by natural light, as both the will and the mind could either rectify or distort each other. Before sin, the natural law had such an active power in the soul that it alone could, in some order, advance the human mind towards most truths and the will towards all goods. However, to perfect man and render him worthy of the end, something beyond the natural law's power was added by a higher grace of God if man worked out the first grace according to the divine intention. But due to sin, this natural law and the first natural preparation for happiness were not completely destroyed in human hearts but were significantly weakened. As the passionate condition of humans grew stronger over time, the active power of the natural law diminished and weakened to the point that people sometimes considered natural evils as good and were ignorant of as much truth as they could naturally find about higher and divine things. Consequently, humans deviated entirely from the path of truth. They did not believe in the one true God, but in many gods, different ones for different people, considering the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the elements as gods and worshiping them. This deviation was mainly due to considering the movement of the heavenly bodies as an ultimate end and attributing the effects seen in earthly matters to these heavenly bodies as their creative causes, which rather serve as instruments of the continuous providence of the one and only God, the Creator of all. Those who were even more misguided deified these lower things, which are clearly generated and perishable, whether animals or plants, each according to the imaginations of their various leaders. Since humans knew they were obliged to worship God out of necessity and could not be ignorant of this despite their corruption, they offered the due worship to the highest and only God to many false gods. And because they deified these visible bodies, they offered them physical sacrifices.

4.In addition to this, they made idols of their gods and later even deified these idols. Initially, the sculptors made these images in memory of those who had excelled in some way; however, the original purpose was forgotten, and the successors named these statues as gods, setting up idols of their gods once more, adorning them with temples and honoring them with sacrifices. This idolatry, having begun in Egypt, Palestine, and other Asian nations, later spread to Greece after Ioannes relocated there and founded Ioanneion, later known as Argos. They were led astray not only by ignorance of the truth and the path of salvation but also by ignorance of the good. They lived in all manner of wickedness, placing their happiness in the enjoyment of sensory pleasures and a dissolute life, or in wealth and honor, for those who were more

temperate among them. And if any among them became lawgivers in different parts of the world, they all were influenced by astrology, legislating different things in accordance with their own distorted inclinations; for instance, Hermes in Egypt after his flight from Italy, skilled in mathematics and exceedingly cunning otherwise, and Zoroaster among the Persians, renowned for astronomy, the son of Ninus and Semiramis. Semiramis was the mother of Ninus, from whom it became lawful in Persia to marry one's mother; thus, Zoroaster exhibited a similar disposition consistent with his origin. Both Hermes and Zoroaster were contemporaries of Abraham. Other lawgivers followed among the Egyptians, Persians, and other nations, seizing the legislative order without any worthy preparation, and they became leaders of all sorts of vice in both religion and life for the masses, deemed credible by others due to their astronomical predictions of conjunctions, eclipses, and other events, to which the power of the art extended. Therefore, the world was filled with wickedness and impiety from them, as evil demons cooperated with such human corruption through divinations, sorceries, and other apostasies from God, making pacts with demonic rebellion. Thus, to put it briefly, the ancient people lived in the whole world around the earth before the appearance of Moses, except for a few, as has been said.

5.And when the need for the natural law was completely extinguished due to the aforementioned excess of human wickedness, God gave humans a written law through a man of utmost virtue and true prophet, Moses. He revealed to humans through many great and sufficient signs that Moses was a prophet and most intimately related to God, as far as humanly possible, and that the law which he delivered to the Jews was from God. This was made known not only to the Jews but almost to all humanity. Among the many human testimonies concerning him, one suffices to present here from Diodorus the historian, in the first book of his Histories, who recounts in these exact words: "After the ancient way of life in Egypt, which is said to have occurred during the time of the gods and heroes, it is reported that they persuaded the people to live by written laws, first by Moses, a man great in spirit and most capable in conduct, who is remembered." And further on: "Among the Jews, he says, Moses, the so-called god, was the first legislator, and secondly, they say, Saunnis, a man distinguished in intelligence, was a legislator among them," referring to the Egyptians from whom he had received such accounts.

6.Therefore, the law given to humanity through such a great legislator, Moses, became a great aid to human nature, which, as stated, could not from itself and its own principles, in such a condition, move rightly towards God with any certain hope. Just as it could not move thus of itself and therefore required a written law, neither could it immediately and directly move towards God; hence, the aids given to it by the law of Moses were incomplete and served as preparatory exercises for a more perfect law, reviving the preparation from the natural law that had been extinguished and readying it with greater and more perfect divine providence. Thus, the law of Moses permitted those physical forms of divine worship to which human nature was accustomed. It was enough for people to learn at that time that they should not offer these to God's creations or to evil demons as before, but to the one true God alone, which was Moses's primary aim and the spirit moving him. Moreover, it corrected the external actions of people, not the internal and spiritual ones found only in those who live more perfectly, and it restrained wickedness not by the fear of eternal punishment, but rather by the threat of temporary and physical disgraces and penalties. Since the law is given both to the good among people to assist their good intentions and mainly to the stubborn to subdue them, it was not given from the beginning but much later, so that human pride, having been defeated by it, might

become more manageable and obedient. It was impossible for it to be defeated unless people learned through long experience that neither natural wisdom nor natural power sufficed for their salvation, and therefore they could neither know what was necessary by themselves through wisdom nor fulfill what they knew by themselves through power. Just as the law of Moses was incomplete compared to the perfect law, so it was not very effective, overcoming all human obstacles to spread throughout the world, an activity more fitting for the more perfect law, which God intended to give directly. Thus, it did not spread throughout the entire earth but was effective in a small part of it, where it was given, in the land of the Jews and wherever Jews were dispersed, with some locals adopting a foreign and more persuasive truth instead of their native errors due to the daily teaching of the local Jews. However, the whole earth was full of the previous wickedness and unbelief, with most people, as stated, having been drawn into idolatry and the basest passions. And even among the Greeks, some honored certain truths about the divine and lived partly correctly, such as Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, the leading Greek philosophers. But even they benefited from the Jewish scriptures, as many true histories about them testify. Nevertheless, they did not have pure goodness, but it was mixed with the mythical beliefs of the many and their native polytheism. Therefore, no notable sect arose from them and their teachings for the public and true benefit of humanity. As stated, any improvement in morals and doctrines among those few who followed them in Greece is attributed to the Mosaic law. Even if the benefit of the Mosaic law extended to fewer individuals, the whole of human nature received its good, being prepared by it to accept the most perfect law. And until now, the clear benefit of that law remains evident. It clearly shows God's care for the human race and the wisdom of His providence through the differences and varieties of laws He orderly gave. For He did not show favoritism to those who were to receive the perfect law later, but it was done in this way due to the necessary order. Because of the corruption of the natural law in humans, it was reasonably and justly not given the good of grace for such a long time. Although, if they had progressed according to the natural law as they should have from the beginning, the supernatural teachings about the truth would have been added to them through revelation, as stated, and each would have been confirmed in the good according to their preparation for it and would have made further progress towards higher things, as travelers towards eternal life are set in this life. And now we are set in it in the same way, not as if our end were here and could be attained.

7.Since it was necessary at some point for human nature to be set on the path of salvation freely by the gifts of grace, which the evangelical law encompasses, divine goodness could not tolerate leaving human nature continuously in ruin. Because this happened to it in the course of time, when each subsequent generation followed worse examples in both doctrines and life, it was reasonable that the psychic and vital law be given to humans first, followed by the spiritual law, making it easier to accept. Thus, in the part of the earth where the Mosaic law prevailed, the law of grace was also rooted, and from there it blossomed to the whole earth, not arriving unexpectedly, but foretold by Moses himself, who proclaimed a higher legislator to humanity. When God first wanted to timely end the pedagogy of the former law and advance humanity from it to the more perfect teachings of truth and righteousness, He did this no longer through a man sanctified by grace, but through Himself, that is, through His Word who took on human nature, coming to us as the giver of the most perfect law. Since this law directly leads humanity to its intended end (for it is entirely spiritual and elevates the human soul to communion with the divine in those who receive it well and observe it, not far off), it could not properly be given except directly by God Himself, so that people might be disposed not only

by the grace of the legislator but also be persuaded from within by the certainty that God is the one legislating, accepting the improvement offered through this law gladly and overcoming all difficulties. And how else could it be given directly by God to humanity, if not by God's union with human nature? This union with human nature would not have been impossible for Him due to what has been said and as it is not contrary to His goodness and perfect will. It was most fitting and not impossible since God is omnipotent and can do all things that do not involve contradiction. There is no contradiction in God becoming incarnate in the true likeness of humans, remaining without passion and change. If God is in the whole and beyond the whole, and in all parts of the world due to His infinite essence and power, how could He not be in one human? And if He is in one human more perfectly than in others, such as in the prophets more than in others, and even more so in those who excel in their zeal and the abundance of divine grace towards divine love, how could He not be in one human in a higher manner than in all others, as in a most intimate instrument united to Him, in the way the hand is united to the power of motion, and not as other instruments?

8.Thus, the most perfect law was given to humanity through our Lord Jesus Christ; in Him, true divinity and true humanity existed unchangeably, just as in us humans, the soul and the body are united unchangeably. Many great benefits have been accomplished for us through the divine incarnation, and many reasons are undoubtedly believed to have moved our exceedingly good God to such an economy. Passing over all these in the present discussion, we focus only on the perfection of humanity through this law, which is the purpose of this present discourse.

9.Therefore, the law of Jesus did not come to oppose the law of Moses but rather to fulfill it. For this reason, our Lord Jesus Himself fulfilled the law given through Moses: by keeping all its commandments in deeds and by teaching in three ways. First, He revealed the true meaning of the law, previously unknown; second, He showed how the commandments of the Mosaic law should be observed with greater certainty; third, He added more perfect exhortations. This heavenly law was prophesied by Moses to come to humanity, as we have already said. Therefore, the Jews, who seem to keep the Mosaic law particularly, still await a higher legislator, being deceived. They do not believe that the redeemer and savior proclaimed by Moses and the other prophets has come, but they slander the one who has come and await another whom they claim will truly be the Christ. However, the more divine prophets, even more clearly than Moses, foretold the virgin birth of Jesus, His teachings, miracles, that most philosophical life, and later death for the truth, and His resurrection, and all that happened concerning Him. All that we believe about the majesty of Jesus follows the clear fulfillment of the prophecies about Him. The prophets knew through revelation that these things would come to pass and thus foretold them, as part of God's economy, so that they would be believed more firmly when the events occurred. Therefore, the most prudent of the Jews, recognizing from the events that the prophesied one had come, believed in Him.

10.This law of Jesus and all His work were foretold by God's permission for the greater revelation and confirmation of the truth through the Greek oracles, the Sibyls, and the wisest among the Greeks and Egyptians, especially by the oracles foretelling and lamenting the downfall of their own dominion, which they held by deceiving human souls and drawing the honor and reverence due to the God over all to themselves. All these things are preserved in Greek writings to this day, but we do not expound them here in detail for the sake of brevity; let the more diligent seek and find them. Therefore, the wisest of the Greeks at that time, at

the time of the divine advent and the proclamation about it by Jesus' chosen disciples, also recognizing from the things foreseen long ago and the things now appearing the truth of the proclamations, and perceiving the divine and exalted nature of Jesus' legislation and teaching, joined themselves without dispute to the saving law and faith concerning the one who gave it, just as the more dispassionate among the Jews did. Jesus also foretold that the nations on earth, in which the natural law was most corrupted and the law given through Moses was unknown, would more readily receive the preaching through the apostles than the Jews, who were more genuinely related to it in many ways and had previously received preparation through the Mosaic law.

11.This law of Jesus contains nothing contradictory, but all things are harmonious; nothing fabricated, but all things true; nothing bodily, but all things spiritual. And as it agrees with the natural law and the law given through Moses before Him, it is undeniably divine, those being of such nature. As the fulfillment of those laws with an additional divine quality, it is far holier and more divine than those laws. For it immediately leads those who obey to the submission to God, making them despise all temporal things and life itself above all for the love of truth and eternal life. This is evident from the countless martyrs, who with much readiness and courage suffered punishment and finally death for not renouncing the law of Christ, which is the greatest sign that it is truly divine. Though persecuted mercilessly across the earth by the emperors of the world for more than three hundred successive years, it nevertheless prevailed throughout the whole earth, with no part left unpenetrated and uncontrolled by those who did not accept and possess the divine appearance. The more savagely the bodies of the believers were stretched out by the kings and their governors everywhere, the more each day the faith of Jesus spread, and the idolatry and polytheism of their persecutors faded away.

12.Since the law of our Jesus has completed the human mind, giving the truest doctrines about God and divine things, ending the dominion of demons which cunningly opposed human souls through polytheism and idolatry, and showing the way of spiritual worship, it has also perfected human desire by providing words and examples of true virtues. These virtues can direct not only our external actions but also the movements within our soul towards God, thus subjecting the whole human being to God. Consequently, every person who follows such a law can be well-prepared to receive eternal life in due time and come to the hoped-for enjoyment of God. Since this is so, it is undoubtedly the perfect law of God. Just as knowledge in a human being is established in a certain order by three things: natural readiness, preparatory lessons, and perfect teachings, which directly produce knowledge in the soul; and just as health in the human body is restored by three things: the power of cooperating nature, preliminary purgatives, and perfect medicines, which directly produce health in the body; and just as nourishment for a human being, which sustains bodily life, is produced by three things: the herb, the ear, and the grain, which directly nourishes the human, so the condition of human life in this world was spiritually established and completed by these three: the natural law, the Mosaic law, and the evangelical law, which we call the law of grace because it is given by God's grace for the justification of humans, who could not be justified by the previous laws, as has been said. In every matter, there is a beginning, middle, and end, through which the condition of the matter is changed from less perfect to more perfect. Thus, the natural law was the beginning of the human condition, the law given through Moses was the middle, and the law of Christ is the end and perfection. We believe that a more perfect state in the future life will immediately follow this perfection.

13.Since it was proposed to us at the beginning of this discourse that the path of salvation is found among humans and is achieved through right doctrines and pure life, and since the evangelical law is clearly

shown to have accomplished both of these within us by teaching people the unity of God and other divine concepts most excellently, and abolishing the polytheistic delusion, and by educating genuine moral virtue so effectively that countless multitudes have been raised to the ultimate peak of philosophy through both the words and the example of Jesus, who have bravely despised all the pleasures of this life for the desire of eternal life and its delights, some rejecting the world through their whole life and remaining unceasingly in deserts, others willingly dying with many punishments for not denying the truth believed by them, and others living a more moderate life with all virtue amidst societies, it is reasonable to believe that only the evangelical law is the path of salvation.

14.If there are any among those who have not yet come to believe who are disturbed by the fact that, while we confess one God, we also speak of Him as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and that we affirm that our Lord Jesus Christ is both truly God and truly man, having come to be and continuing to be so—concerning the first of these matters, we have, before all else, Jesus Himself as our witness in many parts of the Gospel. And since He is truth itself, it is necessary to believe Him unhesitatingly. Furthermore, we are encouraged in this faith by rational argument. For being persuaded by the Lord Himself, and having also the testimony of the Old Testament Scriptures and of sound reason, we hold that God is one, absolutely simple, and entirely beyond all composition. Since He is an intellect and the highest, most perfect, and most wise intellect, we must necessarily believe that He also possesses understanding, by which He knows Himself and all things. For if God were not intellect, how could He have created all things by Himself? And how could He have foreordained the ultimate purpose of all beings as their cause? For both of these things necessarily pertain to the nature of intellect and to the one who acts through intellect. Since, then, it is proper to the first agent and the first intellect to act and to understand through its own will—for otherwise, it would be impossible for it to act or to understand of itself—we must necessarily believe that He also has will, by which He wills both Himself and all things. His understanding or concept we call the Word (for by this He, as it were, converses with Himself in His entire act of knowing), and we also call it His offspring and His Son. For just as a son is by nature like the father who begets him, so too is the concept similar in nature to the intellect that begets it. It is itself also intellect, though an intellect that is understood. Furthermore, we call this the Wisdom of God, for the conceptual word that is conceived within the intellect is the manifestation of the wisdom of the begetter. His intellectual will, on the other hand, is called the Love of God, the Holy Spirit, and His Goodness. Through the Word and Wisdom, God creates the nature of beings, and through the Spirit and His benevolent will, He turns their desires toward Himself as their ultimate and highest end. Thus, when He willed to perfect human nature directly through Himself, as has been said, He first sent forth the very same Word in bodily form, and then the Spirit in the form of tongues of fire. And by the Word and Wisdom, which was and is in Christ, He established and built up the souls of the Apostles in true faith concerning Him; and by the Spirit, He turned them so firmly towards His own love that they gladly endured death for their faith, longing to be swiftly united and joined to their ultimate end. These three, namely, the divine Intellect, His Word, and the Holy Spirit, are one in nature, and there is one God, one Intellect, one intelligible reality, and one Goodness. Just as in the soul of man—who was made in the image and likeness of God, as Moses wrote—the intellect, the word (that is, the concept conceived by the intellect), and the intellectual will, which is like a movement of the intellect prompted by and directed toward the good, are all one and the same soul of one man. But in God, the Word and the Spirit exist in a more perfect manner, as is fitting, and they

are more distinctly distinguished there than in man—as persons and hypostases, that is, as subsisting properties. Yet, even so, they remain one in nature, for the distinction of personal and individual properties does not annul the unity of nature in respect to essence, even among created things. And if in God the unity of nature is greater than in created things, this is right and reasonable, for it is due to His supreme simplicity, His absolute non-compositeness, and His perfection.

15.Regarding the second matter, employing the same brevity, we affirm that the Word of God assumed human nature for the aforementioned reasons, yet at the same time, the same Word of God remained in the Father even while assuming the human nature of Christ, which was taken from the Virgin. Thus, the same one and only Word of God was simultaneously in heaven and on earth—just as my own intellectual word (logos) exists as my thought and always remains within me, but when I desire to manifest it, it is expressed outwardly and becomes spoken word, entering into the hearing of one or many; and furthermore, it may even be written down on parchment, whereby it takes on a more corporeal form. Yet, through all these modes—whether as thought, as spoken word, or as written word—it remains one and the same word, and in its true essence, it remains unaffected, even if the media that receive it (whether the air in which it is spoken, the ears that hear it, or the parchment upon which it is written) undergo some form of change. This is because the essence of the human word, existing always in the intellect, is impassible. Thus, just as the word in the intellect does not become parchment, nor does parchment become the word itself, but rather the same word remains both in the intellect of the thinker and is also written on the parchment, in the same way, neither did the divinity of the Divine Word become human, nor did the humanity of Christ become God. Instead, the Word of God, being truly God by nature, assumed the humanity of Christ, and in this way, the one who assumed (namely, God) and the one assumed (namely, the human nature) became a single person due to the infinite power of the one who assumed. However, they did not become one thing or a single nature. This distinction surpasses the example previously given (of the human word) because, in the case of a human being, the intellectual word does not exist as an individual entity simultaneously within both the intellect of the person and the parchment, since it is finite and cannot be everywhere while remaining the same in essence. However, the Word of God, being infinite, remained essentially the same, subsisting as a single hypostasis both in God the Father and in the assumed human nature of Christ. Therefore, just as He is impassible in the Father, so too has He remained entirely impassible in the assumed humanity, even unto the end.

16.Thus, we believe that Christ is both truly God and truly man—not in the sense that the divinity of the Word pre-existed and then came to indwell the humanity of Christ as though it merely took up residence and was joined to it, but rather in the sense that the divinity itself, through its infinite power, sustained this union in itself, perfecting a complete man without seed, assuming this human nature, and thereby rendering Him entirely free from ancestral sin and all its consequences. Through the works He accomplished after the Word of God became incarnate, He was believed to be God, for they were uniquely the works of God alone. Through His teachings, He most perfectly established humanity upon the path of salvation. Through the life He lived, He demonstrated by deed that He Himself is the teacher of truth, and He introduced His own virtue as the counterbalance to the sinfulness of human nature. Through His human sufferings, He not only satisfied the penalty on our behalf—fulfilling all that the mystery of His Passion entails—but He also taught us how to overcome the obstacles on this path, even to the point of willingly surrendering one's own life for

the sake of receiving true life. For without such endurance and courage for the love of truth, it would be impossible for us to attain it in the life to come. By His resurrection, He conquered and removed the impurity of human nature so that it might henceforth be capable of receiving divine gifts. For just as He suffered on behalf of all human nature, so too did He achieve victory for all, just as He also assumed flesh for the sake of all. Therefore, when He had risen and ascended to the heavenly realm, His disciples were filled with the Holy Spirit, which He had promised to send them, to teach them the truth beyond all doubt and to strengthen them for their struggles—not merely on His behalf, but for the common salvation of all. If, then, our Lord Jesus is the Word of God, as even those who have received newer laws confess (since they acknowledge this concerning their own lawgivers), and if He Himself declares concerning Himself, "I am the truth, the life, and the way"—which could not be stated in an absolute sense except of the divine nature alone (for God alone is the self-subsisting Truth, the self-subsisting Life, and the self-subsisting Goodness, as the Creator and Cause of all truth and life, both this present life and the life to come)—then it is evident that Christ is the essential Word of God, consubstantial with the divine essence. Yet, in what is seen, He was also truly man. Consequently, He is God, and He came to teach humanity the truth, which is why He assumed human nature: to place mankind upon the path of salvation and to deliver them from spiritual death. And indeed, He has fulfilled this mission. However, He did not teach His disciples the entirety of the truth at that time, for they were not then capable of bearing it. Their faith in Him was not yet firm and unwavering, as is evident from the fact that, according to His own prophecy, they fled from Him during His Passion, with some even denying Him entirely, failing altogether in their place among His disciples.

17.It was necessary, indeed, that the revelation of the divine mysteries should be the reward of perfect faith. And for this reason, when the disciples were about to become more faithful to Jesus—having seen His resurrection, touched Him as He stood risen, and (what is greater) witnessed Him entering through closed doors, and having visibly beheld His ascension into heaven—it was then that He promised to send them the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God, that is, of the Father and of Himself, who would teach them all truth. This was so that not only would every good thing come from the grace of the Spirit, but also from the preparation within their souls, which had been brought about by the great wonders they had experienced. For if they had been deemed worthy of such preparation earlier, they would have died with Jesus, and the promise concerning them—that they would go forth to all nations—would have been nullified, as they would have perished. But since they were deemed worthy without dying, the supernatural grace given to them was not in vain; for God does nothing without purpose. And indeed, when the promise was fulfilled at the appropriate time, as they awaited it with steadfast hope, the divine Spirit taught them and, through them, all mankind the truth concerning all things. Moreover, He filled them with other gifts, so that through them they might sow the word of truth everywhere, overcoming every difficulty. For they received the grace of speech and wisdom, so that they might astonish the more earnest among the Jews and Greeks, and either draw them near or refute them by the power of the truth. In addition to this, they were given the gift of miracle-working, so that by miracles they might confirm their teaching among the simpler listeners or those who doubted the power of the word and were not readily willing to believe that it was divine and sacred instruction. Beyond this, they were granted the gift of prophecy, so that by perceiving the thoughts of men, they might respond to their hidden and inward reasoning, capturing them without escape, leaving them no place to establish their disbelief. Finally, above all, they were given the gift of tongues, so that as they traveled among nations of

different languages, they would not need interpreters—for they could neither find faithful interpreters who would translate faithfully, nor could they have found any at all due to extreme poverty. Thus, through these gifts of the Holy Spirit, the supernatural distribution of the saving word by the apostles was clearly accomplished throughout the whole world. This was aided by the peace that then prevailed across the entire inhabited earth, under the rule of Augustus and his successors. For this reason, it was prophesied long before that there would be peace in the world at the time of Jesus' birth, and so it came to pass. Otherwise, the heralds of the truth could not have passed freely and without danger through all the earth, if the neighboring nations and cities had been at war with one another over their own disputes, as was the case before all were subjected to the single yoke of Roman rule.

18.If, therefore, the knowledge of the truth was perfected in mankind as a gift of God through His Word and Spirit dwelling among them—that is, by deigning to appear bodily in accordance with the prophecies concerning them—then we must neither expect another teaching more perfect than this, nor should we believe those who claim to legislate something more perfect from God. This is especially true if they appear to corrupt in all things the teaching of Jesus and the apostles, rather than building upon it. For the corruption of the law given through Jesus and of the laws before Him necessarily entails the corruption of all. For if this evangelical law is the fulfillment of the Mosaic and natural law, as has been said, then the corruption of this law reasonably implies the corruption of all, just as standing with this law and with those before it means standing with all. If, then, any law is opposed to these and destructive of the laws given by God, how could it be more perfect? For the more perfect must in some way be contained within the less perfect, just as the whole plant is contained within the seed. Indeed, the newer law given through Jesus was contained within the old, and the old law, in turn, was contained within the first and natural law in another way. But it is impossible for the opposite to be contained within its opposite in this manner. If it is impossible for any law to be more perfect than the evangelical law, especially one that has many contradictions to it, then it is impossible for such a law to come to men from God, or for any other law to exist apart from the evangelical law. If this were not the case, then either God was ignorant of Himself, giving an opposite law instead of the best and most perfect one, or He forgot the proper order of His teaching and healing, giving men inferior and imperfect teachings or remedies instead of the best and most perfect, or even giving the opposite. In this way, He would be worse than human physicians and teachers, which is unthinkable. As for how it was permitted by God that some should claim to receive or will receive such laws from Him, we can explain the reason from the evangelical and apostolic writings. However, for the sake of brevity, we will pass over this, saying only this much: that this too was clearly foretold by our Lord Jesus, and it is fitting that this should happen in accordance with His other prophecies concerning the consummation, or rather the transformation of all things for the better.

19.Moreover, true Christianity contains the noble elements of what is considered wisdom among the Greeks in a better way, while rejecting what is superfluous or corrupt. For first, the followers of Pythagoras, while honoring monarchy in theory, undermined it in practice. They made many other gods partners and sharers in the divinity and rule of the one God, and thus they paid homage to them. But among Christians, the one God is believed and proclaimed sincerely, purely, and wisely. All things apart from God, whether in the intelligible or sensible realm, hold only the rank of creatures and servants. The doctrine of the Trinity, far from undermining such unity, finds much support even among the Greeks, who posited a certain triad as

primary in the divine nature, though not in the same way, but in a worse and imperfect manner, as was characteristic of them, since they had not yet been illuminated by the light of sacred truth through Christ. Next, Plato says that the perfection of human life lies in virtue, while Aristotle says it lies in the contemplation of truth. But our Lord Jesus says that eternal life consists in the immediate knowledge of the truth, and He places the perfection and happiness of man in this life in the enigmatic knowledge of the truth, along with the activities of virtue. Through both of these, we are improved in a certain order and become capable of attaining the end immediately after the separation from the body, and so it is for those who have lived well. The doctrine concerning the end of man is, as one would expect, among the most necessary teachings. Furthermore, concerning the path leading to that end, Aristotle says that it is difficult to act according to virtue, just as it is difficult to hit the center of a circle, which few can do. But our Lord Jesus teaches much more clearly and wisely that the path or gate leading to virtue is narrow and constricted, and few enter through it because of the bodily desires that dominate most people. Those who disregard these desires, because of the love for eternal things that has taken strong and unchangeable hold of them, find the yoke of what seems to others a burdensome life to be very good and light. When they begin to live according to reason and the law of Jesus, they run with ease and joy, as if on a smooth road, carrying nothing. Aristotle recognized only the difficulty of civic virtues, but concerning the virtues that purify and elevate the human mind to God, or those that a person, having been purified, practices and becomes godlike, neither Plato nor Aristotle said much. In these virtues, the difficulty is greater, and the benefit is immeasurably brighter. Later admirers of Plato, seizing upon such things from our teachings and reshaping them, speak of them as if they were also approved by Plato. But who, from the teaching of those wise men, would be ready to die for the truth with joy, as from the teaching of our Lord? For this reason, they persuaded no one, praising this in word but demonstrating nothing in deed. But our Benefactor has persuaded and will persuade countless people until the consummation. For together with the truth of His laws and doctrines, the active power of His divinity enters the souls of believers, leading them to the ultimate goal of philosophy in deed and truth. Moreover, He Himself stands as the model of this philosophy, as do those who from Him have taken up the good fight for the truth and the salvation of souls in it.

20.Since it is not sufficient merely to hold a correct belief concerning the divine, but one must also worship Him through the works of religion, what rational person, abandoning the spiritual and most reverent worship, which through His grace leads directly to God, would instead adhere to the religious customs of the Greeks—those crude and corporeal rites? Rather, where and in what manner could one properly worship in accordance with Greek customs, now that the entire Greek religion has been rendered obsolete by the manifestation of Jesus? For even then, the Greeks neither believed in the same manner nor practiced their religion uniformly; nor did they possess any law that was either divinely revealed or even commonly accepted among men, nor one that was observed universally or at least by the majority of those who sought righteousness within that system. Instead, like those groping in darkness, each individual had their own beliefs and manner of worship, following only a small number of like-minded individuals, as if he were more adept in such matters. For this reason, even the wisest among the Greeks, in the time of the apostolic—indeed, the heavenly—proclamation, were the first to recognize the deception that had accompanied their inherited glory. When illuminated by the light of Christian truth, they became Christians, and many of them composed writings against the errors of their ancestral traditions—writings that remain preserved even to the present

day, whether among the Romans or among the Greeks. The majority of these individuals even endured with great patience the death that was inflicted upon them for this very reason. Thus, from what has been stated, albeit briefly and concisely, it is evident that there is one singular and most perfect path to salvation: the teaching of Jesus and His disciples. Furthermore, all who have followed this teaching have walked upon this path, and the most perfect law given by God to mankind is the evangelical law. From the time of the Lord Jesus until the present, this law has remained uncorrupted among Christians everywhere. Even though many heresies exist within Christianity, their divergence does not stem from the use of different Gospels but from differing interpretations of the same written words.

21.And if some claim that the Gospel has been altered in certain parts by Christians, they are unable to present any true evidence for this assertion. On the contrary, we can demonstrate with many most certain proofs that the Gospel remains unchanged among all Christians. Those who claim it has been altered are themselves exposed as falsifiers, making additions and omissions to justify their own legal inventions—just as, in the past, those who originated from polytheistic deception did not actually alter the Gospel but falsely accused it, believing they could demonstrate contradictions within it. They either misunderstood its true meaning or deliberately slandered it, as also happened with the heretics, who likewise distorted many evangelical passages in support of their particular doctrines. Yet there is nothing in the world more harmonious with the evangelical understanding, nor anything more divine and true. May our one and only God, existing in a Trinity of persons, who is the guardian of truth, guide us all to the knowledge of sacred truth, which alone constitutes human perfection and blessedness. Amen.

EXPOSITION OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

2. A Brief Exposition of the Christian Faith

† This second work was given in Arabic, at the request of those who sought a more concise and clearer treatment of the key points that had been discussed—namely, concerning our faith. It was therefore composed in as clear and as readily comprehensible a manner as possible, so that it might be easily accepted by those who were uninitiated in these matters.

1.We believe that God exists, the Creator of all things that are, bringing them forth from non-existence into being. He is neither a body nor does He possess a body, but rather, He lives in an intellectual manner and is the most perfect, complete, and wise intellect. He is simple, without composition, without beginning, and without end. He is both within the world and beyond the world. He is not confined to any place, yet He is present in every place. These are the attributes of God by which He is distinguished from His created beings, along with other similar attributes. He is wise, good, and true, and He is Truth itself. Whatever perfections His creations possess in a divided and limited manner, He alone possesses in a manner that is higher and more exalted. These perfections are also found in His creations because He bestows them upon them. For since He Himself is good, His creations are good; since He is wise, His creations are wise; since He is true, His creations are true—and the same applies to the other attributes. However, while God possesses these attributes in an absolute and essential manner, His creations possess them only by participation.

2.We believe that in God there are three other attributes, which are, as it were, the principles and sources of all His other attributes. Through these three attributes, God eternally lives in Himself, even before He created the world by His will; through these attributes, He brought the world into being, and through them, He governs it. And these three attributes we call three hypostases. Since these attributes do not divide the one and utterly simple essence of God, He remains one God, even with these attributes, and not three gods.

3.We believe that from the nature of God there arise the Word and the Spirit, just as from fire there arise light and warmth. And just as fire, even if there is nothing to be illuminated or warmed by it, still possesses light and warmth and emits them, so also, before the creation of the world, the Word and the Spirit were natural operations of God, for God is mind, as has been said. And these three, mind, word, and spirit, are one God, just as in the one soul of a human being there exists mind, rational thought, and will, and yet these three are one soul in essence. Again, we call the Word of God the wisdom of God, the power of God, and His Son, because He is the offspring of His nature, just as the offspring of the nature of man is called the son of man, and just as the thought of a man is the offspring of his soul.

4.Again, we call the will of God the Spirit of God and love; but we call the mind the Father, because He is unbegotten and without cause, yet the cause of the Son and the Spirit. Therefore, God does not only conceive His creations, but more so, He conceives and knows Himself. And for this reason, He has the Word

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Regarding the numerous earlier editions of this passage, see the introduction. The title appears as such in manuscript B (Tit. Sic in B). See also volume I, page XXIII. In manuscript C, the title is illegible. Regarding the title given by Lampros, see volume I, page XXXI. At the bottom of folio 49 in manuscript C, there is an autograph note: "This was given because it was requested in place of the first, being more concise and clearer."
In manuscript L, the title differs significantly:
"Of the Most Holy Patriarch of Constantinople, Lord Gennadius Scholarius: Second.
This was given at the request of the Amir as a brief and clear statement concerning the fundamental points of our faith, about which the discussion had taken place. This was also translated into Arabic along with the one that preceded it. It is entitled On the Path of Salvation for Humanity and was composed so as to be as clear and readily accepted as possible for those uninitiated in the faith."

and wisdom, by which He knows Himself eternally. Similarly, God does not only will and love His creations, but He wills and loves Himself far more. For this reason, the Word and His Spirit proceed eternally from God and are eternally in Him; and these two, with God, are one God.

5.We believe that God created the world through His Word, wisdom, and power, and that through His Spirit, the good will and love, He providentially governs and moves every nature in the world toward the good, according to the order of each nature. And for this reason, we believe that when God willed, out of His mercy alone, to return men from the delusion of demons and idolatry, for except for the small group of the Jews, to whom they prayed and believed in God through the law of Moses, the rest of the world worshiped the creations of God instead of God Himself, and they honored many false gods, who were not gods, instead of the one true and living God, and each nation followed its own desires, not according to any law of God. Then, God made such a restoration of humanity through His Word and His Holy Spirit; and for this reason, the Word of God took on human nature, so that as a man He might speak to men, and as the Word of God and wisdom, He might teach men to believe in the one true God, and to live according to the law which He Himself gave. And again, as a man, so that He might give an example of life according to His teachings, for He Himself was the first to keep the law He gave to mankind; and as the Word of God and power, He could accomplish the universal good which He willed, because it was impossible for a single human being, by his own strength, to bring the world back to God. And thus, through His Word, the Almighty and invisible God sowed the truth in Jerusalem, and through His Spirit, He illuminated and strengthened His apostles, so that they might sow the truth throughout the world, and so that they might despise death for the love of God, who sent them, and for the love of the world's salvation, according to the example of Jesus, who voluntarily died for the salvation of the world. Thus, we believe in the one God in Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as our Lord Jesus Christ has taught us, and because He is the truth and self-truth, we believe that this is also true, and His disciples have taught us this more fully. Thus, we understand this also from the power of wisdom.

6.We believe that the Word of God and the man whom the Word of God clothed Himself with are the Christ. And the life of Christ, in His flesh, was the life of a supremely holy man, but the power of His wisdom and His works was the power of God.

7.We believe that just as the soul and body of one human being become one man, so also the Word of God, from one part, and from another part, the soul and body of the Son of the Holy Mary were in one person, Christ. But just as the soul and body are always two natures, fully distinct in one human being, so also the humanity and the divinity are fully distinct in the one Christ. And neither did the Word of God become flesh, nor did the soul of Christ or His body become the Word of God. But the Word of God was always and remains in Christ the Word of God, and humanity is humanity. And because the humanity of Christ did not receive divinity, but the divinity of the Word of God assumed the human nature, the union formed by this assumption is perfect. Everything that is in God and from God by nature is God, because nothing in God is accidental. And for this reason, we call the intelligible Word of God God and believe it to be so. And because this Word of God was in Christ, we confess Christ as both God and man: man by His soul and body, God by the Word of God in Him.

8.We believe that the Word of God was in Christ, and in the world, and in heaven, and in God the Father, because the Word of God is infinite, just as God is infinite, the Father who begets Him, that is, the mind, and

possesses infinite power. But while the Word of God is infinite in God, it is in one way in Christ, in another in the world, and in another in heaven.

9.We believe that when God shares His goodness and grace with any of His creatures, He is not diminished in any way, but rather, He is magnified, because the greatness of God is made manifest through the virtue of His creatures. And as the creature improves by a greater participation in His goodness, so the goodness of God and His power are more clearly shown. For this reason, the goodness of God and His love for mankind was most greatly manifested when the Word of God Himself came to be, with all His divine power, in Jesus Christ, or when He sent His grace to the prophets, sometimes one measure of grace, sometimes two, and to one prophet more, to another less.

10.We believe that our Lord Christ was crucified and died willingly for many and great benefits, required by many reasons, all according to His human nature; for the Word of God neither is crucified, nor dies, nor rises again, but rather He raises the dead, just as He raised the flesh which He assumed.

11.We believe that Christ, after His resurrection, ascended into the heavens, and that He will return again in glory to judge the world.

12.We believe that the souls of human beings are immortal; that the bodies of the saints will be resurrected, incorruptible, impassible, bright, and light, no longer needing food or drink, nor clothing, nor any other form of bodily pleasure. And we believe that the souls and bodies of those who have faithfully believed and lived according to the faith will be received into Paradise, while the unrepentant wicked will be cast into hell. The enjoyment of the saints is in heaven (for this is now the Paradise), but the punishment of the wicked is on the earth. The enjoyment of the saints in heaven is nothing other than the completion of those souls in knowledge, at which time they will behold the mysteries of God, which they do not now know except by faith.

13.Why, then, was it necessary for the Word of God to be incarnate? There are many necessary reasons for this. And when it is required, we are prepared to give them, even if we have given only part of them. Moreover, beyond those reasons, the following seven points confirm to us the truth of our faith:

14.First, that the Jewish prophets, whom we also love, prophesied concerning Jesus, and all that He did, and all that happened to Him, and all that His disciples later did by His power. Likewise, the oracles of the Greeks, with the permission of God, and the astronomers of the Persians and the Greeks, all prophesied concerning Jesus, with great honor. And all these prophecies are irrefutable, and we must demonstrate this.

15.Second, that all the Scriptures of our faith agree in all things, for those who wrote them had one teacher: the grace of God; for otherwise, they would have disagreed.

16.Third, that this new and paradoxical faith was received by people everywhere with diligence and through many dangers, not only by the common people, but also by the wise and the learned. And for this reason, the delusion of the Greeks was completely undone.

17.Fourth, that this faith contains nothing impossible, nothing contradictory, nothing physical, but all things are spiritual. And it is a way that leads the souls of men to the love of God and to eternal life in the world to come.

18.Fifth, that all who received this faith and lived according to the law of Jesus received great gifts from God and performed many wonders in the name of Jesus; which would not have been possible if this faith were opposed to the truth.

19.Sixth, that whatever anyone says against this faith, we are able to resolve easily and reasonably.

20.Seventh, that kings and their governors, who were polytheists and idolaters, persecuted this faith through many punishments and murders, but they did not succeed. Rather, the faith triumphed and endures even to the present day. And when the Lord returns, He will find it. And if this faith had not been according to the will of God, it would have been easily destroyed at that time. Glory be to God. Amen.

† It is to be known that to the uninitiated, the beginning of our faith should be presented more readily and less precisely than the more profound aspects, as it has been done here, and more clearly, so that they may more easily translate it, just as it has been well translated into Arabic.

ANSWERING A MUSLIMS QUESTIONS

3. Questions and Answers on the Divinity of Our Lord Jesus Christ

† By Gennadius Monk of Scholarius, in the Monastery of the Holy Forerunner. This opening title presents the work as a set of questions and answers, addressing the divine nature of Our Lord Jesus Christ. It is attributed to St. Gennadius Scholarius, a notable figure in the Eastern Orthodox Church, written during his time in the Monastery of the Holy Forerunner. The theological inquiry specifically revolves around the nature of Christ's divinity, offering reflections and clarifications on this central Christian doctrine.

1.At the end of May of the present indiction, a soldier suddenly arrived with an urgent command, accompanied by an official document from his superior. He brought me from this monastery to the city of Pherræ and then to the plain near the city. He introduced two men, the most capable among the younger ones, and also more learned. This was the command from the one who sent him. As he saw us gladly, he first inquired about our well-being, asking how we were. Then, he began to question us about our faith, since that was the reason for our being brought here.

2.Then he said, "You Christians claim that Christ is both God and Man, though He was born as a man from the Virgin Mary. Therefore, explain to us the reason and cause for such a belief regarding Christ."

3. We responded, "O most esteemed sir, whenever we call our Lord Jesus Christ, and affirm Him to be God, we do so because the name 'Christ' signifies both God and Man. We will give you the reason for this, as you request, but for now, we respond to your inquiry about the nature of this belief among us."

4.Thus, we said, "We, when contemplating ourselves or theologizing in agreement with our co-believers, have no need for words or proofs about the divinity of Christ. This is so because, for us, His divinity is established as the most true and radiant glory, and upon this foundation, we treat other matters which may need explanation or clarification, as they relate to this same divine glory of Christ. However, in response to those who oppose this belief and speak against it, we, relying on the truth that we hold, must defend our faith. We will offer both arguments and reasons for this glory, showing that it is not impossible for Christ to be both God and Man. Thus, we shall demonstrate, step by step, how necessary it is to hold this belief." "Now, since your excellency does not oppose this view of ours regarding the glory of Christ, but only asks how and why we declare that Christ is both God and Man, we respond: we believe, that is, we hold with the utmost certainty, that our Lord Jesus Christ is both truly God and truly Man. We believe in His divinity, which is fully revealed in Christ our Lord."

5."And on what foundation," he asked, "do you base this belief, especially about such a paradoxical matter that seems to many people to be incongruent and impossible?"

6."Your understanding is indeed correct," I replied, "for the matter of faith possesses great power to complete the human intellect, not only with regard to divine and hidden things as such, but also concerning the visible works of God in this world. For those things are perceptible in themselves, and therefore can be known sufficiently by the sense. However, not all people know them through their senses, for they are not present to everyone. But as others recount what they have seen, and others describe different things they have witnessed, so too do the rest come to know the truth of these things through the faith of those who have narrated and proclaimed them. Moreover, regarding those things that are visible and perceptible, whenever we think that the truth concerning them is held by the senses alone, we are deceived. But if we believe the

wise men who teach us, we may know the hidden truth that they possess. For with the sense, many think that the sun is in the sky, but those who are guided by the wise, trusting in them, consider it equal to something else or even greater. Yet, the wise men, not trusting those who say otherwise, are themselves led by reason, and they themselves think in this way and also wish to persuade others. And they, having become wise through learning, would not have learned unless they had first given their faith to the teachers. For in the speculative sciences, the teachers establish the principles without proof, and the students accept them without questioning. Once these principles are established and accepted through faith, the ensuing matters are sought and demonstrated as following from these principles. So much more so is this the case with divine matters, which surpass not only the sense but also human reason and intellect. It is necessary for faith to exist, for God has chosen to perfect the human intellect in this life as far as possible, especially the serious intellect, not through the knowledge of only perceptible things and their actions, but indeed through the knowledge of the truth about them, which is called theology and is the first wisdom. I said that it is possible here because the fulfillment of this kind of knowledge will be stored in the future age for those who are worthy. Just as the truth of substance in the human wisdom is made known by the study of the wise and, through them, to others, so too the truth of the divine was known by those who became wise through divine wisdom, as it was fitting for them to know it here, because God revealed it to them due to their surpassing virtue and love for God. This revelation was not only for their own honor but also for the benefit of others through them. And those who wish to pay attention to them also know this truth."

7.Having established these things regarding faith, we now proceed to the question. The foundation of our faith concerning the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ is the good glory about Him, which has been established and continues to exist for those who first believed in Him and for those who continue to believe in Him even to this day, through succession. For those who come after continually add to the good glory concerning our Lord, and the public glory regarding virtue and wisdom of those who have believed in Him. But the good glory about Him does not need to be proved by the one affirming it, nor is it doubtful in your view. For if the Jews blasphemed against Him, and even now the descendants of those blasphemers continue to do so, being far more insensitive than their forefathers, you, however, Christians, although fewer than we, still possess His good glory. For you call Him a holy man, a prophet, the Word of God, the breath of God, and many other glorious things concerning Him, and you think and speak accordingly.

8.Therefore, for one such as this, and according to the apparent humanity He displayed (let the greater matters now be set aside), how is it not just to believe in everything He said, and to regard all His words as true without any doubt? Not only true in the simple sense, but divine and sacred, as it is fitting for the One who is the Word of God and the breath of God to speak this way to you? And if it is necessary for us to believe in Him for this reason, He Himself said about Himself that He is the Son of God and God. It is therefore necessary to believe these things about Him and to confess without doubt that He is the Son of God and God. That He often referred to Himself as the Son of God and demonstrated Himself to be so is made clear in the holy Gospel, which you also possess with reverence and honor, and you tell those who obey Him to be far from salvation. I do not say that the Gospel is something distorted by private additions or subtractions among you, but the genuine and unchanged one, the same as the one we have and as all Christians everywhere possess. It was truly interpreted not long ago in the new Babylon, and from there it has been transmitted to other places among a few. I believe, too, that you will see the glory of it clearly.

9."Wait a moment," he said, "so that I may ask you something, and after this, you will complete your speech." In truth and in simplicity, as you say, the gospel, where is it written that Christ himself is the Son of God? And where does it say He is God?

10.First of all, I said, even if Christ did not declare this clearly, it would be enough that He showed it through His works. For this reason, those who then believed in Him accepted as sufficient evidence of His divinity the proof that was made through His works, as He Himself says, "If for no other reason, believe in Me because of the works." Then, to those who confessed that He was the Son of God, He gave His wise judgment: concerning His works, He neither reproached nor praised, but He granted grace, though He was accustomed to rebuking, especially when some of His own did not approve of His actions, as when He rebuked Peter for advising to remain on the Mount of Tabor and not to descend. And when Nathanael said, "You are the Son of God," He neither rebuked him nor reprimanded him but rather praised him. Similarly, when Peter said, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God," He did not rebuke him but rather blessed him and gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. To Thomas, after he had gazed upon Him, and said, "My Lord and my God," He confirmed his confession and declared that those who had not seen and believed were even more blessed than those who had seen, for, as it was with Thomas, the belief after seeing proved He is God. But indeed, our Lord Himself has frequently stated this very truth about Himself. It suffices for us now to cite a few passages from many. For when He asked the man born blind, "Do you believe in the Son of God?" and the man answered, "Who is He, Lord, that I may believe in Him?" Jesus replied, "You have both seen Him, and it is He who speaks with you." He also said, "The hour is coming when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God," referring to Himself as the one who calls and resurrects. Furthermore, He made it even clearer as proof of His divine statement, "For as the Father has life in Himself, so He has granted the Son to have life in Himself." And the statement, "All things have been delivered to Me by My Father," and "No one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son," and the following statements demonstrate both the transcendent nature of His authority and power and His equality with God the Father, as well as the perfection of His knowledge, all of which are befitting of divinity. And the phrase, "Do you believe in the Son of God?" and "Believe in God, believe also in Me" and "He who believes in Me has eternal life" — what else do these statements show but that He is God, speaking about Himself as God? For believing in God is far greater than believing in someone who is merely God's messenger, as belief is attributed only to God Himself. Indeed, we believe not only in the saints and holy men, but also in the true words they speak. The fact that He did not speak openly nor boast, but instead spoke only when it was necessary to help His listeners, with much understanding, was indeed a truly divine mentality, consistent with His other humility, which He had foretold for the salvation of mankind. The time had not yet come for His passion, and for this reason, He spoke these things with caution and also instructed His disciples to keep them secret, not wanting to provoke the cruelty of the disbelieving Jews prematurely. For it was necessary that His divinity be revealed through other clearer signs later on. Moreover, when He called Himself the Son of Man, He was not only humbling Himself but also affirming His own divinity. For if He were only the Son of Man, why would He need to say so clearly? But because He was also the Son of God, He called Himself thus, and He referred to God as His Father. Therefore, He naturally proclaimed Himself the Son of God, equal with the Father, and by taking on humanity, He humiliated those who thought of Him only as the Son of Man, limited to the human aspect, and not recognizing the full reality of

His divine nature. What is even more significant is that even after referring to Himself as the Son of Man, He would speak definitively. If He were merely a man like all others, what need would there be to speak in such a way? For only the unique One would speak like this, as when we speak of the sun or the sky, knowing they are singular, just as He is singular. But because He was also the Son of God, He spoke definitively, for He alone is the Son of Man in this sense: He was the Son of God from eternity and became the Son of Man later through the economy, uniting His divinity with humanity. Because of this, the Jews, though seeking false testimony against our Lord, did not find it. But when He spoke the truth about Himself, declaring Himself the Son of God, they accused Him of blasphemy, claiming He was making Himself equal with God, deserving of death, because He was calling God His Father and equating Himself with God. Thus, He clearly stated that He is the Son of God, leaving no doubt for His enemies, who considered this a crime against Him. For they refused to accept the truth.

11.And again, He said to the apostles that Christ Himself places Himself on the same level with God the Father: “I ascend to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God.” If, then, He refers to His own God as the God of all, how is it that He Himself is God and the Son of God? For God cannot have another God above Himself. But if He has often called God His Father, He also here calls Him the Father of the disciples, as He also declared that the God of Himself and of His disciples is God.

12."Lord," they said, "most wise, here the preeminence of Christ over the apostles and all men is clearly revealed, along with His true divinity. For while it is true that God the Father is the Father of the apostles, this is true by grace alone; but of Christ, according to the divinity in Him, the Father was His by nature. The apostles, indeed, were God's by their whole essence, but Christ Himself was God according to His humanity alone. And this, together with His supreme excellence toward the apostles. For their humanity was mere humanity, whereas Christ’s was intimately united with His divinity. Thus, our Lord, demonstrating this, separated the two aspects clearly and in accordance with the truth of the matter. If, then, it was true both for Him and for the apostles that God is both Father and God, what was the need for a division? For this would have been an unnecessary redundancy, which would be inconsistent with the way we think about Christ. However, if the statement had been imprecise, it would be as if there was dual usage in the works and truth of the reference to God the Father, both for Him and for the disciples. But to say the same thing with regard to the disciples and all men, He properly and fittingly distinguished them both in His words. For now, suffice this answer to your question. If, however, you command, I will continue to elaborate and complete the discourse on faith."

13.He said: “Proceed."

14.Therefore, I said, the glory of the divinity of Christ in us received its beginning from the faith directed toward Him. Hence, even if nothing else followed after His divinity, to glorify Him as truly perfect both in life and word, it would compel us to believe in Him, saying that He is the Son of God, and because of this, to believe in Him as God. But now, in His human nature, He manifested good things that were fitting, even greater than what is according to man, and these truly theoprepic qualities were joined together. Hence, even had He not said often and in many ways that He is the Son of God, by all that He said and did regarding Himself and about Him, it would still necessarily become clear to all those wishing to pay close attention, that He should be believed to be the Son of God and God Himself. I speak of the proclamation of His conception by the angel, the conception from the Virgin without seed, which is most paradoxical and

supernatural, the marvels that took place at His birth, those that followed after His birth, His life beyond human standards, the wonders, the miracles without number, the prophecies about things that were to come for Him from His enemies and their salvation, the foretelling of His glory after these things in His humanity, and the fulfillment of these, as was prophesied. The signs of creation in His suffering, which were manifest throughout the world, such that the astronomers among the Greeks, seeing the eclipse of the sun in the full moon, which had occurred contrary to nature, reflected and said that now God or the Son of God suffers, and they themselves, as the first, joined in and affirmed the preaching of the apostles. Whatsoever the apostles had spoken beforehand, which also came into being, was made powerful through the strength from heaven. Their movements throughout the whole world, overcoming all obstacles, both those visible and invisible, the spread of the gospel to all nations, and the marvelous immediate growth that followed. Not only through the apostles themselves, but also through their successors, all over the world, miracles were performed by calling upon His name alone. The objections that were made against those testifying about His name and faith in Him were from themselves, but the extraordinary divine help was from Him, and the miracles done through them. The most paradoxical transformation of the entire world, from the previous multitheistic delusion and the apostasy from God, into the belief in the One God, that which had been lost, was restored. And should we begin to count the innumerable signs? Of these, the innumerable and the silent signs, which indisputably attest to His divinity and the true glory about Him among us, the former are contained in the gospel, where they are established for the Jews alone, for whom we could use our own arguments in ways that are undeniable. But the latter, those coming from the very actions of Christ, are clear to everyone, those who wish to scrutinize and closely attend, and who have the capacity to do so. Of these, the greatest is that, according to His prophecy, those far from Him both in place and belief, were changed in place and doctrine from the closest to Him, and instead of the many who dwelt upon the earth, all the polytheists and idolaters throughout the world accepted the preaching of truth. And that among the polytheists of the world, the wisest first added to the preaching, having discerned the truth in it, and those of less knowledge, with strong opposition, were eventually won over. And how men, in this present fleeting life, devoted to those things for which they are accustomed to risk their own lives, gave up everything, in order to be firmly attached to Christ and the faith in Him, even enduring various and long-lasting bodily punishments and ultimately death, joyfully, accepting openly the crowns from heaven, exchanging their temporary joys and sorrows wisely. And Christ from heaven breathed courage into them, though He Himself was not seen, giving them such boldness and endurance for His sake. They, in turn, stood firm, and His light shone upon them openly. Upon these matters, the decision of those ruling the entire earth at that time from Rome, which was being communicated and proclaimed by the governors sent out everywhere regarding the killing of those who first turned to the faith of Christ, after much torture, if they remained unrepentant, in order that the faith might shrink as the number of those adhering to the old pagan religion would increase, and those compelled might be caught by this force, so that little by little the growth of the Christian gospel might be suppressed. This decision, however, was turned in the opposite direction for them: for each one who struggled for Christ and was finally killed after showing many and extraordinary signs, one hundred were immediately added, and ten times and many more such numbers. The greater miracle in this, however, was that the kings of the time and the governors sent by them showed cruelty and inhumanity like that of robbers or magicians to the bodies of the human beings, yet they were unable to hinder the spread of the Christian

gospel. When Emperor Constantine added the Christian faith in Rome and gave boldness to the Christian faith there, those who were worshippers of many gods still turned to the Christian faith, with neither threats nor punishments, nor the promises of gifts and honors from the Christian kings or governors from everywhere, as the previous tyrants had done. It is clear from this that unless the cruelty of those previous beasts, which was made manifest everywhere through writings and actions, had constrained the zeal of certain ones, more timid in human reason, even if all had immediately embraced everywhere the truth of the gospel, it would not have been necessary for much more time for the whole world to be liberated from the long-standing superstitions. Indeed, the first Christian emperor Constantine, by the great signs made at the martyrdoms for the name of Christ, was much more enthusiastic about the faith in Christ than he had been before. The events that happened in Rome during the reign of Nero and those similar to him were well-known to all those who dwelled in Rome. But the events that happened throughout the entire world were much more numerous and grand, noted in the records of the governors sent out from Rome everywhere. These records were sent back to Rome by those coming from the farthest places, following the imperial command to note everything: what was spoken and what was done in the places of martyrdom, by the governors and by the Christian athletes, and brought back to Rome so that they might not seem to slander someone for changing to Christ or killing them for some offensive act towards them or for some wicked greed. These records were marked by the royal notaries, and they were sent to the governors and returned to Rome. But thanks be to our Lord Christ, that many of the governors, by adding the faith in Christ and undergoing death for Him with joy, no longer returned to Rome, but went to the heavenly realm with their wives and children. Some governors, after their wives rebuked their husbands, welcomed the martyrdom of their husbands after much torture. Not only did Constantine read those records, but also the prophecies of the oracles from every corner of the world and the Sibylline oracles concerning the incarnation of the Son of God, which dealt with it with much glory and paradoxical discourse; these also were placed in those libraries and revealed by his father, Constantine, to his son Crispus, previously unknown. For he, the first, was converted from polytheistic error by the counsel of his teacher, who was called Firmianus, or Lactantius, and his father did not know for a long time. Firmianus was a very wise man, previously notorious for the Greek error, being one of the guardians of that library, with others being more prominent; but from those books, he came to the true philosophy. However, he hid it until the improvement of Constantine, revealing it to Crispus alone.

15.Here, we shall finally set forth the conclusion of the matter concerning those who, from outside, also affirm the faith in Christ, which, more precisely, is from Him and of Him. This is indeed the will of our Lord: for the eternal and intellectual Word, the Son of God, of the unbegotten mind and Father, who was about to bring about in due time the plan of salvation through the renewal of His own creation (the timeliness of which we shall explain, when you command, more extensively and in the many writings of ours that have been recorded). Thus, this plan of salvation was going to strike all, in such a way that not everyone would easily want to accept it, and He made it known through prophecy before the action itself was completed, so that those who witnessed it would more easily be convinced by the testimony of what had been foretold. He revealed it through the prophets to those Jews who were faithful up until that time, by means of holy and inspired men. To those who were polytheists, especially to the Greeks and Romans, who excelled in wisdom and other forms of power, He made it known through the oracles. For these individuals

would not have easily believed the prophecies from the Jewish scriptures, neither because they had the scriptures nor because they shared the beliefs of the Jews. They rather clung to the oracles of their own, served by demons. Therefore, the all-good wisdom of God, through the demons, widened the confirmation of His divine beneficence in the souls of those who had previously adhered to them. When you so command, we will also show you the prophecies from both the oracles and the Sibyls, and how they are irrefutable and flawless, as well as the prophecies of the inspired prophets, which even those who oppose us, the Jews, acknowledge as testimony. For they cannot deny these, but only attempt to misinterpret and distort them. However, regarding the prophecy of Isaiah, they cannot respond: for it is the clearest account of our Lord's matter, revealing both His divinity and the humanity He assumed, as well as the purpose of His economy and the salvation that would arise from it for the world.

16.Now, concerning the confirmation of faith from other matters, we present it for the sake of those asking us questions. We believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, just as we believe in God the Father, who sent Him into the world. The foundation of such faith is what we believe about Him based on the aforementioned testimonies. He Himself repeatedly declared and demonstrated through His actions that He is the Son of God. And He spoke the truth, being the Truth Himself—something that only God could be. He also said this about Himself: "I am the Truth," which is equivalent to saying that He is God. Furthermore, He commands us not only to believe Him when He says that He is the Son of God but also to believe in Him. "For," He says, "believe in God, and believe also in Me." And He clearly reveals the reason for this, saying: "I and the Father are one." And that He is God with the Father, though distinguished in person (while personally distinct), and simply speaking of the properties and hypostases in the one Godhead, we have previously explained to your wise men in the presence of the greatest authority, having sought it not once, but thrice. Again, whenever you command, we shall give an account of these matters to you.

17."Now these things are enough," he said, "but there is one thing we ask of you: Why do you not make the prophecy of Moses regarding the greater one, the one more exalted than the prophets of that time, and the prophecy concerning Christ, which is the clearest of all, clearer than His? It is for this reason that we have placed it before you."

18.I replied, "Indeed, we place it before you, and through this prophecy of Moses, we reprove the ignorance of the Jews, both regarding Moses himself and the one prophesied by him."

19."And how do you place it before him," he asked, "in a good way? For you say that Christ is God, yet Moses says that a prophet, not the Son of God, not God, will come. 'The Lord God will raise up,' he says, 'a prophet from among our brothers like me, and every soul that does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed.'"

20.I answered, "It has been arranged, as He said, by God for the defense of the course of events and for the support of human souls. This arrangement comes both from the predictions of the divine prophets and the oracles and the demons working through them. But they are not the same. For the demons neither understood nor could they express what they pretended, even though they were addressing the diviners who gave them heed. Nor were those expressions in accordance with their usual mode of thinking, which only pertains to falsehoods and vices, leading to the ruin of human beings, but were instead compelled by a stronger necessity guiding their reasoning. These same forces caused others to experience these things. Therefore, after much uncertainty, they regarded the destruction of their own misguided beginning as

inevitable, even though they could not fully comprehend the time and manner in which it would unfold. Hence, concerning the works which had already begun, they feared from suspicion, not from genuine discernment, and they used every means to examine whether the calamity they feared had already come or was still to come, as is clearly stated in the Gospels. For their fear of destruction, which was brought upon them with each defeat by the power of Christ, was alleviated by the other manifestation of His humility. But the divine prophets, who always long for the betterment of humanity and fervently pray to God for it, were inspired by divine love, seeing the great distance between themselves and God. These things were revealed to them with great brilliance. For they greatly rejoiced, seeing the salvation of the entire world being accomplished and a universal remedy for the difficult diseases of humanity arising from the first seeds of man. And they desired to witness it in their lifetime, if possible, not only for their own enjoyment, but also as a way of clearly discerning the hidden treasure that had been revealed to them. For they did not fully understand what had been revealed to them regarding the future economy of the mysteries, but they spoke and prophesied in fragments, seeing only the shadow and making predictions. And what is there to wonder at regarding the prophets, seeing as even the angels, except for a few, did not comprehend the full revelation of the mystery, as the sacred Scripture teaches us until its revelation in practice? For it was only then that the knowledge concerning Him was fully developed, just as now those who believe have received the full understanding of what was foretold in fragments. And this happened in the fullness of the mystery, and for the benefit of those who would come to believe and be saved through faith. For if these things had been clearly and openly revealed and predicted, the act of faith would have been lost. No one is crowned or praised for believing in things that are entirely evident. But when Moses said that a prophet would arise, he was illumined by God to such a degree, and when He came, He Himself proclaimed that He was the Son of God, revealing it through His works, fulfilling and completing the prophecy of Moses. And if every soul that does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed, as Moses had threatened, then, at the very least, the Jews should be persuaded to believe in Christ, the Son of God, who says that He is the one who will save them. For those who refuse to hear the prophet will follow the destruction Moses prophesied. Thus, the loss of the Jews—if for no other reason—ought to persuade them to turn to Christ, to the one whom Moses foresaw as the fulfillment of the promise, the one who brings salvation through faith. He revealed more completely, though not entirely perfectly due to what has already been said, the glory of the One who was to come by speaking of God in reference to Him, saying: "I will put my words in his mouth, and he will speak to them whatever I command him. Therefore, every soul who does not listen to him shall be utterly destroyed." Thus, we too place our faith in Moses, recognizing the most excellent and divine law given by Christ, and we believe that what He has spoken about Himself and about God the Father is true. We believe in Him as the Son of God and as God Himself; for He said of Himself that He is the Son of God, and He also said, "Believe in God, and also believe in Me, for I and the Father are one." Therefore, the foundation of our faith in Christ is our belief in Him. And we believe in Christ because we first believed in Moses, in those things he said about Christ. Thus, our Lord said to the Jews, "If you believed in Moses, you would believe in Me." That the things about Christ were revealed more clearly through the prophets who came after Moses, and even more so by those closer to the time of Christ, is evident, even though they were not fully developed for the reasons we have stated. This is clear to those who read their books. These things we have said in response to the

perplexities concerning Moses; in our writings concerning the Jews, we also present other arguments to resolve such perplexities, which we can show you, written or orally, whenever you so desire.

21.Then he said, "Do you therefore believe that Christ is truly God?"

22.I responded, "Yes, we believe so."

23.And what reason is there, he asked, for believing in the things that are impossible? For it is impossible for humanity to be united with divinity.

24.I replied, "It is impossible for humanity to be united with divinity, that is, for man to take on the nature of divinity in himself, according to your words, all at once. Yet, by the divine grace alone, mankind is capable of receiving this. It is fitting for humanity to approach with all diligence. But for God to take upon Himself humanity, not out of necessity, but out of His superabundant goodness, for the sake of His creation's well-being and salvation, this is not impossible, nor contrary to reason, as was previously stated. For how could human nature, which is finite and limited both in essence and in power, take upon itself the infinite and eternal? Yet divinity, being infinite in essence, presence, and power, could willingly unite itself with humanity, and sustain humanity within itself, just as it sustains all human beings, in order that, as an instrument joined to divinity, it might accomplish a great good, and in doing so, bring about salvation to the nature of humanity. This occurred not because of any inherent necessity, but solely out of the goodness of God, who created all things from nothing and fashioned human nature for all things. If, therefore, from that same goodness, He creates the souls of all men from nothing and forms them in the bodies that are born through successive generations, what then is impossible, if He, having willed to accomplish a great work, unites in Himself a human being, composed of both soul and body, and joins them in such a way that they can be united and belong to Him?"

25.Then another man present there interrupted my speech and said, "How, then, do you say that God is infinite? For infinity pertains to quantity; yet quantity is contingent. But God is not contingent."

26.I answered him, "Indeed, God is truly and primarily infinite; but quantity, by contrast, is not primarily so. For quantity is said to be infinite only in terms of potentiality. For example, the number may increase infinitely, and the continuous may be divided infinitely, since these are capable of being infinitely augmented or divided, even though it is not possible for anyone to increase the number infinitely in actuality or divide the continuous infinitely in practice. But God is infinite in actual activity, as I have stated, both in essence and in presence, as well as in power."

27.The other man said, "Infinity is a negative term, and it does not affirm anything; it is like a denial. How, then, do you say that God is primarily infinite, and how do you attribute such a name to Him?"

28.I responded, "In the case of other things that are works of God, the term you use holds significance. Indeed, negation and denial are different from the act of affirmation, but in the case of God, this is not so. On the contrary, negative terms and denials sometimes apply most fittingly to God. For when we say that He is, we do not say anything new or great. Even when we say that you are, we make no great or new statement. But when God spoke concerning Himself, 'I am the One Who is,' this is a matter of a different kind of contemplation. Likewise, when we call Him 'Good,' we do not say anything new, for by His actions, He has Himself given the name of goodness, saying, 'Behold, all things are very good.' But when we distinguish Him from His creation, we are then ascribing to Him a fitting name, as when we say that He is without beginning. For then we separate Him from all things as the uncreated. Likewise, when we call Him 'infinite,' we

distinguish Him from all things as finite. Thus, whenever we remove Him from all things, ascribing to Him all these negative names, we are setting Him apart from everything created, affirming His absolute uniqueness. For in our minds, the affirmations we make about Him remain even as we ascribe to Him that which is fitting in His supremacy over all created things. Yet, even in this, He remains incommunicable to us, for the truth about the divine is beyond our complete comprehension due to its unapproachable superiority over all things."

29.But let us leave aside, he said, the discourse concerning infinity. "As for the impossibility of divinity and humanity coming together in one subject, I will now demonstrate to you why this is so. Concerning Christ, the discourse must be advanced, for in Him lies our belief. If the divinity and humanity were united in Christ, there are three possibilities: either the divinity was absorbed into the humanity, or the humanity was absorbed into the divinity, or both were joined together. However, none of these three possibilities are possible. Therefore, the union of both in Christ is altogether impossible because of these reasons. Hence, it is impossible for Christ to be both God and man at the same time, as you believe. What, then, is your answer to this?"

30.I replied: "Now, it seems that by such wisdom of yours, the human nature is in danger of being destroyed. For it is evident that man is composed of soul and body, and the soul is immaterial, incorporeal, simple, and intellectual; and for this reason, it is separate from the body and immortal. The body, however, is composite, material, and for this reason, mortal. Now, is it the case that the soul is changed into the body, or the body into the soul, or that they are blended together? Each of these options is evidently impossible. Therefore, it is not true that man is composed of soul and body. But if man is indeed soul and body, then by your reasoning, man does not exist at all. The cause of this is that none of the three ways of union are appropriate to explain how soul and body could coexist; rather, there is a fourth way beyond these. Additionally, there are other ways in which union could be explained, though the changing of one into the other or their blending together is not properly union. Rather, the soul and body are truly united in the human being, and after being united and coming together, they form a nature that remains intact, so that the proper nature of each is preserved in the union. In this way, the soul and body are united in the human being, and together they become man. This type of union is called hypostatic or personal. For the soul and body come together into one hypostasis, and each retains its nature: the soul has its order with respect to the body, and the body remains matter and instrument to the soul."

31."Why then," I said, "do you hesitate to speak about Christ our Lord, how divinity and humanity came together in Him, while both retained their respective natures? And the one who unites soul and body in a single human being without confusion—how could He not be capable of doing so in a way that is more exalted and yet still reasonable? Is not this great mystery of His incarnation beyond comprehension? For what greater wonder could there be than to bear witness to the Creator Himself humbling Himself in such a manner through an excess of compassion and goodness? Neither is this impossible nor contrary to reason. Therefore, we marvel at Him with faith, and we believe in Him with awe."

32.Then again, the great man, taking up the argument, said: "You have stated at the beginning that you have shown your doctrine regarding Christ, and that it must be shown to be necessary. Show us then how it is necessary, and what the nature of this necessity is."

33.The discourse concerning this matter, I said, O my lord, is vast and requires much more time; however, now I will speak briefly and in accordance with the occasion. It was indeed necessary for the Son of God and the Word to take on human nature, for it was necessary for the divinely ordained prophecies to be fulfilled, as we have already said, and for the work to be realized. It was particularly necessary because it necessarily follows the goodness of God. Therefore, it was foreordained, both as predestined and as necessarily to be accomplished. For the human nature was not necessarily to come into being from that which did not exist; for God did not create man according to the Word of nature, nor did He make him another God, but rather, He made him according to the Word of His most excellent will. Hence, He did not make him from eternity, but only when He willed, even though in the foresight of the eternal knowledge in God, it was necessary that man be made as eternally predestined, even though it was temporally brought about at a certain time. Moreover, it was far more necessary to be renewed than to be merely created, and it was far more necessary to be improved, having been rendered base, than to maintain its original state; for to be deprived of its natural end eternally due to evil would be far worse, and thus it came about, and such an extraordinary end was required. Of course, it would have been better for man if he had not been created at all, so that he would not have become a man in vain, and not only he, but also all that came into existence for his sake, if they had been abandoned until the end. For with divine justice, it would not have been contrary to leave him abandoned until the end, but divine goodness was able to look upon the whole human nature, from the first seeds to the very end of its generation, as being freely made, and that the end of man in the heavens was degraded, and that he would be subjected to infinite miseries in the underworld. It was necessary, therefore, that mercy should meet truth, and that peace, the fruit of divine benevolence, should be embraced and kissed by justice, as David says. Moreover, the fall of human nature was not solely from the inherent nature, but also from the corrupt and rebellious nature against God, which participated in the rebellion of men. Therefore, it was fitting that here, through God's philanthropic and judicial will, both His love for the creation and His justice work together, and just as He justly punished those who had used the counsel of evil against the good Father and Lord, so too would He destroy the cause of all the evils and completely eradicate its companionship, and exact judgment for the outrageousness of this sin, with much addition. But it was impossible for the human nature to receive such blessings and to be recreated and return to divine love, freed from disbelief and wickedness, which had previously impeded the course of time, unless this had been done by God's most true and fitting providence. In order to establish this necessity, one must refer to the things recorded in the Book of Genesis by Moses, as revealed to him by God, and also to the other providences of God concerning the human race, which, out of much compassion, He bestowed after their most grievous rebellion against God, when they had fallen into sin through their own choice. The Lord allowed this as a father, enduring it patiently, and He did not withhold His pedagogical care. One must also refer to the divine justice and goodness working together, as it was not possible for human nature to be freed from the bonds of ancestral sin through God's goodness, without also rendering justice to divine justice, all at once. With these things set in place, it is easy to understand the necessity of this divine economy. And we have shown this in our own writings, demonstrating this from the beginning. Therefore, whenever you wish, you may command that some of those writings be interpreted in Arabic, and you will see it more thoroughly.

34.But this, he said, as for the matter now at hand, let it pass; however, it has come to our ears that, in the presence of the ruling one, you were asked by those wise men of ours who were present at that time, why

God did not accomplish the economy in such a way that the flesh was assumed by a sanctified man or an angel, but instead, directly through Himself, by becoming incarnate, as you affirm, and why, after so many years had passed, He did it now, and not earlier, and why He did not come with His divine glory manifested openly, as you say He will come in His second coming (for then all men would believe in Him), and why He did not give a lighter law, but made it so difficult to fulfill, so that even those who confess God, except for a very few, sin by transgressing it, and instead of salvation, this economy became the cause of eternal punishment, and why there are more being harmed than helped by it. Is it true, then, that you were asked about these matters?

35.I was asked, I said, not only about these matters, but also about many others related to the theology concerning the One God in Three, and concerning the economy of the One of the Trinity, the Word and Son of God. I answered all of these questions at length, and I satisfied those who inquired.

36.Then, he said, give us your defense concerning these matters as well; but for now, let us defer it, for it is already evening. At another time, we will call you again, and, if not before, we are in a hurry, but at our return we will listen to you on these issues and others that we may wish to ask at that time.

37.Thus, I was dismissed by the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has enlightened our hearts, so that I might be able, on the one hand, to speak the divine and exalted things to those of the faith, and on the other hand, to approach those still uninitiated, to the simpler and more acceptable things. To Him be glory unto the ages. Amen.

RESPONSE TO MARK OF EPHESUS

Supplement to the Polemical Works

Response to the Syllogisms of Mark of Ephesus on the Procession of the Holy Spirit

† The Syllogistic Chapters of Mark, Metropolitan of Ephesus, the Noble, Against the Latins: A Response to These by the Most Wise Lord George Scholarius, at the Request of the Blessed Patriarch, Lord Gregory the New Confessor.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter I (XIX).

1. We ask the Latins: If you wish to say that the Son has all that the Father has, why do you not also make Him the Father? They respond, "Because this would imply opposition to the Son; and opposition distinguishes the persons rather than uniting them, lest confusion arise among them." If, therefore, according to you, most wise ones, opposition distinguishes the divine persons, and it is impossible for both opposing qualities to coincide in each of them, then neither can the cause and the caused coincide (for these too are opposites), nor can the Son simultaneously be both cause and caused, just as He cannot simultaneously be both Son and Father. But what will they say to this? If He were to have all that the Father has, He would also have to be called Father. What absurdity! Again, we are confronted with that ridiculous sophistry, and those who say this do the same as if someone, declaring that every man is begotten, were to say that Adam too would have been begotten if he had a father.

Scholarius.

2. The Latins, hearing the sacred Gospels say, "All that the Father has is mine," and again, "All that is mine is Yours, and Yours is mine," and again, "I and the Father are one," are not compelled by this universal expression, "all," to say that the Son is the Father or the Father is the Son. For the very words do not compel this; rather, they persuade and lead one to believe and understand that the property of the Son remains unaltered, just as that of the Father does, if one interprets them correctly. Nor do they, by excluding the properties from the expression, also exclude what is not impossible, unless one insists that everything must be common. Rather, they preserve the properties as unchangeable and the communion undiminished, that is, they maintain both the personal distinction and the unity of the divine essence unshaken in their reasoning. They consider it equally vain if someone, hearing "all," were to include the property as well, which is impossible, or to demand that the expression implies something impossible. And if someone, excluding what is impossible to conceive from the expression, were also to exclude what is not necessary but not at all impossible in any way—indeed, what is necessary, since nothing impossible pertains to the divine, where there is no room for contingency. For no sound reasoning would suppose that, in the same manner, what is possible should be excluded along with what is impossible, nor is it wise to speak thus, which is to dare to falsify the truth and its oracles. It suffices, therefore, for the Latins that, remaining firmly within the bounds of this twofold and most universal principle of true theology—namely, the unity of the divine essence and the personal distinction—they thus rightly understand those evangelical statements. Moreover, they have the

teachers as allies in their thought, or rather as guides, some of whom clearly say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, who would not have said this if the property of generating and the property of proceeding were excluded as distinct properties. Others interpret that expression in such a way that they exclude only the property of generating from this universal expression, all intending the same thing. If they had understood the property of proceeding or causing (for we need not be overly concerned with Hellenism here) as a property of the Father in relation to the Son, all would have justly excluded it, or at least one would have been found to do so; but now no one does. For Cyril says, "We believe the Son to be coeternal with the Father and to have all things equally, except for the act of begetting." And the same elsewhere: "In the only-begotten Son, like and equal to the Father in all things, except for fatherhood." And Athanasius: "The same things are said of the Son as of the Father, except that He is not called Father." And again, the same: "The Scriptures say of the Son what is said of the Father, except only that He is called Father." And no one said, "Except for proceeding." If the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus) said, "Except for the cause," he either understands cause as the source and the uncaused cause, as all the Easterners seem to use the term "cause" or "caused," or he means cause as opposed to the Son, that is, in relation to generating. For otherwise, he would not have agreed with the saints who say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, nor with those who say, "All except fatherhood and being Father and generating," and nowhere mention proceeding—if he himself meant cause also in relation to proceeding. But it is absolutely necessary that he agrees with all.

3. The solution to the argument is clear even from what has been said before, but it can be made even clearer here, not by addressing each point in detail, but by identifying what is being challenged, where the deception lies, and by exposing and refuting it. This approach removes the many arguments that are either zealously or somehow connected to the issue but do not contribute to the matter at hand. For, taking from the Latins' confession that opposition distinguishes the divine persons, and combining it with the Latins' hypothesis that the Son is both caused and cause—that is, the opposites—he concludes that the Son would be distinguished from Himself by such opposition, and thus there would be two persons, or the opposites would coexist in the same divine person. But neither of these is true. The first is impossible according to theological principles, and the second is impossible according to the common conviction of all. Therefore, the hypothesis itself is impossible, namely, that the Son is both cause and caused. At the same time, he shows, without even accepting this, that the divine persons are distinguished by relational opposition; for this is the method of reduction to absurdity. The Latins, therefore, will say that they concede the premise of the argument (for it is admittedly impossible for the Son to be distinguished from Himself and for opposites to coexist in the same person), but they deny the conclusion, namely, that if the Son is both cause and caused, these impossibilities would follow. For there is no necessity for this. As for the first impossibility, we say that opposition in the divine persons is the cause of personal distinction when it is of the same thing in relation to itself. But when it is of the same thing in relation to another and another, it is not the cause of personal distinction in the one who has the opposition, unless it is in relation to those things to which it has such opposition in part. For if in the Son there is both cause and caused, which are opposites, they do not distinguish the Son from Himself but from the Father and the Spirit. The Son has opposition and distinction in relation to the Father by the reference of being caused, and in relation to the Spirit by the reference of being cause. This is true in all cases. For fatherhood and sonship, or cause and caused if you will, were present in Isaac, but because these were in relation to different persons (one in relation to Abraham and the

other in relation to Jacob), Isaac was one hypostasis. But it would have been impossible for him to be one if he were both cause and caused in relation to the same person in the same respect, I mean in terms of the species of nature.

4. The same principles must be stated concerning the second impossibility, namely, that those who claim it is impossible for opposites to coexist in the same thing at the same time understand that this is so only when they are in the same respect, in relation to the same thing, and in the same manner, as well as other conditions that the Philosopher (Aristotle) specifies in his discussions on refutations. If any one of these conditions is absent, neither does any impossibility follow, nor is there a valid refutation according to the Philosopher. Therefore, cause and caused are opposites, and the Latins say that these exist in the Son simultaneously, but not in relation to the same thing nor in the same manner. For one is in relation to the Father, and the other is in relation to the Spirit: in relation to the Father by generation, and in relation to the Spirit by procession. In this way, no impossibility follows, nor is the principle invalidated.

5. And thus, his reduction to absurdity is resolved. He attempts to confirm this with an example, saying, "Just as it is impossible for the Son to be both Son and Father, so too is it impossible for Him to be both cause and caused." But he does not speak correctly, for the two cases are not equal. For "Father" signifies a specific mode of causality, and since the Son cannot be the Father of the Father because the properties of the divine generation beyond being do not reverse into one another, nor do the divine persons derive from one another—that is, the properties are not confused—nor is there another Son in the divine persons of whom the Son could be the Father, for this reason, "Father" cannot belong to the Son. But "cause" is a general term, encompassing both specific modes of the divine processions. And since there is something in the divine persons of which the Son can be the cause, namely, the Holy Spirit, it is not impossible for the Son to be a cause in this way, that is, a progenitor. It would only be impossible if this were in relation to the Son Himself, if it were opposed to the concept of the Son. But procession is not opposed to being begotten, and thus it is not impossible at all. Therefore, the argument is neither similar nor does it correctly grasp the Latins' response. For they say it is impossible for the Son to be the Father of the One who begot Him. But if there were another person in the divine persons of whom He could be the father, nothing would prevent Him from being the father of that person. And they speak correctly: for now, it is impossible for the Son to be a father because there is no one in relation to whom He could be a father. But with respect to the principle concerning opposites, it would not be impossible, for the principle would not be negated, since the same person could be both son and father, though in relation to different persons. Now, however, it is impossible not because of the principle but because of the matter itself—just as if Isaac had not begotten Jacob but died childless, it would not have been impossible for him to be both son and father, except for the fact of being childless, not because of the principle. But since he did beget Jacob, he was both father and son, and the principle of opposition was not negated. His example is also entirely misleading. For the Latins do not say that every divine person is a father, and then, when he adds, "Yet the Son is not a father," they respond, "Of whom He would be the father, if there were such a person, in relation to whom it would be attributed." For in this way, the example would be similar. But they do not say that the Son is a father, just as he himself says this is impossible. Rather, they say that He is the cause of the Holy Spirit, that is, the progenitor, not because it is not impossible when properly understood, but because they believe it is necessary. But he, wishing to show this is impossible, has accomplished nothing. As a kind of seasoning to the solution of the argument, I

will also add this: his example is not even a sophism relevant to the matter at hand, even if it were similar. For according to the principles of faith, it is not false to say that every human is begotten, nor is it false to respond, if someone objects based on Adam, that Adam too would have been begotten if he had a father, that is, if he were not the beginning. For insofar as he is human, he must be begotten, but insofar as he is the beginning, it is impossible—just as if someone were to say that every continuous quantity is divisible, and then if someone were to object based on the point, that it is a continuous quantity but nevertheless indivisible, one could respond that the point too would be divisible as a continuous quantity if it were not the beginning of the continuous quantity. But now it is the beginning, and for this reason, it is indivisible; for the beginning must be indivisible, just as the unit is indivisible in numbers. If someone were to say this, they would not err in any way. Thus, the true faith establishes Adam as the beginning of humanity, and the beginning is unbegotten, having come into being through creation. But this does not prevent every human from being begotten. Therefore, the objection based on Adam is not strong, nor would the one responding in this way respond poorly.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter II (XV).

6. Mark of Ephesus: If being the cause of divinity is more honorable to God than being the cause of creation, how is it that, according to the Latins, the Holy Spirit does not share in this more honorable cause with the Father and the Son? Will it not, then, be lesser in dignity and divinity? For if the cause of divinity is communicable at all, why has the Spirit not also partaken of it? But if it is altogether incommunicable, as proper to the Father, just as being uncaused is proper to Him, then neither does the Son partake of it in any way, even though the Latins strongly desire this.

Scholarius.

7. The Latins, having received from Athanasius, Basil, and many other teachers the belief that the Son is second and lesser than the Father in the order and dignity of causality, and necessarily believing that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son just as from the Father—both from the canonical Scriptures, which immediately provide many testimonies to this, and from the teachers of the Church among them who explicitly theologize in this way—would not deny if someone were to ask them, "Do you then say that the Holy Spirit is second to the Son in the order and dignity of causality, and third from the Father?" For they know that nothing absurd follows from this. If nothing detracts from the natural dignity of the Son by His being second in order and in the dignity of causality, neither will it hinder the Spirit to be third in order. And if this were shameful for the Spirit, it would be no less shameful for the Son. The Latins need only be careful to ensure that what they say is in accordance with their own principles and that they do not wrongly deduce these things from the principles of faith. But as long as the teachers say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, and the principles of faith necessarily lead to this, perhaps there was no need to respond to the objections of absurdities. For it would be more fitting to defend those who first affirmed these things. But even if they respond to other objections, they need not respond to this one, for it is not absurd in itself for the Holy Spirit to be third in the dignity of causality and in order, nor does this diminish the dignity of His nature, just as it does not

diminish the Son's dignity to be second. And again, if someone were to ask them, "Is the Spirit not the cause of divinity?" They would confidently say, "Certainly not! For of what would He be the cause?" For He cannot be the cause of that which He is believed to be caused by procession. As Dionysius says, "The properties of the supra-essential divine generation do not reverse into one another," neither for Himself nor for any other. But if the Greeks insist that the Spirit must necessarily be the cause of something, let them establish this themselves and bear the responsibility for the innovation, or let them not accuse the Latins. For as long as it follows from the principles of faith and is proclaimed by the teachers that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, even if it results in Him being third in order and in the dignity of causality, and even if He alone is the cause of nothing, and even if any other such thing follows—none of which is absurd nor damaging to the doctrines—but even if these things were absurd, they would no more apply to the Latins than to the teachers of the Church. Rather, they bring common difficulties into the faith, which it would only be the task of the first teacher of such faith to resolve. Thus, the Latins would say these things in their defense. Moreover, they could also cite saints who say that the Son is greater than the Spirit and that the Spirit is third from the Father in order and in the dignity of causality. But even if they could cite no one, it would suffice for them that the Son is lesser than the Father and second in order and in the dignity of causality, yet He is no less believed to be of the same essence, of equal honor, and true God with the Father.

8. The solution to the argument is clear even from what has been said before, but it can also be approached in this way: If, he says, the Holy Spirit does not share with the Father and the Son in the cause of divinity, He will be lesser in dignity and divinity. But the consequent is false, and therefore the premise is also false. Either, then, the Father and the Son are the source of divinity, and the Spirit shares in this—but this is impossible—or neither the Father nor the Son is the source of divinity. He thinks to demonstrate the consequence by reasoning from the greater: If the Spirit would be lesser by not sharing with the Father and the Son in the cause of creation, which is lesser to God, how much more would He be lesser by not sharing in the cause of divinity, which is greater to God? If, therefore, this subtlety of reasoning, according to the one who spoke it, excludes the Father as well as the Son from being the source of divinity, I leave it to those who are experienced in such matters to examine and refute it. For in order that the Spirit not be lesser in dignity and divinity, the Father must not fail to share in the cause of divinity—therefore, He will share in it. Either, then, the Spirit will also be the source of divinity—but this is impossible—or neither is the Father. For if the Father is the source of divinity, and the Spirit is not, then according to him, the Holy Spirit will be lesser in divinity. But the Latins, reasonably prompted by this difficulty, will ask him: If being the cause of divinity is more honorable to God than being the cause of creation, how is it that the Son, by not sharing in this more honorable cause with the Father, will not be lesser in dignity and divinity? I think he will say that it is not necessary for the Son to share in absolutely everything that belongs to the Father, even the most honorable things, but only in those things that can belong to the Son. For if the Son does not share in those things that cannot belong to Him, there is nothing absurd in this, nor does it diminish the divinity and dignity of the Son. He will also say that the cause of divinity is such a thing—that is, proper to the Father and impossible to belong to the Son. But let us leave this aside, for this is the very question at issue, and the dispute revolves around it. For now, he will say that what cannot belong to the Son does not harm the dignity of the Son if it is said not to belong to Him. Therefore, a similar response and solution will suffice for the Spirit, or it will not even be sufficient for the Son. But he will not respond to the stated question in any other way than what has

been said. If he responds in any other way, it will be false and intolerable to the ears. For if it is granted that the Son is not the source of divinity, this is the only possible response to the one who questions His dignity and divinity, just as it would be the only response to one who questions how the Son is true God and of the same essence as the Father if He does not share in the unoriginate and unbegotten nature, which is so great a thing. He also said simply that being the cause of divinity is more honorable to God than being the cause of creation. For nothing that belongs to God is more honorable to Him than another. But this is something only those who innovated the degrees of divine powers and energies dared to say, and anyone who follows those ignorant ones would also be ignorant. The truth is this: If something belongs to God the Father or to God, and not insofar as He is distinguished from the Son—that is, not insofar as He is Father and begets—then this must also belong by nature to the Son. And if something does not belong to Him, then in this respect, the Son will be lesser than the Father. The same reasoning applies to the Spirit in relation to the Father and the Son. For if something belongs to the Father and the Son insofar as they are God, and not insofar as they have a relation and reference to the Holy Spirit, then this must also belong to the Spirit. And if it does not belong to Him, He will be lesser than them in nature. But the act of proceeding belongs to them insofar as they are referred to the Holy Spirit; therefore, it is not necessary for this to belong to the Spirit, nor does it make Him lesser in nature than them. If it were otherwise, there would be room for the Arians to argue that the Son, being begotten, is lesser in nature than the Father, and they would try to use the Gospel, which declares the Father greater than the Son, as support for their falsehood. For they thought that because the Son does not have the Father's unbegottenness and is lesser than the Father in the dignity of causality, He must necessarily be lesser in nature and of a different essence than the Father. But this is not so. From all this, it is shown that both the consequence of this argument and its demonstration are entirely devoid of truth.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter III (XVIII).

9. The divine persons must possess certain attributes always, universally, and in every way: the natural and common attributes belong to all three persons, while the hypostatic and personal attributes belong to each of the three individually. For in God, there is nothing accidental, nothing acquired, nothing added later, and nothing that is not properly and exclusively His. Just as God is called good, wise, God, king, and creator, as well as invisible, immortal, and eternal—all of which are said of Him exclusively and properly in relation to creation (for the Apostle says, "To the King of the ages, immortal, invisible, the only wise God," and again, "Who alone has immortality, dwelling in unapproachable light")—so too whatever is said of each of the three persons is said exclusively and properly in relation to the others. Thus, the Father is Father exclusively, uniquely, properly, and solely; the Son is Son exclusively, uniquely, properly, and solely; and likewise, the Holy Spirit is Holy Spirit exclusively, uniquely, properly, and solely. In the same way, the Father is unoriginate, or unbegotten, exclusively, uniquely, properly, and solely; and similarly, He is also the cause exclusively, uniquely, properly, and solely. Consequently, the other persons are exclusively, uniquely, properly, and solely caused. For since there are two—cause and caused—if the Father alone is the cause, then the other persons are exclusively, uniquely, properly, and solely caused. It must be considered that "exclusively" is always said in relation to its opposite. For the Father is exclusively Father, not also Son; the Son is exclusively Son, not also Father; and the Holy Spirit is exclusively Holy Spirit, not Father or Son. Likewise, the Father is exclusively

unoriginate, not also having causality; and thus, He is exclusively cause, not also caused. Consequently, the other persons are exclusively caused and in no way cause. For if any of them were also a cause, the exclusivity would be negated, and neither would He be exclusively and properly cause, nor exclusively and properly caused. The opposite has already been demonstrated to be necessary. For opposition is the cause of distinction, even according to the Latins themselves, and it is impossible for both opposites to coincide in one of the divine persons. For one of them would not be properly so, and therefore it would not exist at all. The sayings of the saints agree with this. For Damascene says in his theological chapters, "The Father alone is the cause." And Theodorus of Studium chants, "Only the Father of the only-begotten Son, and only the only light of the only light's radiance, and only the only Holy Spirit of the only God, truly Lord of Lords." Therefore, the Son will not possess causality, being exclusively and properly caused and exclusively Son, just as the Holy Spirit is exclusively and properly the Spirit of God and the Father.

Scholarius.

10. The Latins are so far from saying that anything adventitious or later-added belongs to God that, to avoid even the appearance of thinking or saying such a thing, they vigorously defend the double procession or progression of the Spirit, which you yourself call double in reality. You attribute the temporal procession to the Son but entirely deny the eternal procession to Him. And you reduce all the teachings of the fathers that place the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Son to the temporal procession alone. But whether the procession of the Spirit is double and whether these processions are distinct in reality will be discussed later. For now, it suffices that they insist the temporal procession is the same reality as the eternal procession, differing only in concept, so as not to be forced to posit something accidental or adventitious in God. Those who say that the temporal procession is a different reality in the Holy Spirit apart from His eternal procession are, in fact, saying that something happens to God later and is added to Him, even if they pretend to deny this. But who more than the Latins confess that all things belong to God properly—or rather, that God is all that He is said to be—properly, commonly, and distinctly in each of the hypostases? As for the terms "exclusively," "solely," "only," and the like, they require much examination as to how they can be applied to both the natural and hypostatic attributes. But you, without careful consideration, let these terms go and often stumble against both the truth and yourself. However, since he does not strongly attack the Latins here, and we have set aside defending them, we now turn to the solution of the argument.

11. The argument, then, is as follows: Everything said to belong to God, whether as natural to the three persons or as hypostatic and personal to each of the three, must belong to Him properly, exclusively, solely, only, always, and universally. But "caused" belongs to the Son; therefore, only "caused" belongs to Him, and not "cause." For "only," he says, is said in relation to its opposite. Therefore, the Son is not the cause of the Holy Spirit, just as "cause" belongs to the Father exclusively, and thus the opposite, "caused," does not belong to Him. Consequently, the Father is exclusively cause and not caused. First, since he divides the attributes belonging to God into natural and hypostatic (or personal), and then adds, "The caused belongs to the Son," the Latins will reasonably ask him: Where does he place "caused" among the attributes belonging to God—among the natural or the hypostatic and personal? If among the natural, then it must also belong to the Father; if among the personal, then it must belong to one person alone, either the Son or the Spirit. For those

around him claim that personal attributes belong to one person alone. But both of these are impossible. Therefore, either the premise is false, or the division of attributes into natural and personal is insufficient, or one of the impossibilities must necessarily be true. Let him, then, consider the defense: For he who does not find an answer will cease questioning the Latins about whether they say that procession is natural and essential or personal and hypostatic, and by leading them into absurdities on both sides, he will see himself falling into similar difficulties. Or, having judged the division as incomplete, he will divide the attributes of God differently, and perhaps he will divide them in a way that supports the Latins and cease disputing with them. Next, they will say to him: "If your premise is true, most wise one, the Son will risk being exclusively caused, and the Father exclusively Father, and nothing else." For it will not be permissible for him to include all those qualifications in the premise but not in the conclusion, taking only those he thinks serve his purpose. For example, when he wants to conclude that the Father is cause, he omits "only," but when he wants to conclude that the Son is caused, he excludes "solely." Such reasoning belongs either to sophists or to those who do not know what they are saying and harm themselves and others through ignorance. For now, nothing worse could happen than to posit his major premise, as he himself asserts it, and then attach the minor premise—that the Father has causality and the Son has being caused—and conclude that the Father has causality properly, exclusively, solely, only, always, and universally, and likewise the Son has being caused. For perhaps the Son has being caused exclusively, but not solely, since it also belongs to the Spirit. And perhaps the Father has causality solely, but not exclusively, for He is cause in two ways: as Father and as progenitor. But neither does being caused belong to the Son solely, nor does causality belong to the Father solely. Rather, the Father is not only Father but also progenitor, and causality does not belong to Him solely. For how could the Father be a progenitor except through the Son? But this will be discussed later. For now, it suffices for us that neither is the premise self-evident, nor has he established the necessity of the premise. Rather, even if the premise is granted, many false conclusions follow because it contains many qualifications, from which he arbitrarily takes what serves his purpose in each conclusion. But he should take all of them, and thus the falsity of the premise would be revealed in the falsity of the conclusions. He also says simply that "only" is always said in relation to its opposite. For what is said in relation to its opposite is relative, and thus "only" is relative. But this is not true, for "only" is not relative to anything but is rather exclusive, whether it is said of persons, actions, or anything else. But it seems he does not know the difference between a relative and an exclusive term. It is also worth considering how he contradicts himself. For having said that "only" is said in relation to its opposite, he adds, "For the Father is only Father, not also Son," thus taking "Father" as the opposite of "Son." But this is false, for the Father is not only that which is opposed to the Son but also something else, namely, what is opposed to the Holy Spirit—that is, the progenitor. Then he adds, "And the Son is only Son, not also Father." Thus, if "only" is said in relation to its opposite, as he claims, when he says the Son is only Son and not Father, he does not exclude the Son from procession. For "Father," insofar as it is opposed to the Son, does not signify the progenitor. But why go through all these points, which are poorly argued in this argument due to the shaky foundation of those unproven qualifications in the premise, which do not equally apply to all things said about God, as he claims? He confirms the conclusions of the argument —namely, that only the Father is cause, and consequently the Son is only caused and not also cause—with the explicit words of St. John of Damascus and Theodorus of Studium. I think he would have greater favor if he tried to show agreement with the multitude of teachers rather than relying on these alone to support his view

against all other teachers. It is amusing that he even draws confirmation for his teaching from hymns, as if he could not find it elsewhere. But to the more charitable and wiser listeners, it would be no trouble to reconcile these two with the earlier and greater teachers. For the former says that the Spirit belongs only to God, that is, to the Father and the Son, of whom it is said to be the Spirit. For he does not say it is from the Father alone but from God alone, which is very different. The latter, even if this is truly part of his theology, wants the Father to be the only cause because He alone is the uncaused cause, in the sense in which we see all the Easterners using the term "cause" and its prepositional form, from which all our disagreement with the Latins arises. But he does not say that the Son has no part at all in the procession and existence of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Father. For how could he proclaim that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and is projected from the Father through the Son? Thus, his conclusion is shown to be unsupported, as his premise is shaky, and from what he later uses to confirm it, he has gained nothing for its validation.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter IV (XVI).

12. We, in denying that the Son is the cause of the Spirit, do not in any way diminish His dignity as God and as the Son of the Father. For we do not say that the cause of divinity is communicable at all, just as we do not say that the Father's being uncaused or His fatherhood is communicable. But the Latins, thinking this cause is communicable and then saying that the Spirit lacks it, necessarily make the Spirit lesser in divinity and dignity than the Father and the Son. In this way, they are compelled to blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, just as they are compelled to do in many other ways.

Scholarius.

13. The Latins will defend themselves here against the charge of blasphemy with the same arguments they used to respond to the second objection, since this is the same as that one, though I do not know by what reasoning or wisdom it has been divided. And the solution to that objection will also suffice for this one. Only this much might be said here: If that most wise man had properly understood the good of order, whether in terms of arguments and reasoning or in terms of the divine realities about which we are speaking, he would not have presented as two distinct things what are entirely the same in power. If he had understood this, he would not have raised the second objection then, nor would he have raised this fourth one now. For because he does not understand the good of order, he thinks he is granting something great to the Father alone by attributing to Him the cause of the Spirit while denying it to the Son, and he accuses the Latins of blasphemy for daring to do the same. But if, as he claims, not sharing in the cause that is in the Father makes one lesser in divinity and dignity than the Father, then the Latins blaspheme against the Spirit, and he himself blasphemes against the Son—and he does so even more grievously, since the Latins are led to err against the Spirit by what they do to honor the Son, while he, out of contentiousness, denies the Son the honor due to Him and at the same time excludes the Spirit. But if it is granted that the cause is communicable to the Son, and he says that the Spirit, lacking this, will be lesser, then if no one among the saints affirms that the Spirit is from the Son and proceeds from the Son, and that the Father and the Son are one source of the Spirit (and above all, the Son Himself says that all that the Father has belongs to Him, and all add "except begetting" and

"except fatherhood"), then the blasphemy lies entirely with the Latins. But if it is necessarily established and affirmed in many ways by many that the Son is the source of the Spirit, how does he who denies the Son the cause of the Spirit not blaspheme against God even more? If he thinks that those who say the Holy Spirit is from the Son and proceeds from the Son blaspheme by not also saying that the Holy Spirit is the source of divinity, thereby separating it from the equal honor due to the Father and the Son, then he himself will blaspheme just as much by attributing the charge of blasphemy to the teachers. For they were not unaware of this clever argument, nor that by saying the Son is the source of the Spirit while affirming that the Spirit is the source of nothing, they would make the Spirit lesser and blaspheme. Yet they neither blaspheme nor deny that the Son is the source of the Spirit (nor, therefore, are the Latins necessarily compelled to blaspheme; on the contrary, they submit to the words of the teachers and the principles of the faith, which include the order of the divine persons and their processions). Nor do they excessively honor the Father, as he does, while dishonoring the Son, and they leave no room for any lack of honor to the Spirit when they say that it proceeds from the Father and the Son genuinely and naturally. For to proceed from God naturally and to cause God in this way are equally honorable. If not causing God diminishes the Spirit, then not being caused by God would diminish the Father, since both are equally honorable, as I have said. But to be from no one and to be uncaused, to be the cause of nothing, and to be from another while causing another from oneself —these things follow from the good of order, which must exist even more among the divine persons. And the difference in order according to these things is a difference in order, but it is so far from harming the identity of essence that it rather clearly demonstrates it. As St. Basil says, "We confess the identity of essence, since the Son is from the Father." And all the teachers, to avoid lengthy discussion, say the same. Does the identity of essence, then, disappear because the Father is not from the Son? Not at all. Therefore, the identity of essence of the Spirit with the Father and the Son is most clearly shown by the fact that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. And if neither the Father nor the Son is from the Spirit, this would not negate the identity of essence, nor would the Spirit be lesser in divinity, nor would anything other than the good of order arise from the fact that the persons are from one another or exist in some other way. Therefore, conversely, to exist or proceed in some other way would destroy the good of order. Those who, while disturbing nothing else, preserve the good of order—especially where it is most necessary—are so far from blaspheming that when this noble man also understands and wishes to preserve it, he will cease to think that those who preserve it are blaspheming.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter V (XI).

14. Mark of Ephesus: Among the attributes of the divine nature, some are always spoken of in the singular, even though they are contemplated in the three persons, such as "God," "Creator," "King," "Good," and anything of this kind. For we say one God, one Creator, one King, and one Good—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Others are always spoken of in the plural, even if they apply to only two persons, such as "caused" in reference to the Son and the Spirit. For we say there are two caused things, not one.

15. Since this is the case, and since the Latins attribute the cause of divinity to two persons—the Father and the Son—we ask them to which of the aforementioned categories they attach this. If they say it belongs to the second category, the absurdity is immediately clear. For there will be two causes, just as there are two

caused things, and thus dyarchy (rule by two) will find a way in, and the much-praised monarchy (rule by one) will be set aside. But if they say it belongs to the first category, first, how can this be? For those attributes are common, natural, and equally belonging to all three persons. Second, even so, they will again fall into the same difficulty. For the one cause, the begetter and progenitor, which is the Father alone, is not the same in number as the one cause, the progenitor alone, which is the Father and the Son, as they say. Therefore, even in this way, there are two causes and two sources, and dyarchy surrounds them on all sides.

Scholarius.

16. The Latins are most careful to preserve the one source (monarchy) and to guard against introducing a dual source (dyarchy) in every way—in their confessions, teachings, and writings. They pass this down as one of the first principles of faith, teaching it with great care and order, as one would teach the principles of other sciences, to those who study theology. For they do not lightly take on the name of "teacher" by reading many books of the fathers after a brief study of rhetoric, nor do they receive this title from the people or the judgment of the unlearned—or rather, from their lack of discernment. Just as no one can be a teacher of philosophy without first mastering Aristotelian philosophy, the ancient commentaries on it, and the questions raised by later thinkers, and without being able to refute and establish arguments well, resolve every objection, and readily give an account of everything pertaining to philosophy, so too do they not entrust theology to anyone who has not spent many years studying, engaging in many discussions, exercising himself in all that pertains to it, and proving his knowledge before many teachers. Such a person must first be a philosopher and a logician before touching theology. The Latins hold theology in such high regard and are so careful that no one, out of ignorance, should harm himself or others by approaching theology without method and the highest skill among the sciences. For how could anyone understand what follows from the principles, connect or separate what does not follow, or know the rules of logical consequence well enough to regulate every argument and opinion without having learned much in dialectic, practiced it often in other sciences, and gathered much from the rest of philosophy—not for the sake of philosophy itself, but for the sake of excelling in theological knowledge? For the ability to divide and understand the rules of logical consequence, without which one cannot be a teacher of theology (or any other science), is impossible without dialectic and the rest of philosophy. But those who neither study nor know these things, who approach the greatest questions without method or rule, are likely to reject pure doctrines as counterfeit and dishonor them, while easily embracing anything trivial and unworthy that is presented to them. They suspect what is free from all suspicion and confidently assert what requires great caution, especially if someone who knows nothing thinks he knows and is thought to know. What, then, does he have to condemn the Latins, or what deficiency in the skills proper to those who would theologize well does he think they suffer from, so easily falling into what would be shameful even for a geometer in his diagrams or a physicist in his discussions of motion—namely, undermining the principle? How could one easily believe that the Latins are good geometers and physicists, filled with all knowledge, yet so utterly ignorant in theology that by their opinions they undermine one of the principles of theology, which they take such great care to preserve and about which they philosophize daily in both public and private discussions—especially when we cry out to them to pay attention and beware, since the matter is not only shameful but also very dangerous? For what is more shameful and dangerous than

someone professing the science of theology undermining the principles of theology by his opinions, not even realizing it, and thus losing the salvation that comes especially through the truth of the faith? And what could be more shameful than so many suffering this? For I would sooner believe that the Latins, knowing the necessity of monarchy in divine matters, say and think something that undermines it, rather than that they honor and wish to preserve it as one of the principles of the faith, yet unknowingly undermine it by what they say. For it is necessary that those who say such things introduce a dual source. The former would be ignorance in judgment, which is natural for humans to fall into, but the latter would be ignorance in disposition, which it is impossible for those so deeply versed in dialectic and the rest of philosophy to suffer in theology or any other subject. And even if we know that many others with such wisdom have been led to the precipices of heresy, they were neither so numerous, nor equally wise, nor were all the questions of the faith so thoroughly clarified, nor were there so many teachers able to guide them to the knowledge of the truth. For we know that other heresies arose more from irrationality and ignorance, while Arius, Nestorius, and Sabellius were perhaps wise but relied only on the Scriptures for their arguments. For people did not yet give such reverence to any of the teachers as to submit unquestioningly to their judgments—perhaps because there were none. But in the struggles against those heretics, as in a kind of worldly gymnasium of wisdom and faith, others proved their precision in doctrine and became luminaries of the Church, and so they were later revered to such an extent that their theology became the rule and model for all, and laws were established commanding this. And there are so many of them, and each left so many books, that now no one who knows how to judge such things, enlightened by so many teachers and so many books, can dispute any question or doctrine in theology. And if any disagreement is found even in these, it is resolved and harmonized well by the methods that the teachers of the Church used to harmonize and reconcile the divine Scriptures against those who tried to divide them and in that division laid the foundation of false doctrine.

17. Given all this, who could easily believe that the Latins, while deeply concerned about dyarchy in God, are nevertheless driven to it as a necessary consequence of their doctrine? For they do not yield to any wisdom in this matter, nor is it likely that such wise men would fall into this error. Rather, it is more reasonable that those who are not deeply acquainted with the wisdom of the Latins fall into this error and think it follows from the Latins' doctrine, though it is entirely separate from it.

18. That the absurdity he attributes to the Latins cannot follow from their doctrine is demonstrated by a simple, persuasive, and true argument—even if someone were to press the point—and it would require rejecting many principles of theology. For the Latins say that the Father and the Son bring forth the Holy Spirit by one productive power, since this power follows from the essence of the Father and the Son, not from their relational distinctions. Just as the power to beget and to be begotten is not one in the Father and the Son, so too the power to proceed is one in them. If there is any power in them besides the power to beget and to be begotten, it must be one. And one power necessarily implies one activity, one procession, and one source. Therefore, it is not absurd for the Father and the Son to have one productive power, nor does it follow that, because this power is one, the source of the Spirit in the Father and the Son is not one but dual. In general, the Father and the Son, apart from their relational opposition (that is, in terms of begetting and being begotten), are one in all other respects, one in whole, and one in number. Just as they are one God, one Creator, and one Sender, so too are they one source of the Holy Spirit or one Progenitor. If the Son could not share in the procession of the Spirit from the Father for some other reason, that would be a different

matter. But if nothing prevents it, there is no reason to fear that the monarchy is undermined. Just as it would be a different matter if the Son could not be Creator like the Father and the Holy Spirit, so long as creation is common to all three, there is no concern about the monarchy. For they create by one power, and the act of creating belongs to each of them as God, so since they are one God, they must also be one Creator.

19. If it is a wonder that two hypostases are one source and not conflated, it would be an even greater wonder that three hypostases are one source and not conflated. But all who believe in this wonder at it, and they believe all the more because they wonder at it. For divine things must be supernatural, beyond the mind, and exalted. The same applies here. It is indeed wondrous—more than a wonder—that two hypostases, perfectly distinct in their properties, are one source of the other hypostasis, one in number, and not conflated with each other, nor distinguished from the hypostasis proceeding from them by any difference in nature. Yet this must harmonize with the other principles of faith, and the truth must coexist with the paradox in this as in other matters. Nor should the Latins be blamed if, following the teachings of the fathers, they believe that the Spirit is from the Son and that the Father and the Son are one source, and then use reasoning to console the mind in its perplexity, as one does when faced with the precision that cannot be fully grasped here, relying on the reasoning that appears sound—especially since they take these reasonings from the very fathers from whom they received this doctrine. This would not incur blame from fair-minded judges. But if, out of contentiousness toward us, they sought to establish a doctrine entirely foreign and first invented by themselves, and were led by human wisdom into these reasonings, trying to conceal the falsehood and deception with plausible arguments, then they would deserve strong condemnation, and one should not allow them such innovations. But it is far from true that the Latins deserve such blame. For they did not base their belief on the words of one teacher or a few unclear statements, but on all their own teachers and some of ours who often and deliberately discuss this matter. Thus, they arrived at the most plausible defense of what the saints taught, not to prove the matter conclusively, but to console themselves and their scandalized brethren, resolving the difficulty as they do with other questions of faith. They would say they are very earnest in this if asked at the right time. Those who wish to defend the Latins on the matter of monarchy—or rather, to defend themselves—would say this and earnestly beg the man not to fear that they are giving way to dyarchy, as he says, by what they propose and believe. They themselves have little reason to fear the force of his argument, as if it were strong or irrefutable, for they find it easy to resolve.

20. They will first criticize his premise in many ways. For he derives the necessity from a verbal argument, saying that the attributes of the divine nature are expressed in two ways. But if one were to preserve this verbal argument in matters of faith, they would concede many absurdities and reject not a few of the things commonly agreed upon. For example, when we say that the Spirit is called "of the Son" as evidence that the Holy Spirit is from the Son, you object, insisting that this expression must not necessarily imply any relational reference but only the identity of nature. Hence, you claim that "Spirit of the Father" and "Spirit from the Father" do not mean the same thing: the former signifies the relation of causality, while the latter signifies identity of nature. Moreover, if the Father is not said to be from the Spirit, there is no need to wonder, for the properties of the supra-essential divine generation do not reverse into one another. But if He is not called "Father of the Spirit," which would signify natural identity, that would indeed be strange. For the Spirit is of the same nature as the Father, yet the Father has a different relation to the Spirit. Therefore, in truth, the Father should also be called "of the Spirit." But He is not so called, lest someone think the Spirit is begotten.

Even if this cannot be said for this reason, it is still true in reality to say that the Father is of the Spirit, since such an attribution signifies only a natural relation and no causal reference, as you claim. And often one would quickly stray from the truth and propriety if one sought to hunt for truth in all things by relying solely on verbal arguments, whether in divine or human matters. Next, we fully accept that you concede that two persons alone share something in common, such as the Son and the Spirit sharing the attribute of being caused. For you cannot deny that the Father and the Son alone share something in common in another matter. When asked under which part of your division we place our doctrine—namely, that the Father and the Son are the source or cause of the Spirit (however you wish to call it)—we answer that we place it under the second part, as it pertains to the matter itself. For just as two persons share in being from a cause, so too do two persons share in being the source. And just as the commonality of being caused does not conflate the Son and the Spirit nor exclude them from their natural unity with the Father (with whom they do not share the name or reality of being caused), so too the commonality of being the source does not conflate the Father and the Son nor separate them from the Spirit by nature, since the Spirit does not share in what is common to them. For these reasons, we assign our doctrine to the second part of your division, as it pertains to the matter itself, since our discussion and concern are about realities. If there is any difference in how these common attributes are expressed, we do not dispute it, knowing that the difference arises not from the nature of the reality but from the quality of the persons. What, then, is the difference? That the former are called two caused things, while the latter are called one source and one cause? The former must be called caused because, insofar as they are two caused things, they have the number two. But the Father and the Son are not two as the source of the Spirit, since they are not two as the source of the Spirit but in another respect. If something prevents the similarity in the expression of what is common, this does not mean we should reject the similarity in the reality of the commonality or exclude it entirely from your division. It can rightly be placed under the second part. Nor should you criticize its lack of verbal similarity, since the same could be said of us if we, believing that the Father and the Son are one source of the Spirit, did not attribute any commonality of being from a cause to the Son and the Spirit, since they cannot be called caused in the same way the Father and the Son are one source. For we must look not to the verbal expression but to the truth of the matter, and all reasonable minds must judge such things, recognizing the cause of the verbal dissimilarity and seeing clearly that it poses no obstacle to the reality. It is also noteworthy that, recognizing the weakness of your argument and its conclusion, you attached that clever remark of Kabasilas as an appendix to your argument, as if it were an afterthought, though he labored much over it. Perhaps the only thing he would blame you for is that you connect his words with yours, for your points are taken from his, agreeing in both substance and expression, and perhaps not differing for the better. But we, having already responded to him elsewhere, consider it unnecessary to examine that addition now. It suffices to say that we confidently affirm that the Father and the Son are one cause and one source of the Spirit, but we would not say they are one cause as begetter and progenitor, nor do we theologize so crudely as to invite questions about whether we mean one and the same thing in number—for we do not say this at all. As for the other superfluous points in Kabasilas' first chapter of his book against us, they have been thoroughly examined and refuted by us in our responses to him.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter VI (XIII).

RESPONSE TO MARK OF EPHESUS

21. Mark of Ephesus: Thomas, the teacher of the Latins, asserts that the divine persons are necessarily distinguished by one kind of opposition, since (he says) material distinction has no place in the divine. He claims that only relational opposition distinguishes them, as no other kind of opposition has a place. Therefore, we must demonstrate that contradictory opposition is more suitable for distinction, and that by this alone, according to the theologians, all the divine persons are distinguished from one another.

22. First, it is clear in the divine realm that the mode of existence of each person is entirely sufficient for distinction from the others. The theologians speak of the modes of existence of the divine persons as unbegotten, begotten, and proceeding—or, more generally, uncaused and caused. These are clearly opposed to each other in a contradictory manner, for having a cause and not having a cause are contradictory. Thus, the Father is distinguished from the Son and the Spirit by this contradictory opposition, while the Son and the Spirit are distinguished from each other by their own modes of existence: being begotten and not being begotten but proceeding. These are modes of existence for them and are opposed to each other contradictorily. As the theologian Gregory says of the Spirit: "Proceeding from the Father, but not in a filial manner; for He is not begotten but proceeds." This distinction, based on contradiction, is in harmony with the truth and all the theologians and is capable of distinguishing all the divine persons. But the distinction Thomas introduces as the only sufficient one—namely, relational opposition—distinguishes the Father from the Son and the Spirit who proceed from Him but does not distinguish the other persons from each other at all. For neither is one the cause of the other, nor does any theologian appear to have spoken of this distinction; rather, the opposite is true. For Damascene says, "The Father alone is the cause," and Gregory of Nyssa says, "We understand another distinction in what is from a cause." He means another distinction besides the one already mentioned, which is clearly that of cause and caused. In general, we must not dare to say or think anything beyond what has been divinely revealed to us in the sacred Scriptures, as the renowned Dionysius declares.

Scholarius.

23. The Latins, drawing from many teachers—not just Thomas, whom they have come to greatly esteem in recent times—honor and respect all equally, for these teachers have guided them to the truth of the faith and a life of virtue. They pay close attention to the teachings set forth by these teachers as good disciples, convinced by many proofs and testimonies that these teachers are unerring guides. The greatest and most evident proof is that these teachers have upheld the common doctrines of the Church and adhere everywhere to the canons of theology, never deviating from the precision of the divine Scriptures and the teachings of the fathers on these matters. Thus, while they honor all equally, as I have said, they especially admire the wiser teachers and pay closer attention to them, both collectively and individually, particularly those who have the intellectual capacity and diligence, by God's grace, to follow these teachings with understanding and long-standing effort. Many later Latins do not highly praise Thomas for thinking that the Son cannot be distinguished from the Spirit unless one proceeds from the other. They consider the difference in their processions sufficient for distinction, even if no other cause of difference is present, and they concede this to all Greeks without wishing to argue. Yet, even while criticizing Thomas for this argument,

they do not disregard his conclusion and demonstrate it themselves through many other arguments. For if someone shows that Thomas does not express the necessity in this matter, or if others overlook his arguments that clearly support the same conclusion, this does not mean they reject the doctrine itself, which they know to be true and can demonstrate through many irrefutable arguments. It would be entirely unreasonable to deny an acknowledged truth simply because some of its defenders argue weakly, especially when many attempt to defend it, though not all with equal strength. This is how we judge the teachings of our common teachers and the differences in their arguments and reasoning, by which they teach and defend the doctrines of the faith against those who oppose them. This does not lead us to disregard the truth. For we know that not only have different teachers treated the same subjects with varying degrees of wisdom and precision, but each teacher himself often uses many necessary arguments to demonstrate each truth, while adding others, as it were, superfluously—not for proof but to strengthen the point—and thus displays wisdom to those who wage war against the truth using human wisdom. Yet even such wisdom, though not necessary, is not unfitting for humans, who rightly serve human reasoning and display divine and great wisdom to their disciples. If someone were to criticize Thomas for this or reject the truth because of Thomas, it would be permissible for anyone to criticize all the common teachers of the Church or to disregard the truth they teach. But this is not so, it is not so. And you yourself, to set aside the other teachers (among whom there are differences and degrees of precision in demonstrating the truth and the strength of their arguments), would not praise everything Kabasilas said, nor would you regard all his words as equally necessary. Rather, you might pass over some as said out of abundance (to put it best). But this does not mean you disdain his conclusions or his other arguments supporting them, for which you would readily give your life. For these reasons, those who came after Thomas, examining his arguments and reasoning, do not accept his argument about distinction, though they testify to its precision and necessity. Yet they do not reject the doctrine itself, which they believe and demonstrate to be true by all necessary means. Therefore, even if you could shake this argument, it would not greatly benefit you, for now you are entirely unable to do so. Just as Thomas was seen to argue weakly and ineffectively in this matter, though he strongly demonstrates the doctrine through many other arguments, so too you now refute the falsehood weakly and ineffectively, showing yourself capable of little not only in defending the truth but even in refuting falsehood. Indeed, this is a clear sign of weakness: that you wish to refute the Latins with old and decayed arguments. What you say against Thomas's argument from distinction, Kabasilas also said, as did many before and after him, and all seem to criticize it. But Cydones, defending Thomas, sufficiently demonstrates that these objections are ineffective, so that no one since has been found to refute his defense, whether out of zeal for the truth or respect for Kabasilas's opinion, which has suffered such misfortune. Thus, relying on these ancient and discredited objections as if they were noble weapons, you join the first inventors of them in their peril. You should have shown instead that Cydones was sophistically evading these objections, and then you might have appropriately returned to criticizing Thomas and his arguments. As it is, you no longer even need to justify yourself in this matter, for Cydones's arguments are more than sufficient, against which you cannot even look, as you have not done until now. But now you may learn that there are some not only wiser than you but also more knowledgeable than Cydones, though he far surpasses your teachers. We concede to you that Thomas did not express this necessity and that Cydones, defending him, does so nobly and truthfully in other matters but in this part, though he fought nobly and truthfully against Kabasilas (who thought he was

refuting Thomas but could not), he was least sufficient in defending the truth. Yet we do not reject the conclusion for the reasons we have already stated. For even those after Thomas agree that the different processions from the Father are sufficient to distinguish the Son and the Spirit, and they believe this is the very reason the Son is the source of the Spirit. For the difference in their processions establishes this order, and the procession of the Spirit from the Son follows from this order. Thus, while their different processions from the Father suffice to distinguish them, the fact that one proceeds from the other follows from this difference. Therefore, the Son is not distinguished from the Spirit primarily by the relational opposition of causality, as Thomas says, but primarily by their different processions, to which the opposition of causality is secondary. These things are well established, and many Latins before Kabasilas cautiously disagreed with Thomas, saying he used this argument too simplistically. It would be the task of other disputations to examine and demonstrate this. But the Latins make it clear that you neither refute the conclusion, even if you intended to refute Thomas, nor do you refute it sufficiently and effectively. They neither place too much weight on Thomas in this matter nor deny his position, while you have shown your weakness by bringing forward refuted objections, which, even if Cydones had not already dealt with them, would not be difficult for others to do similarly.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter VII (XIV).

24. If being caused exists differently in the Son and the Spirit (for the Son is begotten, and the Spirit proceeds), and if this difference, according to the fathers, introduces number, then there are two caused things: the Son and the Spirit. In the same way, if the cause of divinity exists differently in the Father and the Son (for the Father is both begetter and progenitor, while the Son is only progenitor), then there will be two causes of divinity, with the difference introducing number, that is, duality, according to the declaration of the theologians.

Scholarius.

25. The Latins will again say that this absurdity and impossibility, with which the man sought to entangle them, is something they clearly see and avoid, and that they are in no way caught in the nets of such absurdity because of their doctrine. Simply put, their response to the fifth objection will suffice to demonstrate this. But addressing the present argument specifically, they will make it clear by easily resolving the reduction to absurdity. The force of this reduction is as follows: If the cause of divinity belongs to the Father and the Son, and since it belongs to them differently, there will be two causes of divinity. But the consequent is impossible, and therefore the premise is also impossible. He claims that the cause belongs to them differently, saying that the Father is both begetter and progenitor, while the Son is only progenitor. He then derives the consequence from the axiom of the saints, who say that where there is a difference, there is also number. This is also confirmed by a similar example in the divine realm: because the attribute of being caused exists differently in the Son and the Spirit, the axiom of the teachers necessitates that the Son and the Spirit are two caused things. The solution to this is very clear. The act of proceeding does not belong to the Father and the Son differently in the sense that the Father is both begetter and progenitor, while the Son is only progenitor. For

these do not create a difference in them with respect to proceeding. The act of proceeding, by which the Holy Spirit exists and subsists, is one and the same in the Father and the Son, even though the Father brings forth the Son by generation, while the Son has no such role except that of proceeding. But if one were to speak truly and properly, one would say that proceeding belongs differently to the Son and the Father, in that it belongs to the Father through Himself and to the Son through the Father—that is, to the Father without cause, and to the Son as caused, which some describe as "archetypically" and "non-archetypically." If someone were to apply the difference he posits to this, nothing impossible would follow. For one could say that proceeding belongs differently to the Son and the Father, in that the Father is both begetter and progenitor (that is, progenitor through generation and through the Word, or, in other words, the source and origin of the whole divinity), while the Son is only progenitor, or the immediate and direct cause of the Spirit. But these do not create such a difference as to introduce number. On the contrary, it is rather because the Father and the Son are distinguished by begetting and being begotten that anything common to them is understood with some difference. For everything that exists in them is the same, but it exists in the Father without cause and without origin, as the source, and in the Son as caused, as has been said. They are not one and distinguished by these differences, but being distinguished by their hypostatic properties, they share in what is common to them in this way. If the difference in proceeding, as described, created a difference and numerical distinction in them, then being, essence, divinity, and all things common to them would also be distinguished by number, since these belong to the Father without cause and from no one but Himself, while they belong to the Son from the Father and through the Father. But it is unreasonable to assert this. Therefore, what the teachers say must not be understood or resolved simplistically. For when they say, "Difference introduces number," this is not the same as saying, "Difference creates number." The former refers to a difference that follows numerical distinction, while the latter refers to a difference that produces such distinction. In the divine realm, the difference that produces number is either the difference between begetting and being begotten, or between proceeding and being proceeded from, or between being begotten and being proceeded from. The difference in proceeding, insofar as it is understood with some distinction in the Father and the Son, follows their personal distinction and is more a sign of number. Thus, this man sophistically plays on the ambiguity of "existing differently." For the attribute of being caused, existing differently in the Son and the Spirit, produces number in them, since they are distinguished by proceeding differently from the Father—that is, by being begotten and proceeding. But the attribute of being a cause, existing differently in the Father and the Son, does not produce number or distinction. Rather, it follows from their numerical distinction, since they are two hypostases distinguished by the difference or property of begetting and being begotten, and generally by being without origin and from an origin. Hence, the commonality of proceeding or being a cause is understood with some distinction in them, just as the commonality of other attributes, which are the same in nature, is understood. Just as being, goodness, divinity, nature, and the like are one in them, so too is proceeding, and they are one progenitor, one cause, and one source of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, the Son and the Spirit being differently caused is not the same as the Father and the Son proceeding differently. The former difference, by making the mode of existence different, creates plurality and distinction. The latter difference, following the different mode of existence, creates nothing of the sort. In general, the different mode of procession creates plurality and distinction in what proceeds, but not in the source—far from it! For otherwise, the Father would be distinguished from

Himself, bringing forth the Son in one way and the Holy Spirit in another. But if the Father is one source of the Son and the Spirit, even though He is their source differently (as begetter of the one and progenitor of the other), it is clear that there is no necessity for the Father and the Son to be two sources because the reality and name of "source" exist differently in them. For if the Father and the Son were somehow one person, the Father would not be distinguished from Himself by bringing forth the Holy Spirit in a different way. But now they are two persons, the Father and the Son, for another reason—namely, the different mode of existence in them. Yet they are not two sources of the Spirit because of the different concept of source in them, but rather one source and one progenitor because of the one power and activity in number by which they are referred to the Holy Spirit, without their hypostatic distinction being introduced. Just as this distinction does not negate anything that belongs to them in common, equally, and singularly, so too is his argument stale. For he overlooked the fact that being differently caused establishes the Son and the Spirit as two, since the different mode of their hypostatic existence requires it, while being differently a cause does not establish the Father and the Son as two, since the former could not be two without being differently caused, while the latter are already two hypostases distinguished even apart from proceeding differently.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter VIII (II).

26. The theologian of Nyssa says, "The Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father." But if the same Spirit also proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son, what else can this mean except that He proceeds from two hypostases? And what else can it mean for something to proceed from two hypostases except that it has two sources of its existence? Therefore, the Latins will not escape dyarchy as long as they say that the Holy Spirit is also from the Son.

Scholarius.

27. The Latins, while they acknowledge that hypostasis (person) and essence (ousia) differ in a general sense, as the common differs from the particular—according to the theologians of the Church—and thus confess three hypostases and one essence, nevertheless believe that in each hypostasis, the hypostasis and the essence are the same and do not differ. Therefore, if one says that the Son is begotten from the essence of the Father, and again says that He is begotten from the hypostasis of the Father, this is because in the Father, His essence and His hypostasis are one and the same reality. The only distinction they recognize is that the essence is conceptually contained within the definition of the hypostasis, since the hypostasis is the essence with a relational reference, while the hypostasis is materially contained within the essence, as it is formed and given its specific character by the essence. This is entirely different from how things are understood in created beings, where the essence receives its energy and form from the individual and through the individual. One cannot separate the essence of the Father from the paternal hypostasis, for the essence of the Father is the hypostasis of the Father, even though the hypostasis of the Father is not simply the divine essence. Thus, whoever says that the Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis can also say that He proceeds from the essence of the Father and from the Father Himself. Similarly, whoever says that the Spirit is from the essence of the Son will also say that He is from the Son and from the hypostasis of the Son. Just as saying that the

Spirit is from the essence of the Father and from the essence of the Son does not necessarily introduce a dual principle, so also saying that the Spirit is from the hypostasis of the Father and from the hypostasis of the Son introduces no such thing. The Latins, therefore, speaking in this way and believing that there is no real distinction between essence and hypostasis within one and the same hypostasis—but only a conceptual distinction—do not think they are falling into the pitfall of dyarchy (dual principle). However, since the discussion concerning essence and hypostasis is nearly the whole of the true faith's doctrine, it is neither fitting for the present discourse nor very feasible to treat it fully here. It suffices to resolve this objection and move on, for apart from the discussion of essence and hypostasis, this argument provides no easy occasion for controversy, being so very simple. He (Mark of Ephesus) says as follows: The theologians say that the Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis (he is clearly alluding to Gregory of Nyssa). Therefore, if the Spirit also proceeds from the Son, it would be equally true to say that He proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son. But if this is so, then the Holy Spirit proceeds from two principles, for what proceeds from two hypostases cannot but have its existence from two principles. One might greatly wonder, if he believes these things to be true and necessary, why he does not also believe that creation has three principles, since it is created by three hypostases. For surely he would not say that the one God is the Creator of creation while denying that each of the divine hypostases is such. If he cries out, as many do, about the difference between creation and the divine processions, he will be ranked among the many, for this distinction will not help him as long as he insists that what proceeds from two hypostases must have two principles. If he insists on this only in the present case, he is assuming what is in question; but if he insists on it absolutely and universally, he will have no escape from the conclusion that he is saying creation has three principles, based on his own reasoning. If the three hypostases, in creating creation, are one Creator and one principle of creation—since they do not create insofar as they are three, but insofar as they are one—then the two hypostases (Father and Son) are also one source of the Spirit, by the same reasoning, and one principle of the Spirit, without any contradiction arising from their hypostatic distinction. For they do not bring forth the Holy Spirit insofar as they are two, but insofar as they are one. It is not easier for the three hypostases to be united in something common to them than for the two hypostases to be so united (indeed, one might suspect the opposite). Nor are the hypostases of the Godhead more united in their relation to creation than in their relation to themselves. The three hypostases are one Creator because they act outside themselves, but the Father and the Son cannot be one source of the Holy Spirit because they fulfill this activity within themselves, bringing forth a consubstantial person. Apart from the falsehood of deriving the unity or plurality of the sources from the nature of what proceeds, even if we grant this, it is still possible for the three hypostases to be one Creator by virtue of their one power and energy of creating, and for the two hypostases to be one source by virtue of their one power and energy of procession. Without this, it would be beyond all riddles to say that God is one because they create creation with one power, but that the Father and the Son are not one source, even though they bring forth the Spirit with one power, and that they have greater unity in their relation to creation than in their relation to themselves. But leaving him to examine this dialectically, let us turn to the demonstration of the truth. First, those who say that the Holy Spirit is or proceeds from the paternal hypostasis are saying the same as that He proceeds from the Father, and they understand the paternal hypostasis as the Father. For it is otherwise impossible. That the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father is according to the word of the Savior, where the name "Father" is taken not according to its signification but according to its underlying reality. For

it implies the originating and first hypostasis, and it signifies the Begetter. Even if it is taken according to its signification, it is the specific signification, as the Father of the Son, but in the general sense, as the Father of lights, it is never specifically attributed to the Spirit (for, as Damascene says, we never speak of the Father of the Spirit). Thus, even when they say "from the paternal hypostasis," they use the name of the paternal hypostasis in this way. In this way, the Father has no opposition to the Son, nor are there two hypostases in this respect. Therefore, saying that the Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis and from the Son does not imply that He proceeds from two hypostases. And if, as Gregory of Nyssa says, He proceeds from the paternal hypostasis, nothing prevents those who say He proceeds from the Son from also saying He proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son. This is true, but it does not follow that the Spirit is from two hypostases. And even if it follows that He is from two hypostases, it does not follow that He is from two principles. This is clear from the following. The name "hypostasis" signifies both the particularity of the divine persons, which establishes each in relation to another divine person, and the reality itself to which such particularity belongs, without including the concept of particularity. For even though the particularity is the very reality of the hypostasis, our intellect can distinguish what is naturally inseparable and add conceptual differences to what is naturally the same, since it cannot otherwise understand anything in existence or anything beyond existence. For understanding created things, it uses the resources of its own nature, but for understanding things beyond existence, it proceeds from the mode of understanding created things. Thus, when we say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the paternal hypostasis or from the hypostasis of the Son, we take the name "hypostasis" in the second sense. But when we say that the Son proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father or that the Father and the Son are two hypostases, we understand the name "hypostasis" in the first sense. Therefore, when someone says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father and from the hypostasis of the Son, they are not understanding the hypostasis under the concept of particularity, which establishes the person of the Father here and the person of the Son there, but under the concept of the reality to which such particularity belongs. This reality is one and the same in the Father and the Son, and thus it is not absolutely true to say, "From the hypostasis of the Father and from the hypostasis of the Son, therefore from two hypostases," nor is it true to say, "Even if from two hypostases, therefore from two principles." But when someone says that the hypostasis of the Spirit is from the paternal and filial hypostases, the name "hypostasis" is taken in the Spirit under the concept of particularity, for it has no other particularity establishing it except that of procession. The Father is established by the particularity of begetting, and the Son by the particularity of being begotten, without which it is impossible to conceive of the Father and the Son in relation to each other, as when one says that the hypostasis of the Son is or is begotten from the hypostasis of the Father. But without these, it is possible to conceive of the Father and the Son in relation to the Holy Spirit, if one also conceives of another particularity common to them, apart from the particularity of begetting and being begotten, through which they are two persons. This is what those defending the Latins have everywhere insisted, namely, that the Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is nevertheless not referred to a double principle, since He does not proceed from them insofar as they are Father and Son, but according to something else common to them, not insofar as they are two, but insofar as they are one. Thus, this clever argument of the man (Mark of Ephesus), taken from Kabasilas, has been shown to be weak and far from implicating the Latins in the charge of dyarchy.

RESPONSE TO MARK OF EPHESUS

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter IX (III).

28. If, just as the Son is from the Father, so also the Spirit is from the Father, why is the Spirit not also a Son? Because, according to the theologians, they differ in the mode of existence, and the Spirit does not proceed from the Father in a filial manner or by generation. Therefore, if the Spirit is not a Son proceeding from the Father, what more precise distinction shall we seek between the Son and the Spirit, both in relation to the Father and to each other? For if one is the Son and the other is not the Son but something else, it is clear that in relation to the Father they are distinguished by the logic of their relationship and have the relation of caused to cause, while in relation to each other, they are distinguished by the opposition of contradiction. For being the Son and not being the Son are clearly opposed as contradictories. Therefore, even in these cases—I mean the Son and the Spirit—the opposition based on relationship is not necessary for their distinction, since they can also be distinguished through the opposition of contradiction.

Scholarius.

29. The Latins will respond to your ninth argument just as they did to your sixth, adding only this: that now for the second time you have unknowingly fallen into the same error, using the same arguments and reasoning in different ways due to your inability to distinguish. For someone who is so easily refuted in their arguments, who would readily trust their judgment in matters of doctrine and the discernment of such things?

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter X (IV).

30. The Latins, unwilling to follow the principles of theology universally acknowledged by all, instead invent other principles that align with their own hypothesis. They do not divide the attributes of God as we do, distinguishing between what is common and what is proper to the divine persons, but rather introduce a new and peculiar manner, saying that some attributes are proper, some are common, and some are most common. That these distinctions are unfamiliar and innovatively introduced by the Latins is evident from their very words. But let us examine what they claim to be common and not most common. They say that it is common to the Son and the Spirit to be from the Father, that is, to be caused, and also to be sent by Him, along with other similar attributes. To the Father and the Son, they attribute the sending of the Spirit, the pouring forth and springing forth, and other such things, which they equate with the essential procession of the Spirit.

31. Therefore, we must carefully consider this from the beginning. If the term "caused" signified something other than "begotten" and "proceeding" when speaking of God, it might have some validity to call this common to the two. But if "caused" cannot even be conceptually understood in relation to each of these without reference to the mode (for one is caused by generation, the other by procession), then "caused" is one word, but the realities are two: the begotten and the proceeding. These very realities are what we call proper to each of them. Therefore, there is no other common attribute between the two in relation to the Father apart from their proper attributes, which distinguish them both from the Father and from each other.

As for being sent, and similar concepts, these primarily signify goodwill, according to the theologian Gregory, and the fact that all things from the first cause are referred back to it, so that they do not appear to be opposed to God. Furthermore, since these actions are temporal, occurring at a specific time, in relation to something, and for a purpose, they should not reasonably be counted among the divine attributes, which must be without beginning and eternal. The same applies to the act of sending: since it is temporal, occurring at a specific time, in relation to something, and for a purpose, it cannot logically be ascribed as a proper attribute of the Father and the Son in relation to the Spirit, much less equated with the eternal and uncaused procession of the Spirit. Moreover, the Spirit is not deprived of the act of sending, as is clear from the prophet's words spoken on behalf of the Son: "The Lord has sent me, and His Spirit." If it is said that the Son was sent by the Spirit as a man, from where is this evident? Either demonstrate it, or do not deceive. Indeed, the divine Chrysostom, in his discourse on the Holy Spirit, shows from the very words of Isaiah's prophecy that the Spirit was sent by the Son and insists that He was sent by both the Son and the Spirit. Therefore, the act of sending is most common, and not exclusive, as the Latins seem to think. Nor, then, is the eternal procession of the Spirit common to the Father and the Son. In addition, it is not surprising that the Son and the Spirit share something in common in relation to the Father, for the Father is not only a principle but also without beginning and uncaused, while the Son and the Spirit have the Father as their principle and cause. But how can we ascribe something common to the Father and the Son that does not also belong to the Spirit? For Dionysius the Great emphatically declares: "What is common to the Father and the Son is also shared unitedly and communally with the Holy Spirit by the divine principle." And the theologian Gregory says: "All that the Father has, the Son also has, except causality; all that the Son has, the Spirit also has, except generation."

32. We must examine the concept of sending more precisely. The Father was known in the Old Testament, but it was necessary for the Son to be known in the New. This, then, is what it means for the Son to be sent: to be manifested by the Father to the world. Again, once the Son was known, it was necessary for the Holy Spirit to be known. For this reason, the Spirit is said to be sent by the Father and the Son, who were already known—that is, to be manifested. For what other sending or mission can there be of God, who is present everywhere and does not move from place to place? This is why He says: "If I go, I will send Him to you." This does not at all signify the eternal procession, for He does not say, "If I do not go, I will not send the Paraclete, but if I go, then I will send Him," but rather, "If I depart from your sight, I will make His grace and power manifest to you."

33. Furthermore, if movement is foreign to God (for it is proper to bodies), then when "being sent" is said of the Son, it signifies His bodily presence in the world: "God sent forth His Son, born of a woman, into the world." When it is said of the Holy Spirit, it signifies His grace and energy, not His hypostasis. That this energy is distinct from the hypostasis is attested by the divine Chrysostom in his homilies on John, where he says: "Scripture sometimes calls the grace of the Spirit fire, sometimes water, showing that these names do not refer to His essence but to His energy." And again: "Here, 'Spirit' refers to the energy, for this is what is distributed; this, then, is what is sent. It is sent by the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit, being common to the Trinity—or rather, one and the same." Therefore, there is nothing common to the Father and the Son that does not also belong to the Spirit, as the renowned Dionysius declares.

RESPONSE TO MARK OF EPHESUS

Scholarius.

34. The Latins will first respond to the man (Mark of Ephesus) regarding his blasphemies against them, pointing out that in using such bold language, he unwittingly ensnares himself with the very accusations he levels against his brethren. For if it is permissible for him to divide things as he pleases, why should it not be even more permissible for the Latins to venture such distinctions, since they have ample precedent for doing so? But if he says it is not at all permissible for them, he reveals his own recklessness in what he demands. Therefore, let him consider what defense he might offer if they were to confront him with his own innovation. That he himself innovates is clear from his claim that the Latins do not divide things as we do, by which he means himself and those who share his views. If he were to say that he calls it a proper division, one he has received from the teachers of the Church, the Latins would respond: "We are not so foolish, nor so hostile to our own salvation, as to knowingly divide things differently from the saints and then contrive another division of our own." But if he cannot even show that the saints explicitly divide things in this way, and if it suffices for him to infer with all precision from the teachings of the fathers and to demand that what they say be consistent, then he should not fault us for saying the same in our own defense, as it would be just. Let it be granted that all the saints clearly use your division, while no one explicitly uses ours. If there were some conflict or opposition between the two, you would have grounds to object. But now, the same division is present in both. For we also say that the attributes of God are either common or proper to the divine persons, and in this way we do not contradict your division at all. If, however, we further subdivide, saying that some common attributes belong to two persons, while others belong to all, or that some proper attributes are simply proper, while others are proper in relation to something, we are not opposing your division but rather establishing it. Just as if someone divides animals into rational and irrational, and another elaborates by saying that the rational is either mortal or immortal, the latter is not opposing the former's division but rather confirming and reinforcing it through his own. If every subdivision were false, many accepted truths would be overturned, and all the labor devoted to the sciences would be in vain, since the method of division contributes greatly to them. But if it is not permissible to subdivide falsely, then this subdivision must also be examined to determine whether it is true or not. And if it is found to be true and consistent with the teachings of the fathers, it should be judged as rightly arising from their divisions, and thanks should be given to those who discover it, rather than despising it simply because it was not explicitly stated by them, as long as it is not contrary to their teachings and the truth. For if Damascene or any other teacher says that some attributes of God are common and others are proper, he leaves it to us to examine the nature of both the common and the proper. And if someone were to ask him, "Teacher, where do you place the attribute of being caused?" he would necessarily need our division. But if he understood the proper and the common in a restricted sense, he would not be able to answer adequately, and he would either have to reject his own division or say that being caused is one of the attributes of God, apart from all those already mentioned. The Latins do not base their doctrine on this division, nor would you ever hear a Latin arguing from it. Rather, it is the Greeks who, in their writings against the Latins, attempt to use this division to embarrass the Latins with absurdities. For they say that since the attributes of God are of two kinds—proper and common—if the Latins place procession among the common and essential attributes, then the Spirit must also partake of it; but if they place it among the proper and personal attributes, then it must belong

either to the Father alone or to the Son as well, who shares in it with the Father as one person due to their personal unity. When they argue in this way, those who defend the Latins say that they err by compressing the division and that the necessities by which they think to confine the Latins have no resemblance to true necessities. Thus, they expose the argument as empty and sophistical, distinguishing between the common and the proper, as well as clarifying the term "personal." Since discussing these matters is beyond the scope of the present need, we refer those who wish to learn more to the writings on these subjects. For now, it suffices to say that the Latins do not introduce this division to construct their own doctrine but rather to resolve an absurd argument and to show that the supposed necessity is not a necessity. Therefore, even if they do not say things that are absolutely necessary, it suffices for them that through these arguments they effectively refute those who think they can draw necessary conclusions against them. For it is permissible to resolve an apparent but non-existent necessity with probable arguments. Nevertheless, they also say that their arguments are necessary and not only consistent with the teachings of the fathers but explicitly stated by them. And so much for this.

35. Since he (Mark of Ephesus) was led to criticize the division by presenting examples of attributes common to two persons, and by attempting to demonstrate that there is nothing so common in the divine realm that he might thereby exclude procession from this category, it must be shown that he errs in this as well as in other matters. First, he claims that the attribute of being caused is in no way common to the Son and the Spirit in relation to the Father. But he ought to have considered the words of Gregory of Nyssa, who says: "While confessing the indistinguishability of nature, we do not deny the distinction between cause and caused, in which alone we understand one to differ from the other; and we further recognize another distinction within that which is from a cause." In this passage, Gregory, along with all who oppose the Latins, explains that one person differs from another not in every respect but specifically in relation to the Father, understanding the Father as one and the Son and the Spirit as another, which he reiterates in his subdivision of that which is from a cause. Therefore, according to them, the Son and the Spirit are distinguished from the Father by the attribute of being caused, which is common to them, and so much so that the Son and the Spirit are signified under a single term; for they say, "the other," meaning the Son and the Spirit. But this man (Mark of Ephesus) not only failed to grasp this but even declared that "being caused" is merely a single term, while the realities are two, and he posits as the reason for this that it is impossible even conceptually to understand "being caused" without reference to the mode, at least in the case of the Son and the Spirit. First, then, he shows himself ignorant of Gregory of Nyssa, for Gregory, while confessing the indistinguishability of the divine nature, does not deny the distinction between cause and caused, in which alone he understands one to differ from the other. For it would be absurd to wish to distinguish the divine persons while distinguishing them only by a term. What would make him any better than Sabellius, if even Gregory of Nyssa himself says that the Father is distinguished from the Son and the Spirit solely by being cause and caused, and yet this distinction, by which alone they are distinguished, is said to be merely a term and not a reality? But if Gregory of Nyssa is wise and true, and yields to no one in wisdom or truth, it is clear that "being caused" is truly one reality in the Son and the Spirit, by which they are distinguished from the Father alone. For the different mode of this common reality is not sought for the purpose of distinguishing them from the Father but rather because, while they are distinguished from the Father by being from a cause, they are distinguished from each other by the different ways in which this common reality belongs to them.

Furthermore, even if in other matters the account of these common attributes were different, it would not be necessary to assume the same for the divine. But now he applies this to the divine without anyone conceding it, and thus opposes the common presuppositions of the faith, while bringing no support from other realities. If he had needed dialectic and the rest of philosophy, he would have understood well the account of the common and of conceptualization in other cases, and from there he would have been guided to the truth concerning the divine. For hearing that universals are conceptualizations and not independently existing realities, as the Peripatetics claim (which our faith also accepts in some way), he thinks that universals are in no way realities, neither as each exists in itself nor as they are combined with something else in the same reality, and thus become part of its essence. But this is utterly foolish, for in this way nothing would exist in reality, not even the first substance, which is the ultimate substrate of all things, if the essential parts of things, which are the universals, were merely conceptualizations and not realities. But so that he and anyone else like him who does not know may learn, even if belatedly: every universal, insofar as it is one in itself, is a conceptualization and not a reality existing independently, as the Platonists thought; but insofar as it is part of the essence of the particular, it is a reality and exists in the particular, and it is one reality in all that partake of it. Nor does the fact that each of the partakers partakes of it differently affect this. For the difference of this common and universal attribute does not arise from its own nature but from its application to the particular, in which it exists. For example, the genus "animal," which includes "man," "horse," and other species of animals, is both a universal and a conceptualization. Insofar as it signifies one thing and one conceptualization applicable to many realities, "animal" does not exist in reality as a single nature that can be called "animate, sensitive substance" and nothing else, which is the definition of "animal." But insofar as it is divided by certain differences and gathered into the nature of the particular, such as this or that species, it is a reality. Thus, in "man," "animal" is a reality included in him through the differences "rational" and "mortal." But even if it is impossible for this universal, "animal," to be gathered into a real nature without differences, or, in other words, without the different mode of existence, this does not mean that the universal itself and the mode of its existence are the same. For "animal" and "rational, mortal animal" in "man" are not the same, since if they were, it would suffice to define "man" as "animal," and one could not consider "animal" apart from "rational" and "mortal," or the mode of existence, except as a conceptualization in "man," which does not exist in reality. Rather, it is the reality underlying the conceptualization. For the conceptualization is in no way in "man," since the conceptualization includes potentially opposite differences, while "animal" in "man" includes certain defined and non-opposite differences. Otherwise, it would follow that "man" is both rational and irrational, mortal and immortal, and in general, possesses opposites. From this, it follows that the different species of "animal" are distinguished from all other genera by their genus, but from each other by their differences, which are combined in one way or another, and this distinction is real in them because both the genus and its differences signify realities. Even if the definition itself, composed of these, is a conceptualization in another sense, because it applies to many, this is irrelevant to the argument. For insofar as it signifies the essence of the reality and is convertible with the reality, it is neither a universal nor a conceptualization, and in this way, the parts of the definition are realities, even if each, taken separately, is a universal and a conceptualization, whether of genus or difference. The same account applies to every common and universal attribute when considered in relation to the more particular, whether genus in relation to species or species in relation to the individual. Thus, the attribute of being caused, which is common to the

Son and the Spirit in the divine persons, and is predicated of them, is understood as a universal and is a conceptualization, as he (Mark of Ephesus) also thinks—or rather, he does not even want it to be a conceptualization. But the divine persons are not distinguished in this way by "being caused" when it is understood in this manner. Rather, since this common attribute, insofar as it is considered as existing in the Son and the Spirit, is a reality, the Son and the Spirit are distinguished from the Father by this common reality, according to Gregory of Nyssa, or rather, according to the true presupposition of the faith. The different mode of this reality in each distinguishes them from each other. Even if one were to set aside this different mode and leave only the concept of being caused in the Son and the Spirit, the Son and the Spirit would still be distinguished from the Father by being caused, as by a common difference and a common reality. Neither is the different mode of being caused the same as being caused itself, nor is being caused, when separated from this mode, understood merely as a conceptualization because it is something common and universal. But insofar as it exists in the Son and the Spirit, it is a reality, even if in itself it is a conceptualization. The Son and the Spirit are distinguished from the Father not by being caused insofar as it is considered in itself and as a conceptualization, but by being caused insofar as it exists in them. For if this cannot be otherwise even in created things, much less can it be so in the divine persons, whose distinction is most perfect and real, not a matter of conceptualizations and terms, as in the nonsense and error of Sabellius.

36. With these things being so, the Latins confidently conclude that there is indeed something common to only two persons, namely, the attribute of being caused, which belongs to the Son and the Spirit. Since he (Mark of Ephesus) also attempted to exclude "sending" from the category of attributes common to two persons, let us examine what he says about this briefly, as far as possible, so that he does not appear to say something noble and beyond refutation, especially since the Latins have no great need to defend themselves on this point, as, according to what has been said, what they assert about attributes common to two persons is not to establish their doctrine but to resolve objections against it. Having set out to demonstrate that "sending" is not among the attributes common to two persons, just as "being caused" is not, as he thought to show, he instead demonstrates that "sending" is common to all three persons, and he says that "being sent" signifies goodwill, according to the divine Gregory; but goodwill is common, and therefore "being sent" is also common. First, then, he errs by proposing to discuss "sending" but proving his point about "being sent." Second, by saying that the Father is also sent, as if He too expresses goodwill, which no one has ever said, he confuses and mixes everything badly. But the divine Gregory says that the mission signifies goodwill not in the sense of being sent but in the sense of sending. Therefore, he says, "Consider the goodwill of the Father as a mission," meaning the mission of the Father as the one who sends, as if to say, "Understand the Father's sending as His goodwill." If someone were to correct this man (Mark of Ephesus) and say against the Latins, "Let it be that 'sending' signifies goodwill; but since goodwill is common, 'sending' is also common, and thus it is no more common to two persons than to all three divine hypostases," this would still be flawed. For first, the heretics who say that the Father has authority over the Son because He is said to send Him, the divine Gregory explains that this sending is an act of will, so that if one were to say, "The Father sends the Son," it could be rephrased as, "The Father wills the Son to come into the world." If, therefore, the will to bestow gifts on creation is common, the will to do so through the Son, our Mediator, is proper to the Father, for this is not common and reciprocal. If the Son had willed to do so through the Father, He would have sent the Father into the world, but this is not the case. What need is there to speak of this will, by which God wills

His only-begotten Son to come into the world? The Father wills to beget (for He does not do so unwillingly), and the Son wills to be begotten with the same will (for He does not do so unwillingly), but not in such a way that the Father wills to be begotten as the Son wills, or the Son wills to beget as the Father wills. Again, the Son exists by the will of God, according to the theologians, as does the Holy Spirit, and so does creation, but in different ways, even though the will in the Father is one. Therefore, if someone speaks simplistically about the divine will, it is easy for him to fall into many absurdities. Even if willing and goodwill are common to the divine persons in relation to creation, it does not follow that "sending" is also common, even if the divine Gregory says that "sending" signifies goodwill and willing. Nor is it necessarily common in the same way to those to whom it is common. For the Father sends the Son, and the Holy Spirit also sends Him, but the Father sends Him as God and as man (for divinity is not sent, as the common notion of sending implies, which includes the mode of servile ministry and the transition in manner and time, but not the act of sending itself, apart from these elements, which are derived from the common notion). Therefore, the Father sends the Son both as God and as man, but the Spirit sends the Son only as man. If it were possible for the Spirit to send Him as God, it would be in the same way as the Father (for He sends Him by begetting Him), and not by any other such act, but by a simple goodwill or will, or by willing the Son to be sent by the Father. Similarly, the Father and the Son send the Holy Spirit in the same way, by the same act of procession. And even if "sending" is goodwill and goodwill is common, the Holy Spirit is not said to send Himself, for He does not send Himself by any act befitting God, since He is in no way the principle of Himself. But some say that the Spirit can be said to be sent by Himself or to send Himself, but only in the sense that He wills to be sent by those by whom He is said to be sent. However, no one has said or will say that He sends Himself in the same way as He is sent by the Father and the Son. This is also why it is not considered contradictory, for He has the will to be sent, just as the Father has the will to send Him. But because "sending" is goodwill, it does not follow that He, willing to be sent, also sends Himself in the same way as He is sent by the Father and the Son. That "being sent" signifies reference to the cause, I am amazed that he overlooked this in his explanation. For he cannot say that the Son and the Spirit being sent by the Father signifies that all things from Him are referred to the first cause, who is the Father, while the Holy Spirit being sent by the Father and the Son signifies that all things from them are referred to the cause, who is the Father and the Son together, sending the Holy Spirit by one act. If this is so, it suffices that the Holy Spirit being sent by the Son refers all things of the Spirit to the Son as a principle, but not to another principle apart from the Father, as has been said. Furthermore, it is impossible to say that "sending" is a property of the Father and the Son in relation to the Spirit, if "sending" is temporal, since no property of the divine persons is temporal but is eternal and without beginning. And if it is impossible for it to be a property, he is far from saying that it is the same as the eternal and unoriginate procession of the Spirit. First, he is wrong to say that no property is temporal. For if no property is temporal, then nothing temporal will be a property. Therefore, the incarnation of the Son will not be a property of the Son, since it is temporal. But this is impossible, for the teachers of the Church distinguish the Son from the Father and the Spirit in this way, and otherwise, if it were not a property, it would be common, and thus the hypostasis of the Father and the Spirit would also be understood as incarnate. Second, even if "being sent" is temporal, "sending" is not temporal. For "sending" signifies the property of the person who is able to send, just as "being sent" signifies the property of the one who is able to be sent. The act of sending signifies the actual operation of such a property when it is manifested through

external activity. Even if "sending" and "sending" are considered the same, the act of sending and the eternal procession of the person sent are not different in reality. Similarly, "being sent" and "eternally proceeding" are not the same in reality, but one follows the other, so that the person sent is also eternally proceeding, and if something is not eternally proceeding from anyone, it cannot be sent. Therefore, since the one who proceeds temporally also eternally proceeds, and the Holy Spirit proceeds temporally from the Son, being sent by Him, He also proceeds eternally from Him. From this, it follows that the Holy Spirit is not said to be sent by Himself, just as He does not proceed from Himself, nor does He send Himself, just as He does not proceed from Himself. If He also sends the Son, it is insofar as He became flesh, and this explanation is not sophistical but true. For the Theologian says that the Son is sent by the Lord, primarily as man, but if He is also sent as God, this is not impossible, provided one understands the mission as goodwill. Therefore, when the Son is said to be sent by the Spirit, if it is as man, or primarily so, this is not against the Latins; but if it is as God, the goodwill of the Spirit is understood as the mission, and this is also not against the Latins, as has been recently stated. But if the one who does not demonstrate his point is being deceitful, then the one who does not show how the Holy Spirit sends the Son as God is even more deceitful, for he cannot demonstrate that this is ever said by any of the saints. Moreover, his argument contains much illogicality. Above all, he says that there is nothing remarkable or paradoxical about the commonality of the Son and the Spirit in being caused, but he declares any commonality between the Father and the Son to be paradoxical. First, the truth of the faith should not be defined by what is not remarkable or paradoxical, for we know that our faith is full of much wonder and mystery. One might more reasonably wonder whether he considers it remarkable that procession is common to the Son and the Father, or that sending is common, for this is not clear. If he means to speak of procession, his argument was about sending, for he needed to show that sending is not among the attributes common to two persons, just as being caused is not. But if he means sending, he should not be surprised that it is common to the Father and the Son. For that the Father and the Son send the Holy Spirit cannot be denied, since the Truth (Scripture) affirms it; therefore, it is not proper to one person alone. But that the Spirit sends Himself or is sent by Himself is nowhere found in Scripture; therefore, sending the Holy Spirit is not an attribute of all three persons. For though "the Spirit blows where He wills," He certainly does not send Himself or is sent by Himself. For sending implies an order of one person in relation to at least one other, which the sender establishes, so that when one divine person becomes invisible, the other becomes visible. This order is impossible for the Spirit in relation to Himself. But "blowing where He wills" demonstrates the authority and power of the Spirit, which He has as sent by the Father and the Son. For having a common and single will with the Father and the Son to sanctify all and to benefit all who are worthy, and having the same power entirely, He distributes His grace and blessings with authority to those in need. So much for our discussion about the commonality of sending. But if the discussion is about procession, although this is far from the original purpose, he might have reasonably doubted earlier, but now all doubt is removed. For if sending the Holy Spirit, though common to the Father and the Son, does not belong to the Spirit, it is no wonder that procession, though common to them, does not belong to the Spirit. If he thinks that the commonality of the Son and the Father in procession is prevented by Dionysius and Gregory, so that the Spirit is not included in this commonality, the Latins will say with great confidence that they are free to affirm this commonality between the Father and the Son based on what Cyril says: "We believe the Son to be coeternal with the Father and equal in all things except begetting," and elsewhere, "In the only-begotten Son,

who is like and equal to the Father in all things except fatherhood." Similarly, Athanasius says, "The same things are said of the Son as of the Father, except that He is called Father," and again, "What is said of the Father, the Scriptures also say of the Son, except that He is called Father." Neither of these, nor anyone else, says, "Except procession." That neither Dionysius nor Gregory opposes this, many things could be said to demonstrate, but it suffices to say this much: regarding Dionysius, even if we grant that procession is not common to the Son and the Father because it cannot belong to the Spirit, since the saint says that what is common to them is also common to the Spirit, yet sending the Holy Spirit does not belong to the Spirit at all, but is common to the Father and the Son, as cannot be denied. Therefore, either Dionysius is not entirely correct (for one could object based on sending), or one must understand all things not opposed to the nature of the Spirit, just as one must understand all things the Father has that are not opposed to the nature of the Son. But if Gregory the Great says, "All that the Son has, the Spirit also has, except generation," he includes procession in generation, as proceeding from the Father through the Son to the Spirit, and as given to Him by the Father in being begotten. For in the act of generation and sonship, the Son receives these things from the Father.

37. Next, he attempts to show that the sending of the Spirit is something other than His eternal procession, and he says that the Holy Spirit who is sent is not the hypostasis but the grace or energy of the Spirit, as he himself says. But we have already spoken sufficiently about sending and procession, that even if these are granted to be two distinct things, the temporal mission, the sending of the Spirit, still presupposes His eternal procession. If the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father and is sent by the Son, is not the hypostasis of the Spirit, then the one who is to be persuaded must be far removed from reason, understanding, and the art of argumentation. With all these things being so, he vainly attempts to refute the Latins by poorly resolving that absurd argument based on the division of the attributes of God. For it has been shown that being caused is common to the Son and the Spirit, and that sending is common to the Father and the Son, and thus it is demonstrated that there is no necessity for every attribute of God to belong to one person or to all three together, as the argument against the Latins claims. And the man's arguments in response to this resolution have been shown to be entirely stale and devoid of any soundness.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter XI (VI).

38. The Latins, holding it as acknowledged that the Holy Spirit is third after the Father and the Son, think that this order demonstrates that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from the Son. For if the Spirit did not have an order, they say, and a relation to the Son, He would not be called third, nor would He come after the Son. But, O noble ones, I would say to them, if the Son is second after the Father (for this is what the relation requires), and nothing else intervenes, what else could the Holy Spirit be but third? For surely He could not be first, and the Son is necessarily second; therefore, the Holy Spirit is third, if He is indeed the completion of that blessed Trinity. This is why, I think, the theologians have adopted the notion of order, so that the Spirit is not mistaken for a Son when placed after the Father. Otherwise, they would also abolish the order. For they say, "The Holy Trinity does not have order, not as being disordered, but as being above order." And again, "The same things are pre-numbered, co-numbered, and post-numbered." What, then, does order

contribute to your hypothesis, if not that everything that follows something in order must also derive its being from it?

Scholarius.

39. The Latins also reject the notion of order in God, which the teachers of the Church dismiss. They reject the order of before and after, which is properly called order in created things, and generally any order that is imposed on things externally by something that causes it. For they wish to place the Holy Trinity above such order. But even in relation to us, the divine persons have no fixed order within themselves; rather, depending on different perspectives, the same persons can be pre-numbered, co-numbered, or post-numbered, even if another order has become the cause of this. Although all the works of the Trinity toward us are common, the variety of these works proceeds from there with a certain order derived from the particularity of each divine person, which is why we customarily ascribe specific benefactions to each divine person. Thus, as we are moved to remember such benefactions, we are accustomed to number and order the divine persons, and in this way, we come to give thanks and glorify the blessed Trinity. Therefore, the Latins also reject the order that the saints dismiss in God. But the order without which it is impossible even to speak of the blessed Trinity—an order taught by the divine Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and, before them, the common presuppositions of the faith—necessarily arises from the particularities of the divine persons and their processions and is rightly signified even by the names of the divine persons. The Latins do not dare to deny this, nor do they recklessly cast themselves into the danger of contentiousness for the sake of argument. This order is beneficial to them not only for their hypothesis, about which the disagreement exists, but for all truth, which they know will soon abandon their souls if they deny this order. For, as the great Basil says, "Innovation concerning order amounts to a denial of existence itself and is a rejection of the whole faith." It is also absurd that he (Mark of Ephesus) thought the Latins ascribe to the divine persons an order of succession. The Latins are not so ignorant as to believe that the divine persons are ordered like three houses or other such sequential things, even if some of the saints, in a rough and symbolic way, speak of the divine persons as following one another to make the truth more evident to those who are less discerning, wishing to present the unity and indivisibility of nature in the perfect distinction of the hypostases to the more simple-minded. Concerning the order in the divine persons, what has been previously discussed by many suffices. For the present argument, what has been said is enough to defend the Latins. This eleventh argument he raises requires no other response. If perhaps he says that the order of the divine persons is not inherent in their nature, nor was it legislated by the common Teacher, the one of the blessed Trinity, from the beginning, but was adopted by the teachers to avoid some absurdity, it would be better to respond to this with silence and laughter.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter XII (V).

40. It seems to the Latins that the fact that the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son greatly supports their hypothesis. I would add to this that the Spirit is also proper to the Son and not alien to Him, along with other similar arguments. Does it therefore follow that the Spirit proceeds from Him? But first, Theodoret will

not allow this, considering such a view blasphemous and impious. Furthermore, the most divine Cyril himself says: "We will in no way tolerate any disturbance of the faith defined by the fathers, that is, the creed of the faith, nor will we permit ourselves or others to alter even a single word of what is contained there. For it was not they who spoke, but the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from God the Father and is not alien to the Son according to the logic of essence." Do you hear in what sense the Spirit is said to be proper to the Son and not alien? According to the logic of essence, he says, as consubstantial with Him. The divine Gregory of Nyssa also says: "The Holy Spirit is said to belong to the Son (indeed, it is attached to Him), with whom it is inseparably comprehended, but it has its being from the cause of the Father, from whom it also proceeds." What better interpreter, then, shall we accept than these divine theologians, who speak with apostolic and their own words?

Scholarius.

41. The Latins, although they have much to say about Theodoret, as can be seen in the writings of those who support them, and though they could have dismissed him earlier or reconciled him with others when he came to hold the orthodox view, would nevertheless say this much: The writings of Theodoret are full of much ambiguity and should not be brought into the discussion. For it is possible that, as long as he was influenced by the corruption of Nestorius, he, like Nestorius, alienated the Spirit from the essence of the Son and therefore denied that the Spirit has its existence from the Son and through the Son, through which, if through anything else, the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Son would have been demonstrated. It is possible that, after coming to the truth later, he (Theodoret) in no way thought that the Spirit was created from the Son, as the heretics of that time believed, and therefore denied that the Spirit has its existence from the Son and through the Son. For in this way, they absurdly claimed that the Spirit, like other creatures, was created from the Son and through the Son, and thus had its existence, or rather its origin, from Him. For these reasons, therefore, as far as the discussions about the Spirit are concerned, one should not place too much trust in Theodoret, since the truth can be found with great precision from many other sources. That the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son signifies nothing other than that He proceeds from Him and through Him. This is demonstrated by many arguments drawn from the presuppositions of the faith. For without the need to conceive of any other relation in the divine except that of cause, whenever one is said to be of another, this relation of cause necessarily introduces the sameness of essence (as the great Basil says: "I understand the kinship with the Father because He proceeds from the Father." And again: "We confess the sameness of essence because the Son is from the Father.") But this does not mean that this relation is excluded, as you claim, they say. Who would not know that the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father because He is from the Father or proceeds from Him? But it is impossible for the Spirit to be called the Spirit of the Son except in the same way that He is said to be of the Father, lest the perfect equality of the Son with the

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The manuscripts without C provide the following note by John Plusiadenus (= Joseph of Methone): "You should not have brought Theodoret and his writings into the discussion, especially since Theodoret later conformed to the judgment of the Council, and his chapters were refuted not long before by the most holy Cyril and anathematized by the same Council, as we have clearly and explicitly seen in all the subsequent councils." In place of the text of Gregory of Nysse, to which Scholarius refers in his response, manuscript B provides the following text of St. Basil: "The great Basil also says in his work against Amphilochius: 'The Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ as being naturally united to Him.'" This reading is adopted by Bishop Petit in his edition. However, Scholarius read the text of St. Gregory of Nysse.

Father be inadvertently undermined. However, no argument, however true, provides as clear a defense for them as the sayings of the teachers. For they cite the great Athanasius, who says: "This Spirit is the breath of the Son," and the blessed Epiphanius, who says: "The Spirit breathes from the Father and the Son." What the former calls the breath of the Son, the latter declares to be breathing from the Son and the Father. Similarly, they present the divine Maximus, who says: "Just as the Holy Spirit exists by nature and essence from God the Father, so also He is of the Son by essence, as proceeding ineffably from the Father through the Son who is begotten." For he says here clearly that the Holy Spirit is called the Spirit of the Father and the Son because He proceeds essentially from the Father through the Son. Moreover, they also provide Cyril, who asserts the same as the others, saying in one place: "Proceeding through Him naturally as His own," and in another: "The Spirit is His own, in Him, and from Him, just as it is understood to be of God the Father." From all these sayings and many others, they clearly demonstrate that the Spirit being called the Spirit of the Son and proper to the Son signifies nothing other than that He proceeds from the Son and through the Son. But they do not think that Cyril opposes them, since he does not even oppose himself when he says that the Spirit is not alien but proper to the Son according to the logic of essence. For when he says that the Spirit is proper to the Son, he does not mean as a possession or something external to Him, but according to the logic of essence, as the essence of the Spirit is the same as the essence of the Son. Or, as the Latins everywhere say and proclaim, the Holy Spirit has His existence from God the Father, as from a source (for the Father is the source of both the divinity of the Son and the Spirit), but according to the logic of essence, He proceeds through the Son and from the Son. For the Father, sharing His own essence and its goods with the Son, shares all things except the property of begetting, as it is impossible to share this. "I and the Father are one," and one in essence, since in terms of properties or hypostases, they are two, so that if they are one in essence, they are one in all things that do not pertain to the opposition within them. Thus, they are one source, as has often been said, and one sender. In this way, the Spirit is said to be of the Father and is called the Spirit of the Son according to the logic of essence, that is, because of the identity of essence. The saying of Gregory of Nyssa also leads to the same understanding, however it is taken. For if the Spirit is attached to the Son, the argument is clearly in favor of the Latins; but if it is said to be the Spirit of the Son, he says that the Spirit is called the Spirit of the Son as being comprehended with the Son. This certainly signifies reference (for being comprehended is either relational or otherwise opposed, and especially relational). But He is said to proceed from the Father, as having His being dependent on the cause of the Father. He has His being, he says, also from the Son, whose Spirit He is said to be, but not dependent on the Son (for He does not proceed as from a source of the Son), but dependent on the cause of the Father, and through the Son as through a kind of connecting chain. Thus, when these sayings of the saints are understood in this way, they agree with the presuppositions of the faith and are not contrary to the other sayings of the teachers. Otherwise, it would be impossible for what is reasonable to be preserved in all things. Therefore, not only for the defense of the Latins but also for the resolution of what he (Mark of Ephesus) argues against them, these sayings of the teachers, when rightly understood, suffice.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter XIII (VIII).

RESPONSE TO MARK OF EPHESUS

42. The Latins take the giving of the Spirit to the disciples through the Lord's breathing after the Resurrection as a symbol that the Holy Spirit also proceeds from Him. That it was not the essence of the Spirit given at that time through the breathing is clear from the fact that the Holy Spirit had not yet come: "For if I do not go away," He says, "the Paraclete will not come to you." The divine Chrysostom also testifies to this in his exegetical works on John, saying: "Some say that He did not give the Spirit but prepared them through the breathing to receive Him. But one would not be wrong to say that they then received some spiritual authority and grace, so as to forgive sins; for He added, 'Whose sins you forgive, they are forgiven,' showing what kind of activity He gives. For the grace of the Spirit is ineffable and His gift manifold. And it is no wonder, since even through Moses, God took of the Spirit and gave it to others. But in the Lord Christ, all the grace of the Spirit rested; 'For God does not give the Spirit by measure to Him.' Therefore, He both gave from it and through it worked miracles; 'For in the Spirit of God,' He says, 'I cast out demons.'"

Scholarius.

43. The Latins do not themselves take this as a symbol, but they are persuaded by others who do, and these others cannot be disbelieved. For Augustine, interpreting that Gospel passage, says that the physical breath was not the essence of the Holy Spirit but a demonstration through an appropriate sign that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father but also from the Son. And again, in the fourth book of On the Trinity, he says: "Nor do I understand what He intended to signify when, breathing on the disciples, He said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit.' For that physical breath, which was felt by the bodily senses and came forth from His mouth, was not the essence of the Holy Spirit, but a demonstration through an appropriate sign that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father but also from the Son." The divine Cyril, commenting on the passage, "I will ask the Father," says: "For this reason, He also breathed it physically, showing that, just as human breath proceeds from a human mouth, so too does the divine essence pour forth from itself in a manner befitting God." And again, in the fourth book of Against Hermias: "As from a fountain of His own fullness, He breathed and said, 'Receive the Holy Spirit,' using the physical and more manifest breath to clearly outline the nature of the Spirit." One would find the same in Basil and almost all the saints, who call that physical breath a type, demonstration, proof through appropriate signification, outline, and indication. The blessed Augustine cannot even discern any other purpose for that breathing except to signify the invisible procession of the Spirit from the divinity of the Son. Thus, it is clear that the Latins are slandered when this meaning is attributed to them. And he who thinks that those who say the opposite are speaking the truth believes that the teachers are mistaken. This, then, suffices for the Latins' defense, that they preserve the position of so many and such great teachers. If this man (Mark of Ephesus) thinks that what is signified through the breathing is the created grace of the Spirit, the Latins will say that he is deceived. For Cyril says: "By the physical and more manifest breath, He clearly outlined the nature of the Spirit." Therefore, according to Cyril, the nature of the Spirit was what was being signified at that time. It is also absurd that he thinks the saying of Chrysostom is contrary to the common position of the teachers and the argument of the Latins. For Chrysostom is not discussing the type and the reality that the type or sign signified at that time, but rather what was given to the apostles—whether it was merely a preparation for the future reception of the Spirit, as some said, or some grace of the Spirit, such as the forgiveness of sins. The first opinion he does not reject as

belonging to others, as is clear from his words: "One would not be wrong to say that they then received..." and so on. But the second he presents as his own opinion, perhaps with some hesitation, which is why many have thought this part to be inconsistent with the boldness and certainty of the teacher. But even if it is entirely genuine, it is not contrary to the other sayings of the teachers. For there are two questions: first, whether that physical breath was a type or indication that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son and through the Son; and second, whether what was then done and given was a preparation or some grace from the many graces of the Spirit, which the Savior was later to send all at once. To the first question, the saints recently cited and many others respond and resolve it, and from this resolution comes the Latins' argument on this question. Chrysostom, however, responds to and resolves the second question well. Therefore, that some grace was given at that time, and that what occurred was not merely a preparation, is not contrary to the idea that the physical actions at that time were an indication of something greater, nor is the saying contrary to the sayings. That it is also harmonious is clear to anyone with understanding. For Christ, by breathing, gave the Spirit, not the breath itself, but what was signified by the breath—not proceeding from His humanity, but naturally from His divinity. This Holy Spirit, proceeding from Christ, then created in the apostles a certain grace, the power to forgive sins. But He neither merely prepared them nor bestowed all the graces (for this was to happen later, when the Holy Spirit would come to them substantially, that is, physically, so to speak, and fully, filling them with all His gifts). The essence and hypostasis of the Spirit proceeded from the Son both then and afterward, but the disciples of Christ did not receive this directly, but rather its effect and grace —at first, a specific grace, as mentioned, and afterward, all of it. For the Spirit did not proceed from Christ in the same way that the disciples received Him, but rather, as it was in Him, substantially and naturally; the disciples, however, received the grace of the Spirit created in them by the Spirit. For created nature cannot contain the divine essence but receives it in a manner appropriate to itself, that is, in the effect of the divine essence, since each thing exists in another not according to its own mode but according to the mode of that in which it exists. Thus, the Holy Spirit exists in Himself as a hypostasis distinct from the Father and the Son in one nature and divinity, but in the Father and the Son as in one source and fountain due to the identity of essence in them, though with some distinction arising from their personal properties: the Father is the unoriginate source, the Son is the source from a source, and the Spirit comes to the Son from the Father. The Spirit is wholly in the Father and the Son, or rather, in them as in a whole, and as He is in Himself, except for the real reference to them, which He does not have toward Himself. This Holy Spirit was also in the disciples of Christ and is in all who are worthy, but neither as He is in Himself nor as He is in the Father and the Son —that is, not according to His essence, nature, or hypostasis, but as the nature of those who receive Him requires, that is, according to some effect of His, such as wisdom, the grace of speech, counsel, or something similar, which are called the gifts of the Spirit. Therefore, having such gifts, they are said to have the Holy Spirit, because they are inseparably united to the Spirit who creates these things in them, who is infinite in nature and omnipotent. And he who has the grace of the Spirit has the Spirit who bestows it. But neither is the grace itself the Holy Spirit, nor, if Christ bestows this grace on humans through the Spirit, does He bring forth only this grace. For in this way, He would not differ from humans. But just as the grace of the Spirit exists eternally in the Spirit, not as an effect but as an essential energy, so too it exists in those who receive it as a temporal effect of that energy. Similarly, the Holy Spirit is in the Son and proceeds eternally from Him, and He is also in humans, proceeding from Him, not as He proceeds from the Son, but as those who receive

Him are able to receive Him, that is, in His effect. From all this, it is clear that when the divine Chrysostom says that some grace of the Spirit was given to the apostles at that time, he would not deny that the grace is an effect of the Spirit, as it exists in humans, and that the Holy Spirit is indwelling in humans through this effect, but not as He is in Himself and in His own nature. And the Son of God is the one who bestows this grace, bringing forth the Holy Spirit, whose grace it is. And the Son eternally brings forth the Holy Spirit, even if He appears to bring Him forth in time, and those to whom He is revealed as being brought forth receive the grace of the Spirit. And the temporal effect of that eternal energy is not the essence or hypostasis itself, as it proceeds from Him. For these things are entirely true and have nothing contrary to them, and no teacher, not even the divine Chrysostom himself, would deny them, nor would we, if we are to understand both the others and him. For if we must inquire how humans receive the Spirit proceeding from the Son, since it is questioned whether He proceeds from the Son, we need not at all inquire how they receive the Spirit proceeding from the Father. For it is clearly from the Father that He proceeds, and humans are said to receive and do receive the Spirit proceeding from the Father. "When the Paraclete comes," He says, "whom I will send to you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceeds from the Father." But they do not receive Him as He proceeds from there, even if they are said to receive Him, but rather in the ways described, which preserve both the truth and what is fitting and are not far from the understanding of the teachers. Thus, the same can be said about the Son, and in this way, the saying of Chrysostom will appear to have nothing contrary to the position of the Latins and the understanding of the teachers from which this position is derived.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter XIV (IX).

44. Again, they (the Latins) draw on the fact that the Holy Spirit is called the image of the Son to support their doctrine. But we say in response that it is not at all necessary for the image to have the thing it images as its cause, whether in art or in nature. For the Son is called the image of the Father, not so much as being referred to Him as a cause, but as revealing and imaging the Father in Himself, as He says to Philip: "Whoever has seen Me has seen the Father." Therefore, the Holy Spirit is also the image of the Son, not because the Son is His cause, but because it is impossible to know the Son except through the Holy Spirit. "For no one," He says, "can say 'Jesus is Lord,' except in the Holy Spirit." And again: "He will glorify Me, for He will take from what is Mine and declare it to you." The divine Chrysostom, interpreting this, says: "That is, He will speak in harmony with what is Mine; for what is the Father's is Mine, and He will speak from what is the Father's." For just as the Son, by coming to fulfill the old law—that is, to complete it and add what was omitted due to the weakness of the hearers—thereby glorified the Father who established that law ("For I have glorified You on the earth; I have finished the work which You gave Me to do"), so too the Holy Spirit completed the work of the Son. "For I have much more to say to you," He says, "but you cannot bear it now. But when He, the Spirit of truth, comes, He will guide you into all the truth. For He will not speak on His own, but whatever He hears, He will speak, and He will declare to you the things that are to come." "From what is Mine," He says, "He will take the material and declare it to you," that is, what is lacking. For the work is the same as the Father's: "For all that the Father has is Mine."

45. Therefore, the Holy Spirit is the image of the Son because He declares the things of the Son and glorifies the Son, taking from His work and perfecting that very work, just as the Son did with the work of the Father.

Scholarius.

46. The Latins, hearing the teachers call the Holy Spirit the image of the Son, just as they call the Son the image and prototype of the Father, rightly confirm their own doctrine. For they do not think that these terms point to anything other than the Holy Spirit revealing in Himself the essence and nature of the Son, which the Son, receiving from the Father, is and is called the image of the Father. And through Him, the Spirit, receiving from the Father, is also confessed by the divine Scripture as the image of the Father and the image of the Son. Just as the Son being called the image of the Father signifies nothing other than the essence and nature of the Father being manifested in Him as the natural Son and hypostatic Word, communicated through generation, so too the Spirit being called the image of the Son signifies that He receives and possesses the essence and nature of the Son through the Son and from the Son, proceeding from Him. For if the term "image" were not applied in the same way here as there, the equality of the divine persons would be undermined, and there would be a greater and lesser among them. Cyril would also be in error if he called the Spirit the image of the Son in the same way that the Son is the image of the Father, as he does in the thirteenth chapter of the second book of The Treasury. Therefore, the Latins argue from the term "image," as it is applied to the Son in relation to the Father, not from every kind of image. But this man (Mark of Ephesus), as if they were arguing from every kind of image, objects based on created things, saying that neither in art nor in nature is it necessary for the paradigm to have a causal relation to its own image. He does not specify which things are like this, but either he has nothing to say or he argues poorly and turns to the Son, showing that He is called the image of the Father not so much as being referred to Him as a cause but as revealing and imaging the Father in Himself. The man is wrong on both counts. First, in what he thinks he is objecting to based on other things, for every image must in some way refer to its paradigm as an effect to its cause, if it is called an image because of some likeness in it, produced in some way by the prototype, whether naturally or artificially, so that every image exists because of the prototype. Second, he errs in saying that the Son is called the image of the Father more as revealing and imaging the Father in Himself than as being referred to Him as a cause. For he seems to say something while saying nothing. That the Son reveals and images the Father in Himself is precisely what it means for Him to be the image of the Father. Thus, he says the Son is the image of the Father because He is the image, as if one were to say that man is rational because he is rational. And worse, he claims that the Son is called this more because of this than because He is referred to the Father as His cause, when in truth both are the case. For the Son is an image because He images the Father in Himself, and He images because He is referred to Him as His cause and natural Father. Therefore, He is more an image because He is from the Father than because He reveals the Father. He rightly goes on to show through all the same reasons that the Spirit is called the image of the Son, just as the Son is called the image of the Father, because, he says, the Spirit receives from the Son, glorifies the Son, and perfects the work of the Son, just as these things are said of the Son in relation to the Father. He explains well how the term "image" is applied to the divine persons, but he does not thereby exclude the reference to

cause. He first introduces the idea that if the term "image" is applied in the same way to the Son and the Spirit, then just as it applies to the Son as proceeding from the Father, so too it applies to the Spirit as proceeding from the Son. Second, he asks what the cause would be for the Son being the image of the Father and not the reverse, and likewise for the Spirit being the image of the Son and not the reverse, if not that the things of the superessential divinity, according to the holy Dionysius, do not reverse in relation to one another? For neither the things ordained concerning the divine by the divine persons nor the things said about them are in vain.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter XV (V).

47. "The Spirit," says the theologian of Nyssa, "proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father." Is it not evident from this that the procession of the Spirit is a hypostatic or personal property of the Father? For just as when we say that the hypostasis of the Only-Begotten was incarnate, we show that this is not shared by the Father and the Spirit, so too when we say that the hypostasis of the Father causes the Spirit to proceed, we cannot reasonably attribute this to the Son as well. Therefore, let the Latins show us any theologian who says that the Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son, or who clearly states that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone.

Scholarius.

48. The Latins will respond to this argument in the same way they responded to the ninth and tenth arguments, and the solution given there will suffice here as well. For neither those arguments had any persuasive force, let alone necessity, nor does this one add anything more to what was written there. The only difference is that, as if regretting the innovations he introduced earlier, he now says that the incarnation is a unique property of the hypostasis of the Son, unshared by the Father and the Spirit. Yet the incarnation is a temporal event, whereas earlier he said that nothing temporal could be a property of a person, since we also argued against him based on the incarnation, as if foreseeing that he would contradict himself. And I believe he will do the same with everything he now says, boldly opposing himself whenever he examines these matters without contentiousness and with docility. For now, driven by contentiousness and empty glory, he may dare something even worse. He also demands that the Latins show him one of the saints who says that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son. But they show him more than ten who say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, and he has not yet conceded this, but he openly denies what is clearly stated by the teachers of the Church—perhaps because not all say this. Yet he ought not to cling so tightly to the words of Gregory of Nyssa, for he alone says that the Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father, and no one else does, even though all say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father, and above all, the truth itself affirms this. He errs, therefore, in trusting Gregory of Nyssa alone, for even though many say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, he refuses to be persuaded because not all say this. It is remarkable that, following Gregory of Nyssa, he might have risked not even believing that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father. For if Gregory alone says this, and if he himself had not said it, this man would have denied such a great truth. But those with understanding would not have done this; even if Gregory of Nyssa had not

said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father—just as no other teacher says this—they would still have believed it, having learned that the Spirit proceeds from the Father. They would not doubt that to proceed from the Father is to proceed from the hypostasis of the Father. But if Gregory alone spoke of proceeding from the hypostasis of the Father, why is it surprising that no one has explicitly said that the Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Son? Those with understanding will not be led to deny such a great truth on this account, especially since the testimony of so many saints who say that the Spirit proceeds from the Son is sufficient for them, and they do not doubt that to proceed from the Son is to proceed from the hypostasis of the Son.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter XVI (XVII).

49. The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, proceeds either insofar as they are distinct or insofar as they are united. If, therefore, it proceeds insofar as they are distinct and two, then it proceeds from two; but they are distinct according to their hypostases and are two. Thus, the Holy Spirit proceeds from two hypostases, and from this, it necessarily follows that there are two principles. But if it proceeds insofar as they are united, then first of all, it no longer proceeds from them in the same way as when they are distinct. Therefore, it does not proceed from their hypostases; neither, then, does it proceed from the hypostasis of the Father nor from the hypostasis of the Son. But Gregory of Nyssa, in some places, refutes what is false and affirms what is true. For he says explicitly: "The Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father." Then, what could this be, insofar as they are united? Perhaps they will say it is the nature or the power of procession. But if it proceeds from the nature, then it will also proceed from itself, for the nature is common to the three. If it proceeds from the power of procession, then it ought to have this power as well, for what is common to the Father and the Son is also common to the Spirit, as Dionysius and Basil the Great say. But what is their wise and ridiculous argument in response to this? They say that the Spirit would have had this power if it were not impossible for it to proceed from itself. This, then, is like someone who, seeing that their own reasoning concludes that a man is a stone, does not attempt to correct the premises from which this conclusion is drawn but instead says that the man would be a stone if it were not impossible for a rational being to be lifeless and immovable.

Scholarius.

50. The Latins, believing that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, do not fall into any absurdity. For they do not believe this based on their own reasoning but have learned it from the teachers of the Church, whom they consider incapable of error in such a great truth, especially given their number and stature. Therefore, they do not feel compelled to respond to those who pose dialectical questions aimed at leading them into absurdity. For even if some absurdity were to follow from this belief (though let us assume it is impossible), they believe it is more fitting for the teachers to recognize and resolve such matters. They themselves claim to stand entirely outside such accusations and believe that those who seek to overthrow the theology of the saints based on the apparent absurdities or impossibilities that arise from logical arguments are subject to far greater accusations. For in this way, those who dare such things would fill the true faith with

many difficulties, since it is often possible to see natural reasoning opposing it, and they would undermine the foundations of the faith under the guise of inquiry. But to confirm the truth itself and the honor of the teachers, which might seem to be shaken by folly and contentiousness, the Latins will respond briefly to this question, so as not to appear to resort to the authority of the teachers out of a lack of answers, especially since they know that some are quick to speak rashly and disrespectfully against the teachers. They will answer that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son insofar as they are one personally distinct reality, so that in no way are the Father and the Son understood as two principles of the Spirit, while their personal distinction prevents any confusion. Thus, the man's question becomes useless, for the Spirit proceeds neither solely insofar as they are distinct nor solely insofar as they are united, and so the absurdities he raises do not apply. With the question thus reframed, there is no room left for the reductio ad absurdum that he attempts to establish with this question, nor do we need to labor to examine and refute the consequences of the absurdities on either side. If it were necessary to say more on this matter, it would become clear from the responses to the earlier arguments. For the solution to the eighth and tenth arguments will also serve to resolve and refute these consequences for those who can draw from them, since we are concerned with brevity and, having had enough of the man's excessive and disjointed words on the same topics, we do not wish to repeat ourselves. He mocks the Latins' response as if it does not refute the reductio ad absurdum but merely shows that it is impossible, and he compares it to a certain kind of answer, the difference between which and the Latins' response is obvious to anyone with even a little experience in logic. I believe he would easily mock many other truths as well. For let someone believe that the Son is wise, good, or true God, just as the Father is; let someone ask him why he believes this, and let him answer that it is because he has heard that the Son has all that the Father has. Then let the other lead him into absurdity: "If you think the Son is good and wise because he has all that the Father has, then he will also be the Father, for this is one of the things that belong to the Father." He will then answer, "He would have been this too, if it were not impossible; but it is impossible because it contradicts the definition of the Son and because there is only one Son in the Godhead." And so he will despise this answer just as he did the other, for they have the same force. But he will not rejoice in accusing until someone capable of refuting such things arises.

Mark of Ephesus, Chapter XVII (X).

51. Furthermore, the phrases "proceeding through the Son" or "going forth through the Son" are equated by some with "proceeding from the Son," claiming that "through" (διὰ) has the same force as "from" (ἐκ) in Scripture. Where this equivalence holds, it concerns creation, where the Son is mentioned even apart from the Father. For it says, "All things were made through Him." But the procession of the Spirit is never mentioned apart from the Father; rather, they say it is "from the Father through the Son." It is clear, therefore, that "through the Son" signifies something different from "from the Son." Indeed, this is not said concerning the procession but concerning the impartation of the Spirit. For John of Damascus says, "We call it the Spirit of the Son, but we do not say it proceeds from the Son; we confess that it is revealed and imparted to us through the Son." This distinction clearly shows that "through the Son" means something other than what the Latins purely assert. If this phrase is ever used concerning the essential procession of the Spirit, let us again call upon the theologians themselves as interpreters of their own words. For Gregory of

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Nyssa, in his work Against Eunomius, says, "The Holy Spirit is comprehended as coming through the Son, not existing later in time after the Son, as if the Only-Begotten could ever be conceived apart from the Spirit, but having its cause of being from the God of all, from whom also the Only-Begotten is light, shining forth through the true light." In these words, he clearly intends to show that "through the Son" does not imply a later existence in time but rather coexistence with the Son, as he explicitly states elsewhere: "Through Him and with Him, before any empty and unsubstantial notion intervenes, the Holy Spirit proceeds." And Chrysostom, interpreting that apostolic saying, "That now, through the Church, the manifold wisdom of God might be made known to the principalities and powers," takes "through the Church" to mean "with the Church," for it is not the Church that taught the angels. Thus, here too, "through the Son" must be understood in this way: since the Holy Spirit is said to proceed essentially from the Father, lest the Son be thought of as another Father (for the Father is also attributed to the Son), the phrase "through the Son" is used to signify the mediation of the Son, as the holy Gregory says elsewhere, preserving the Only-Begotten and not excluding the Spirit from its natural relation to the Father. For this reason, in other places, he says that the Son is directly from the First, clearly as the Son from the Father, but he does not say that the Holy Spirit is directly from the First (for then it would exist later in time), but rather through the One who is directly from the First. This demonstrates the communion and succession, as has been said, and the equal honor and consubstantiality of their procession from the Father. For even if the Father were called the "producer," the Spirit would be directly from the producer, while the Son would be through the One who is directly from the producer, that is, the Spirit, since both proceed from the Father with equal honor and in unity. Therefore, the Latins gain nothing for their doctrine from the use of "through." That the opposite is true of what they claim is again shown by the testimony of the great confessor of the truth, the most divine Maximus. For he says in his letter to Marinus, a presbyter of Cyprus, the following: "The synodical writings of the most holy Pope of Rome were not accepted by the bishops of the imperial city in as many points as you claim, but only in two. The first concerns theology, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son; the second concerns the economy, namely, that the Lord, as man, was without original sin. For the first point, they cited passages from Roman fathers and Cyril of Alexandria from his work on the Gospel of John, in which they demonstrated that they do not make the Son a cause of the Holy Spirit's procession (for they know that the Father is the one cause of both the Son and the Spirit, the Son by generation and the Spirit by procession), but rather to show that the Spirit proceeds through Him, thereby demonstrating the unity and identity of their essence." Here, the Latins, as if deliberately, take the opposite path to the great Maximus. For he, along with the Romans of his time and the Pope himself, transfers "from" to "through," intending to demonstrate the unity and identity of their essence. But the Latins, thinking it a small matter not to follow the Fathers unless they also hold the opposite view, equate "through the Son" with "from the Son" and attribute the cause of the Spirit to the Son, from which the Fathers entirely excluded Him. What could be more shameless than this conflict?

Scholarius.

52. The Latins will gladly acknowledge that this man, too, following Maximus, transfers the preposition "from" (ἐκ) to "through" (διά). For he will not be persuaded by Gregory of Nyssa, who says that the Holy

Spirit proceeds from the hypostasis of the Father, and he will repeatedly emphasize this as if shaking it like a banner, yet he will dishonor and disregard Maximus. For if we also transfer "through" to "from," they will say, in defiance of the Fathers, as you claim, nevertheless, you yourself transfer "through" to "from" by following Maximus, who clearly does this, while you do not dare to contradict him. Thus, you would have no grounds to accuse us of saying that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son if we understand this as "through the Son," which even Maximus did not criticize the Latins of his time for affirming and teaching. But if we again transfer "through" to "from," it is our task to demonstrate whether this is in harmony with the truth and with Maximus himself or not. For Maximus allows the Spirit to be said to proceed from the Son, understanding "from" instead of "through." For in this way, he says, one would not make the Son the cause of the Holy Spirit's procession. Here, "cause" refers to the primary cause, using the term in a restricted sense, not in an extended sense that includes every possible meaning. For if Maximus were to allow that the Spirit proceeds through the Son and yet deny that the Son is in any way the cause of the Spirit, he would be contradicting himself. The Greek language does not recognize the other uses of this term by this man, and it would be entirely irrational if one were to substitute "with" (μετὰ) for "through" (διὰ). For then the Son would also be proceeding with the Spirit, or the Spirit would be begotten with the Son, if one were to say that the Spirit proceeds with the Son, as this man insists. I have treated these matters more thoroughly in my writings on this question. That Maximus has this intention and that he excludes the Son from being such a cause is clear from the fact that he does not say the Son is the cause of the Spirit but rather the cause of the Spirit's procession. For he says that the Son is the cause of the Spirit as the one through whom the Spirit proceeds, and it is impossible for it to be otherwise, but the Son is in no way the cause of the Spirit's procession. For the Father alone is the cause of the Holy Spirit proceeding through the Son and of the Spirit's procession in general. He is the cause of both the Son and the Spirit and of all that belongs to them, which is why He is properly called the cause in a restricted sense. If, therefore, understanding Maximus in this way, we also take "through the Son" to mean "from the Son," not understanding "from" in the restricted sense as is customary for the primary cause but in an extended sense that signifies only the procession and not the order of the procession, we are neither disobeying nor holding the opposite view from him. On the contrary, if anywhere else, here too we agree and concur with him. And when we wish to clarify the order, we say that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, but we do not interpret "through" as "from." Rather, when we are accused, along with the teachers of the Church, of saying that the Spirit proceeds from the Son, as if this implies that the Son is the source and primary cause of the procession, we defend ourselves collectively, saying that we mean "from the Son" as "through the Son," in agreement with Maximus here and with Cyril, who says to Palladius that the Spirit proceeds essentially from both, that is, from the Father through the Son.

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[THE END]